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dept of economics

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TWENTY-SIXTH CONSECUTIVE
AND THIRD BIENNIAL
CONVENTION

OF THE

United Mine Workers
of America

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1918

In Two Volumes
VOLUME ONE

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HELD IN THE CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
January 15 to 26, 1918, Inclusive

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT
By
MARY BURKE EAST

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TWENTY-SIXTH CONSECUTIVE AND THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION

SOCIAL
SCIENCES

of the

United Mine Workers *of* AMERICA

held in the

City of Indianapolis, Indiana

JANUARY 15, 1918

FIRST DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 15, 1918.

The Twenty-sixth Consecutive Constitutional and Third Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America was called to order in Tomlinson Hall at 10 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, January 15, by International President Frank J. Hayes.

Prior to the opening of the formal session, the Indianapolis News' Newsboys band played a number of selections for delegates, among them patriotic airs, during the playing of which the entire audience arose and remained standing, and at the close applauded the young players generously. Attention was called to the work of the leader of the band, Mr. James B. Vanderwater, and also to the fact that a large number of new faces were present among the players, a number of the older boys having entered the service of their country.

President Hayes announced that the informal program during the opening session would be presided over by Mr. John Smith, President

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of the Indianapolis Central Labor Union. President Smith introduced to the convention the following speakers:

INVOCATION.

Rev. Maurice O'Connor: We pray Thee, O God of might and wisdom and justice, through whom authority is rightly administered, laws enacted and judgment decreed, to assist, by Thy holy spirit of comfort, the president, the officers and delegates to this convention that they may discharge the duties of their respective stations with justice and ability. Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of this convention and shine forth in all the laws framed for the rule and government of the men whom this convention represents.

We pray especially for the President of the United States, for the Governor of this State and for all public officials. We pray especially for our country in her hour of sore distress. Teach us to realize our duties towards them as well as to realize our obligations toward our neighbor. Let us know how to serve our country best, give us the grace and the strength, if need be, to sacrifice all that we are and all that we possess for our country and for our country's good.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR JAMES P. GOODRICH.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—I assure you that it is with genuine pleasure I welcome to the State of Indiana you men as representatives of six hundred thousand mine workers of America. At a time like this the thoughts of every true meeting of American citizens naturally turns towards the great contest in which we find ourselves engaged. Yonder service flag testifies better than any words of mine the devotion of your organization to the cause for which the country fights today and is the surest testimony of your patriotism and love of country. You love the country because it is your country, because it stands for the largest opportunity and the largest degree of freedom of any country upon the face of the earth; you love the country because in American society, instead of being stratified horizontally, as it is in all countries where a man born in a certain class remains there and his children and his children's children after him remain there for genera-

tions. But in this country of ours society is stratified vertically, and the man who may be working in mine or mill or factory today may be the owner of it tomorrow. We have no class here except a class founded upon industry, intelligence and patriotism, and we want no other class in this country.

I do not need, my friends, to urge you, in this hour of the nation's peril, to be loyal to the country, because I know you are loyal; I do not need to urge you to stand by the country in the great crisis that confronts us, because I know you will do that, and in doing that you will stand by the 20,000 of your brave brothers who are now fighting the nation's battles upon foreign soil. And, my friends, while the presence of so many of your members there is a splendid tribute to your patriotism, I am not so certain it is a testimonial of the judgment of the government in withdrawing from the basic industries of the country so many men who are needed. We have learned that modern warfare is not conducted by armies alone, but by the concentration of all the power of the country behind the men at the front, and it is as necessary that the coal mines run and the munitions be manufactured as it is to drill men to do the fighting on the battle front.

Because you men and the organization you represent have shown such high patriotism I am glad to welcome you here in behalf of the State of Indiana and bid you Godspeed in all you do. I express to you the hope, aye, the conviction, that you will leave this convention a little better Americans because you have here assembled and with a higher resolve that, so far as you and your organization are concerned, that you measure up to every call the country makes upon you. I thank you.

Chairman Smith: Mayor Charles W. Jewett sends his regrets. Owing to the congested condition of traffic in the city and the fuel shortage he has a very important meeting to attend. We will hear from his representative, the Corporation Counsel.

ADDRESS OF MR. SAMUEL ASHBY, CORPORATION COUNSEL.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the United Mine Workers of America: I appear here for and at the request of Mayor Jewett, who is very

much disappointed because he could not be here to welcome you. He is so engaged on account of the fuel shortage in Indianapolis and the many people who are in absolute distress for the article with which you are so familiar, that he was unable to get here. He requested me to come and say to you in the name of the city that you are always welcome to Indianapolis. He realizes, and I say for him, that you men who go down in the bottom of the mine are just as important a factor in this great world crisis as the men who go over the sea and over the top, for the men could not go over the top unless you men went to the bottom and produced the coal with which to support the factories, warm the homes and produce the necessary munitions and food to supply the armies in the field and feed them. As a matter of fact, you men know, and the whole world is going to know, that the coal industry is in fact the basic industry and lies at the foundation of every trade. Therefore, in the name of Mayor Jewett, we welcome you to the city of Indianapolis.

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE OF FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES.

Mr. Andrew Smith: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I come before you today representing Indianapolis Aerie No. 211, Fraternal Order of Eagles. We have a live wire organization in this city of some 2,000 members. We have a beautiful home, and extend to all of you, and especially to our brothers of the fraternity, a most cordial welcome. We will be glad to see you and welcome you in our home and we trust your stay among us will be pleasant. We want to do our part in making it so. Our club rooms are open every day and evening for your education and comfort. Our latchstring is always out. Come and take advantage of our hospitality.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT OF INDIANA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Mr. Charles P. Fox: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Mine Workers—We are always glad in Indiana to have the mine workers of the entire country assembled within our state. We are proud of the labor movement of Indiana and we are exceptionally proud of this great convention. The working people of Indiana realize the vast importance of your organization at this special time and during this crisis through

which this country is passing. We recognize the necessity of the labor of those you represent, and we also recognize the splendid manner in which you have come to the front in order to meet the emergency that has arisen. No one in the labor movement of Indiana doubts for a moment the loyalty of your organization and its members; in fact, those in authority in this State, both in the government of the state and in the labor movement, look upon our organization and its acts with commendation and approval. That vast service flag over your heads speaks volumes, and I am proud to be a member of an organization that has a right to hoist such a flag.

I might say for the labor movement of Indiana that it is in an exceptionally healthy condition and that we have made wonderful strides in the last two or three years in the betterment of those who toil. We are endeavoring to so conduct ourselves that when the finish of this awful catastrophe comes—and we hope it will be soon—we expect to be in a position, because of our acts at this time, to demand and procure at least a part in the councils that will determine the future conduct of this government. This is labor's opportunity. We hear that on every hand. We realize that and we expect to grasp that opportunity; but we do not expect, and neither do we believe, that opportunity means going out tomorrow morning and taking advantage of the public and our government. We believe that opportunity lies in doing our part in meeting the emergency in an intelligent and patriotic way as we are confronted by it. That is what we mean when we speak of the opportunities that are awaiting us.

We know that a readjustment must come about in this country, and we expect to be in a position when it comes to have something to say as to the future conduct of the government. That is the aim and intention of the Indiana labor movement, and I hope it is the aim and intention of the entire labor movement of our great country. We realize that we must make sacrifices from day to day. We are going to make those sacrifices as necessity arises, but we are not going to make them in order that the employers of this country may increase their profit. The sacrifices we make will be for the purpose of offering to our government the loyal support it must have in order to bring about a successful termination of this war.

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Let me, in conclusion, in behalf of the general labor movement of Indiana, bid you welcome to our state. We wish you Godspeed and hope for you in your deliberations only harmony and success for your great organization. When selecting your place to meet in convention two years hence, remember that the latchstring of Indiana is always out for you.

Chairman Smith: I do not think I can add anything to the welcome that has been given you. You have heard from the governor of Indiana, from the representative of the mayor, from the president of the State Federation of Labor and from the representative of one of the largest fraternal organizations in the country. I now welcome you in the name of organized labor of Marion County, Indiana, represented by the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis. The Labor Temple and the Central Labor Union are yours to command. I now take great pleasure in turning the gavel over to your President, Mr. Frank J. Hayes.

RESPONSE TO ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.

International President Hayes: I am sure that I express the sentiment of every delegate to this convention when I say that we deeply appreciate the words of welcome extended to us this morning by the distinguished visitors who have addressed us. I want to say to them in behalf of this convention that we sense deeply the part we must play in this great world war in which our country is now engaged. The United Mine Workers of America have been loyal to their country in the present emergency and they purpose to continue to be loyal to their country until kaiserism and militarism is wiped from the face of the earth.

When I look at yonder service flag, and I know when you look at it up there, with its 19,135 stars, you feel a thrill of pride. It visualizes more than words of mine can portray the great part we are playing in this war, the part we are playing for the preservation of the ideals of a democratic people. Every star represents a human life; some father's pride, some mother's joy, our nation's hope and the contribution of the United Mine Workers of America to the great cause of democracy. We realize, as members of the largest trade union in America, what this war means to the men of labor. We know that the spirit of liberalism can never exist where military autocracy reigns supreme, and I am happy

to say today to our distinguished visitors that there are no strikes within the coal fields of this country and that during the last year we have increased coal production more than 10 per cent. over the preceding year. And we say to those who do not know the part we are playing in this war, that if you give us cars and give us motive power we will produce all the coal this country and our allies need at this time.

I want to say again in conclusion that we deeply appreciate the splendid words of welcome extended to us this morning, the warmth and cordiality of your greetings, and we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

The chair desires to appoint a Committee on Rules and Order of Business. We cannot proceed with the business of the convention until that is done and the committee makes a report.

President Hayes announced the following appointment:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—Lee Hall, District No. 6; Walter Nesbit, District No. 12; John Mack, District No. 1; George Hepple, District No. 25; Richard Gilbert, District No. 2.

President Hayes: I want at this time to make a statement. Some few weeks ago I took the liberty of inviting the President of the United States to address this convention. I am in receipt of the following letter from President Wilson, which I think very apropos to read:

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, D. C., January 8, 1918.

My Dear Mr. Hayes: If it were possible for me with a clear conscience to leave Washington next week, you may be sure I would accept with real pleasure the invitation so kindly conveyed by your letter of December 30 to address the International Convention of the United Mine Workers of America; but in view of the many things that are daily demanding my attention and which it would be absolutely wrong for me to turn away from, it is impossible for me to come, and I can only ask you if you will not convey to the assembled delegates a very warm and cordial greeting from me for the New Year and say to them that I would like to be present to say something, if I could which would make them realize how much the safety of America and the whole honor and dignity and success of her action in the present crisis of the world depends upon their fidelity and energy and devotion. I do not doubt that

they will rise to the occasion, but I do want them to realize how deeply and sincerely interested the Government is in their welfare and how anxious it is to be instrumental in doing anything that it is possible to do to further it.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. Frank J. Hayes, President U. M. W. of A., Indianapolis, Ind.

Secretary Green was instructed to make suitable reply to the letter of President Wilson.

The official call was read by Secretary Green; it was accepted and made part of the permanent records of the convention.

No further business coming before the convention, at 11 o'clock an adjournment was taken to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., Tuesday, January 15, President Hayes presiding.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Mack, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Indianapolis, Ind., January 15, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, beg leave to submit the following report for your consideration:

1. The convention shall be called to order at 9 a. m. and adjourn at 12 m.; reconvene at 1:30 p. m. and adjourn at 5 p. m.

2. No members of the convention shall speak more than once on the same question, until all who desire to speak shall have been heard. Speeches shall be limited to five minutes and no one shall be allowed the floor more than twice, except by consent of the majority.

3. The roll call of delegates shall not be called on any question except at the request of 300 or more delegates.

4. Any member of the convention appearing on the floor in such a manner as to annoy the proceedings of the convention shall be reprimanded by the chair for the first offense and for the second he shall be expelled from the convention and his conduct reported to his constituents by the International Secretary.

5. The convention shall be governed by Cushing's Manual, with the exception that when a motion is made to table questions with amendments appended the motion to table shall first apply to the amendment or amendments and shall require a motion to table the original.

6. When a motion to table is made, the motion shall not be put until the introducer of the subject is given an opportunity to speak on the question.

—Order of Business—

1. Report of Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of Officers.
3. Appointment of Committees.
4. Report of Tellers.
5. Report of Auditing Committee.
6. Report of Committee on Officers' Reports.
7. Report of Resolutions Committee.
8. Report of Committee on Constitution.
9. Report of Transportation Committee.
10. Report of Delegates to American Federation of Labor and Western Federation of Miners.
11. Report of Committee on Appeals and Grievances.
12. Report of Scale Committee.
13. Miscellaneous Business.

Respectfully submitted,

LEE HALL, Dist. No. 6,
JOHN M. MACK, Dist. No. 1,
RICHARD GILBERT, Dist. No. 2,
GEO. HEPPLE, Dist. No. 25,
WALTER NESBIT, Dist. No. 12.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

REPORT OF PRESIDENT FRANK J. HAYES.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Greeting—I became the President of your International organization October 25, 1917, succeeding John P. White, who resigned to devote his entire time to the work of the Federal Fuel Administration.

I do not deem it necessary or of general interest to chronicle in minute detail my work as Vice-President prior to my succession to the presidency, except to say that I participated in all of the interstate wage conferences, represented the International organization in various district conventions, acted as arbitrator in the adjustment of various grievances, supervised and directed the field workers and assisted in waging successful organizing campaigns in three heretofore practically unorganized fields, which resulted in adding approximately 30,000 members to our organization.

Upon my succession to the presidency I appointed John L. Lewis to the office of Vice-President, which appointment was unanimously confirmed by the International Executive Board.

Prior to his retirement President White submitted to the membership a comprehensive report of the work of the executive department, covering in detail matters that occurred under his administration up until the day of his retirement. In view of this fact I shall not burden you with unnecessary repetition of the subjects he presented, except to bring to your attention such matters covered in his report as should properly be presented to this convention, particularly wage agreements negotiated during the past year.

BITUMINOUS WAGE AGREEMENTS.

Shortly after the adjournment of the last biennial convention the operators and miners of the Central Competitive Field met at Mobile, Ala., for the purpose of considering the demands formulated by the last biennial convention. We endeavored to prove to the operators by facts and figures that the country was on the eve of great industrial prosperity and that the coal industry particularly would be one of the chief beneficiaries of the same. The operators contended that our position was incorrect and steadfastly maintained that our views and predictions relative to an increased demand for coal and increased prices as a result of the war

would not materialize. We discussed at length every phase of the demands formulated at our last biennial convention, and endeavored, with all the power, persuasion and logic that we could use, to convince the operators of the fairness and justice of our claims, but without avail. We finally decided to adjourn the conference at Mobile, with the understanding that the joint conference would again reconvene in New York City on February 24. The joint conference reconvened on that date and remained in session until March 9, when the following agreement was reached:

"The following agreement made and entered into this 9th day of March, 1916, covering prices and conditions of mining in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois for the two years beginning April 1, 1916, and ending March 31, 1918, to-wit:

"First. All coal shall be weighed and paid for on a mine-run basis, except that the Block Coal District of Indiana shall continue upon the present screen coal basis, and that the pick mining rate therein be advanced 5 cents per ton and machine mining 4 cents per ton. .

"Second. The pick mining rate in the thin vein district of Western Pennsylvania shall be 67.64 cents per ton and in the Eastern Ohio, Hocking, Cambridge and Amsterdam-Bergholz districts of Ohio the mining rate shall be 67.64 cents per ton, and throughout the balance of Ohio the pick mining rate shall be advanced 3 cents per ton unless otherwise agreed to in joint conference by operators and miners in any of the sub-districts or scale districts within the State; in the bituminous district of Indiana 64 cents per ton and in the Danville district of Illinois 64 cents per ton.

"Third. Machine mining in the thin vein district of Western Pennsylvania, 50 cents per ton; in Ohio, 50 cents per ton; in the bituminous district of Indiana, chain machine mining, 52 cents per ton, and punching machines, 54 cents per ton; in the Danville district of Illinois, 54 cents per ton.

"Fourth. All day labor, dead work, yardage and room turning advanced 5 per cent. on existing prices.

"Fifth. An eight-hour day means eight hours' work in the mine at usual working places for all classes of inside day labor. This shall be exclusive of the time required in reaching such working places in the morning and departing from the same at night.

"Drivers shall take their mules to and from stables, and the time

required in so doing shall not include any part of the day's labor, their work beginning when they reach the change at which they receive empty cars, but in no case shall the driver's time be docked while he is waiting for such cars at the point named.

"When the men go into the mine in the morning they shall be entitled to two hours' pay, whether or not the mine works the full two hours. But after the first two hours the men shall be paid for every hour thereafter by the hour for each hour's work or fractional part thereof. If, for any reason, the regular routine work cannot be furnished the inside labor for a portion of the first two hours the operators may furnish other than the regular labor for the unexpired time.

"Sixth. All internal differences are hereby referred to the various districts for settlement with the understanding that only by mutual consent shall anything be done in sub-district, district or wage scale conventions that will increase the cost of production or decrease the earning capacity of the men. All rules now incorporated in existing contracts shall remain in force unless changed by agreement between operators' and miners' representatives.

"Seventh. All district organizations herein represented shall take up the question of preparation of coal and adopt such rules and regulations with proper penalties as will best suit the conditions of each district herein represented.

"Eighth. A joint commission of three miners and three operators shall be appointed by the two organizations (Illinois miners' and operators' association), who are hereby given authority to establish the proper machine mining rates in the long wall mines of Northern Illinois without regard to existing machine differentials.

"Resolved. That an interstate joint conference be held prior to April 1, 1918; the time and place of holding such meeting is referred to a committee of two operators and two miners from each State herein represented, together with the International officers of the United Mine Workers' organization."

After the above agreement was negotiated the Policy Committee, representing every district in the organization, was called in to consider the same. This committee, by an overwhelming majority, adopted the agreement, subject to the approval of the rank and file. In the referendum vote on this agreement the report of the Tellers showed that the

total vote cast was 127,318½; 84,498½ to accept the agreement and 42,820 to reject it; majority in favor of the proposition, 41,678½.

SUPPLEMENTAL BITUMINOUS WAGE AGREEMENTS.

It became evident in the spring of 1917, owing to the unusual activity in the coal industry and the high prices received by the operators for their product, and due to the large increase in the cost of living on account of the war, that something must be done with the wage question. The 1916 agreement was made when conditions were normal, and the joint conference at that time could not take into consideration the enormous increase in the cost of living which occurred at a later date, and it was therefore, but natural that our people should feel that the operators should not be permitted to take undue advantage of a situation developed by the war. This condition was also aggravated and intensified because a number of operators were granting bonuses and voluntary wage advances in order to meet the situation and to secure a full complement of men for the operation of their mines. This action created great unrest and dissatisfaction throughout our jurisdiction, and it became absolutely necessary for us to endeavor to correct it through the medium of the joint conference. Therefore an informal joint conference of the Central Competitive Field was called to meet at Indianapolis, April 5, 1917. In this conference your representatives made it clear to the operators that a readjustment of the wage scale was absolutely necessary and in the interest of both parties to the contract. After most thoughtful consideration of the matter it was jointly decided to issue a call for a formal joint conference to be held in the city of New York on April 12, 1917, for the express purpose of considering an advance in the wage scale. In this conference we proved by statistics and argument that a wage increase was necessary to meet the unusual situation developed by the war. The operators were finally convinced that this must be done and entered into the following supplemental agreement:

“First. That pick and machine mining be advanced 10 cents per ton in the states and districts comprising the Central Competitive Field and that the screen coal mining prices in the Block Coal Field of Indiana be advanced in proportion to the mine-run prices herein agreed to.

“Second. That all day labor now receiving \$2.98 and \$3.00 per day be advanced to \$3.60 per day.

"Third. That monthly men and all other classes of labor employed in and around the mine be advanced 60 cents per day, except as follows:

"Trappers shall receive \$1.90 per day and all boys now receiving \$1.57 per day or less shall be advanced to \$1.90 per day.

"No advance shall be paid on dead work or yardage.

"This advance shall become effective April 16, 1917, and continue until March 31, 1918."

We were of the opinion, at the time this supplemental agreement was negotiated, that it would meet the situation, but our country had then entered the war and all the industries of the country were speeded up and production, particularly in the coal industry, was greatly increased to meet the exigencies of the situation. Munition plants, manufacturing establishments and war industries of various kinds were offering large wages for men, with the result that thousands of our people were leaving the mines to engage in this more remunerative work. Your representatives felt, and so stated at the time, that unless the mine workers were granted a wage commensurate with that received by competing industries, the country would face a serious coal shortage and intense suffering would result during the coming winter months. In line with this belief your International officials again summoned the operators to meet us in conference for the purpose of considering an additional wage advance. In the meantime the federal government had fixed the selling price of coal at the mines and the President had appointed Dr. H. A. Garfield as fuel administrator, which put an entirely new angle upon the situation. The operators maintained that the prices fixed by the government were unfair and that they could not meet any additional wage advance unless the government agreed to change its selling schedule to permit them to pay the increase in wages asked by your representatives. Dr. Garfield addressed the Washington joint conference at its opening session, and insisted that everything possible must be done to stimulate coal production, and stated that he was willing to consider any fair proposition jointly agreed to that had for its purpose the attainment of that end. He, however, would not say at that time that he would advance coal prices to meet the increase demanded by your representatives. He stated that the miners and operators should work out their own problem in a way that was fair to the government and the public, and after that was done he would give our joint handiwork his most careful consideration. This formal joint conference remained in

session in Washington, D. C., from September 25 until October 6, when the following agreement was reached:

"The following agreement, supplemental to the existing interstate and district agreements, is entered into with the hope and belief that the advance in wages will result in an increased production of coal and the abolition of local strikes.

"It is agreed:

"First. That the mining prices for mining mine-run coal, pick and machine, in the present contract be advanced 10 cents per ton. In the Block Coal Field of Indiana the screen coal price to be advanced 12½ cents per ton.

"Second. That all day labor and monthly men, except trappers and other boys, be advanced \$1.40 per day. Trappers to be advanced 75 cents per day. Boys now being paid more than \$1.90 per day and less than men's wages shall be advanced \$1.00 per day.

"Second. That all yardage, dead work and room turning be advanced 15 per cent.

"Fourth. Subject to the next biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America, the mine workers' representatives agree that the present contract be extended during the continuation of the war, not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918.

"Whereas, Stoppage of work in violation of the agreement has become so serious as to menace the success and perpetuity of the U. M. W. of A. and our joint relations, this conference instructs the respective district executive boards to meet the operators in their various districts for the purpose of agreeing on a penalty clause, where none now exists, and if necessary meet to amend and strengthen existing clauses so as to make the penalty more effective in preventing strikes and violations of agreements.

"All fines provided for in all agreements shall be automatically collected, and any operators failing to collect and forward to proper parties such fine shall pay a penalty of \$2 for each employe subject to be fined, the same to be collected and retained in the miners' district organization. And in no case shall any fine be refunded except by mutual agreement of the accredited representatives of the operators and miners.

"It is further agreed that where any employe enters suit in the civil courts to recover any fine collected in accordance herewith, the district

organization shall reimburse the operator for expense incurred on account of such suit.

"This agreement is subject to and will become effective only on the condition that the selling price of coal shall be advanced by the United States Government sufficient to cover the increased cost in the different districts affected, and will take effect on the first day of the pay period following the order advancing such increased prices."

On October 29, 1917, the Federal Fuel Administration increased coal prices sufficiently to absorb the wage advance conceded in the above agreement. You will note in the fourth clause of this particular supplemental agreement the following language: "Subject to the approval of the next biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America, the mine workers' representatives agree that the present contract be extended during the continuation of the war, not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918." You will also note the demand for a penalty clause, which was vigorously insisted upon by the government and the operators in order to prevent illegal strikes and shutdowns in violation of agreements. In this connection I desire to quote the order issued by President Wilson after the Washington agreement was negotiated:

"ORDER.

"The White House, Washington, D. C., October 27, 1917.

"The scale of prices prescribed August 21, 1917, by the President of the United States for bituminous coal at the mine, as adjusted and modified, by order of the United States Fuel Administrator, to meet exceptional conditions in certain localities, is hereby amended by adding the sum of 15 cents to each of the prices so prescribed or so adjusted and modified, subject, however, to the following express exceptions:

"(1) This increase in prices shall not apply to any coal sold at the mine under an existing contract containing a provision for an increase in the price of coal thereunder in case of an increase in wages paid to miners.

"(2) This increase in prices shall not apply in any district in which the operators and miners fail to agree upon a penalty provision, satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator, for the automatic col-

lection of fines in the spirit of the agreement entered into between the operators and miners at Washington, October 6, 1917.

"This order shall become effective at 7 a. m. on October 29, 1917.

(Signed) "WOODROW WILSON."

You will note in the above order of the President that we could not secure the wage advance provided for in the Washington agreement unless we agreed to an automatic penalty clause. In conformity with the Washington agreement your International officials and the scale committee representing the Central Competitive Field recommend that the present contract with the supplemental wage advances and conditions upon which the same are based be extended during the continuation of the war, not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918.

In this connection I wish to say that in my opinion there should be no hesitancy upon the part of the delegates to this convention in ratifying the Washington agreement and the conditions it imposes. We must remember that we have secured very substantial wage advances during the past year, and that there have been few, if any, industries in the country that have fared as well as ours in the matter of increased wages. Above all, we must remember that our country is at war and that there can be no justification for a disturbance of industrial relations, particularly in a war industry, in these trying times.

In reference to the penalty clause, I feel that no loyal American should object to any clause that has for its sole purpose the maintenance of an uninterrupted coal supply. In brief, no man can be penalized unless he does wrong, unless he wilfully violates the agreements we are pledged to observe. I feel confident, knowing our membership as I do, that during this war period it is their earnest desire to do everything within their power to prevent illegal strikes and shutdowns. I feel that there is sufficient machinery provided for in our various agreements to take care of any dispute that may arise in or around a mine. When we contemplate the fact that every shutdown or every local strike means the handicapping of our boys in the trenches, and means intense suffering, particularly to the poor people of our land; when we consider the fact that millions of people in this country are making sacrifices for the war, and that millions of families are giving up their sons and brothers to fight, and, if need be, die for our country, I feel confident that an

overwhelming majority of our membership will see the necessity of firm disciplinary measures in order to control the few among us who might seek to embarrass our nation in the present crisis.

ANTHRACITE WAGE AGREEMENTS.

Shortly after the conclusion of the bituminous negotiations the joint conference of the anthracite operators and miners convened in New York City, and the following agreement was negotiated, which was ratified by a tri-district convention of anthracite mine workers:

ANTHRACITE AGREEMENT.

"This agreement, made this 5th day of May, 1916, between Districts 1, 7 and 9, representing the anthracite mine workers' organization, parties of the first part, and the anthracite operators, parties of the second part, covering wages and conditions of employment in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, witnesseth:

"The terms and provisions of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission and any subsequent agreement made in modification thereof and supplemental thereto are hereby continued for a further period of four years ending March 31, 1920, except in the following particulars, to-wit:

"First. (a) The contract rates at each colliery shall be increased seven (7) per cent. over and above the contract rates at each colliery, effective in April, 1912, as established by the agreement of May 20, 1912.

"(b) The working day established by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission shall be changed from nine (9) hours to eight (8) hours. All employes paid by the day or hour and coming within the classification of company men, except as hereinafter more specifically provided, shall be paid for a day of eight (8) hours the rate established under the agreement of May 20, 1912, for a day of nine (9) hours, subject to an increase of three (3) per cent.

"(c) All company men working on the basis of an eight-hour day prior to April 1, 1916, shall receive an increase of seven (7) per cent. over and above the daily or hourly rates established for their respective occupations by the agreement of May 20, 1912; except that hoisting engineers, who were granted an eight-hour day in March, 1912, shall receive an increase of three (3) per cent. over and above the rates established by the agreement of May 20, 1912; it being understood, however,

that where three full shifts were substituted for two shifts in March, 1912, the rates of the three hoisting engineers shall be the same and the shifts shall alternate in the manner customary where continuous employment is required.

"(d) All hoisting engineers working on a nine-hour basis prior to April 1, 1916, and whose duties require that they should continue to work nine (9) hours per day, shall receive an increase of seven (7) per cent. over and above the nine-hour rate established by the agreement of May 20, 1912.

"(e) All company men working on a daily basis in excess of nine (9) hours per day or on a monthly basis prior to April 1, 1916, shall continue to work on said basis and their wage, whether paid hourly, daily or monthly, shall be increased seven (7) per cent. over and above the rates established for their respective occupations by the agreement of May 20, 1912.

MACHINE MINING.

"Second. Conditions having arisen in portions of the anthracite region necessitating the use of mining machines, the right of the operator to use such machines shall be unquestioned and the method employed shall be at the option of the operator. Where work is done by mining machines the following shall govern as the basis of payment to the several classes of labor employed in the undercutting, mining and loading of coal.

"(a) When machine mining is done on a day basis, the rates paid shall not be less than the established colliery machine rates paid to the several classes of labor employed April 1, 1916; provided, that in no case shall the rate for machine miner be less than \$3.30 per day; for machine runner, \$2.70 per day; for machine miner's laborer, \$2.34 per day; and for machine runner's helper, \$2.34 per day. It being understood that these rates are agreed to as covering a new requirement and are applicable only to machine mining, subject nevertheless to three (3) per cent. advance under the terms of this agreement.

"(b) Where machine mining contracts cover the mining of a vein or section of a vein not heretofore mined, the contract rates shall be such as to enable the men employed in mining work to earn, on the average of all employed in each occupation, a daily wage not less than the rate established for said occupation in paragraph (a). Where mining ma-

chines replace contract miners cutting coal from the solid, the average daily earnings of the contract machine miners shall not be less than the average normal earnings of such contract miners in the territory where the mining machines are introduced and where the same vein conditions exist; provided, that where the average normal earnings of the contract miners are shown to be less than the day rate established in paragraph (a), the machine contract rates shall be so adjusted as to enable the machine miner, on the average, to earn a daily wage of not less than the day rate established in paragraph (a).

“(c) The operator shall be assured of the full co-operation of the machine miner in the development and maintenance of efficient operation, and the day’s earnings shall be based on a workday of eight (8) hours at the face as now provided in Section 3 hereof.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

“Third. An eight-hour day means eight (8) hours of actual work for all classes of labor, at the usual working place, exclusive of noon-time, for six (6) days per week, if the operator desires to work his mine to that extent, excepting only legal holidays. The time required in going to and coming from the place of employment in or about the mine shall not include any part of the day’s labor. Drivers shall take their mules from the stables to the usual working place before starting time and shall return them to the stables after quitting time, compensation for such service being included in the day rates established for this class of labor. If, because of break-downs, repairs, or the requirements of transportation, or other causes essential to efficient operation, it is found necessary to extend the normal workday of any employe, or any class of employes, the operator may do so, at his option, paying for overtime a proportional rate per hour as determined from the rates established under Section 1 hereof.

“Fourth. All grievances referred to the Board of Conciliation shall be heard and a decision rendered within sixty days from the date of reference to the board; provided, that said period may be extended for such time as may be mutually agreed upon by the operators’ representative and the mine workers’ representative in the district in which said grievance originates. If no decision is reached within sixty days after reference, or within the extension period thereafter, the board shall submit

the case forthwith to the umpire for final decision as provided in the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission.

"Fifth. The present prices of powder and miners' supplies as established at several collieries in the region shall be continued without change throughout the term of this agreement.

"Sixth. Under paragraph (d) of the agreement of May 20, 1912, the duty of the grievance committee shall be confined solely to the adjustment of disputes in cases where the foreman and employe have been unable to agree, and in the discharge of this duty they shall strictly comply with the provisions of said paragraph.

"Under paragraph (f) of the agreement of May 20, 1912, the grievance committee is given the sole authority of joining with the company officials in recording the rates existent April 1, 1902, as well as the rates established under the agreement of May 20, 1912.

"Seventh. The Board of Conciliation is empowered to hear complaints relating to day rates appearing on colliery rate sheets as effective April 1, 1912, but which may be claimed to be obsolete as of that date on account of being supplanted by other rates. The Board of Conciliation may, at its discretion, in case the rates are shown to have been manifestly obsolete, order such rates erased.

"Eighth. Neither party to this agreement shall initiate or encourage legislation that would in any manner affect the obligations of this contract or impair any of its provisions."

On April 25, 1917, after the conclusion of the conference granting the bituminous miners an increase in wages, the following supplemental agreement was reached by the anthracite operators and miners:

"Whereas, On May 5, 1916, an agreement was entered into by the parties hereto covering wages and working conditions in the anthracite field of Pennsylvania for the four-year period beginning April 1, 1916, and ending March 31, 1920; and

"Whereas, By reason of conditions that have arisen as a result of the war, the parties hereto have deemed it advisable and necessary to increase the wage compensation provided in said agreement, as hereinafter more specifically set forth; therefore, this agreement witnesseth:

"First. That for the period May 1, 1917, to March 31, 1918, the compensation paid employes in the anthracite field shall be increased as follows:

"(a) Contract machine and hand miners shall be paid an advance of 10 per cent. on their gross earnings.

"(b) Consideration miners shall be paid an advance of 10 per cent. on their earnings, based on the rates now in effect.

"(c) Contract miners' laborers and consideration miners' laborers shall be paid an advance of 10 per cent. on their earnings, based on the rates now in effect. Day machine miners' laborers receiving not less than \$2.72 per day shall be paid an advance of 10 per cent. on their earnings.

"(d) Company men now receiving \$1.54 or more per day shall be paid an advance of thirty-six cents (36c) per day for each day worked.

"(e) All employes paid by the day and now receiving less than \$1.54 per day shall be paid an advance of thirty cents (30c) per day for each day worked.

"(f) Monthly men, coming under the agreement of May 5, 1916, shall be paid an advance of thirty-six cents (36c) per day for each day worked.

"(g) The advances of thirty-six cents (36c) per day and thirty cents (30c) per day, above provided, are to be applied to a day, whether eight (8) hours or more, as established under the agreement of May 5, 1916; any proportionate part of a day to be paid a proportionate part of the advances herein provided.

"Second. It is distinctly understood and agreed between the parties hereto that because of the situation that has arisen as a result of the war and the needs of the nation in the matter of fuel supply, there shall be no unnecessary shut-downs, and that the employes will give that full co-operation necessary to maintain the production of the mines at their fullest capacity.

"Third. It is further agreed that, except as hereinbefore provided, all of the covenants and conditions of the agreement of May 5, 1916, shall remain in full force and effect up to and including March 31, 1920.

"In witness whereof, the parties hereto have caused this agreement to be properly executed this 25th day of April, 1917."

A few days after I became President, and shortly after the adjournment of the Washington conference, granting the bituminous miners another substantial advance in wages, I called the anthracite operators and miners into conference, and the following agreement was secured, which

was unanimously approved by the executive boards of the three districts in the anthracite region:

"Whereas, On May 5, 1916, an agreement was entered into by the parties hereto covering wages and working conditions in the anthracite field of Pennsylvania for the four-year period beginning April 1, 1916, and ending March 31, 1920; and

"Whereas, By reason of conditions that arose as a result of the war the parties hereto, under date April 25, 1917, entered into a supplemental agreement modifying the wage compensation provided in said agreement of May 5, 1916; and

"Whereas, By reason of further changes in conditions that have arisen since the date of said supplemental agreement of April 25, 1917, the parties hereto have deemed it advisable and necessary to make further increase in the wage compensation provided in said supplemental agreement, as hereinafter more specifically set forth;

"Now, Therefore, This Agreement Witnesseth: That in lieu of the voluntary advances made under the agreement of April 25, 1917, the following advances are proposed to be applied to the rates established under the agreement of May 5, 1916:

"a. Contract hand and machine miners shall be paid an advance of 25 per cent. on their gross earnings.

"b. Consideration miners shall be paid an advance of 25 per cent. on their earnings.

"c. Contract miners' laborers shall be paid an advance of 30 per cent. on their earnings.

"d. Consideration miners' laborers shall be paid an advance of 25 per cent. on their earnings.

"e. Day machine miners' laborers who received not less than \$2.72 per day shall be paid an advance of 25 per cent. on their earnings.

"f. Outside engineers working a twelve-hour cross shift and firemen shall be paid an advance of \$1 per day for each day worked. All other outside company men who received \$1.54 or more per day shall be paid an advance of 90c per day for each day worked.

"g. Inside engineers and pumpmen working a twelve-hour cross shift shall be paid an advance of \$1.10 per day for each day worked. All other inside company men who received \$1.54 or more per day shall be paid an advance of \$1 per day for each day worked.

"h. All employes paid by the day who received less than \$1.54 per day shall be paid an advance of 60c per day for each day worked.

"i. Monthly men coming under the agreement of May 5, 1916, shall receive an advance per day for each day worked equivalent to that provided for their respective occupations under paragraphs 'f' and 'g'.

"j. The advances of \$1.10 per day, \$1 per day, 90c per day and 60c per day, provided above, are to be applied to a day, whether eight hours or more, as established under the agreement of May 5, 1916; any proportionate part of a day to be paid a proportionate part of the advances herein provided.

"k. The employes of stripping contractors, paid by the day, working on the basis of a nine-hour or ten-hour shift, shall be paid the same increase per hour for each hour worked that is provided for outside company men working on an eight-hour basis.

"It is understood and agreed that except as herein provided all of the covenants and conditions of the agreement of May 5, 1916, shall remain in full force and effect.

"And it is further understood and agreed that this contract will become effective only on condition that the selling price of coal shall be advanced by the United States Government sufficient to cover the increased cost of production, and will not take effect until the first day of the pay period following the order granting such increased price.

"Subject to the foregoing provision, the contract will remain in effect during the period of the war, or until March 31, 1920, in case the war is not terminated before that date."

FEDERAL FUEL ADMINISTRATION.

President Wilson, by virtue of the power conferred upon him under the act of Congress, August 10, 1917, entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," particularly for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of said act relating to fuel, appointed Dr. H. A. Garfield as United States Fuel Administrator. The powers of the Fuel Administrator are very broad, and during the period of the war he has the authority to exercise general supervision over the coal industry of the country. I may say that Dr. Garfield has endeavored to deal fairly with our people and is to be commended for the fair position he took upon the wage question after

the miners and operators entered into an agreement at Washington. It has been our pleasure to co-operate with him fully and to do everything within our power to make his administration a success.

CAMPAIGNS IN UNORGANIZED FIELDS.

It gives me pleasure to report that successful organizing campaigns were conducted in several important non-union fields during the past year. We succeeded in effecting satisfactory wage agreements in eastern Kentucky, Tennessee, Colorado, Maryland, the Allegheny Valley of Pennsylvania and portions of West Virginia. We also waged a vigorous campaign in Alabama, and have greatly increased our membership in that state. Recently the Federal Fuel Administrator recommended a plan of accommodation to meet the exigencies of the situation existing in that field. We confidently predict that as a result of our efforts in Alabama we will be able to establish a permanent organization in that state.

The strike in the Hopkins County field of Kentucky was not a success because less than 25 per cent. of the total number of men employed in this field failed to respond to the strike order. However, I am pleased to report that the non-union operators in this field, as a result of our campaign, were forced to grant several increases in wages in order to prevent the success of our efforts.

The International Executive Board in the early part of last year decided to take over and administer the affairs of the organization in the partially organized and non-supporting districts. It became necessary, in line with this policy, to suspend the autonomy of our non-supporting districts in order to more successfully carry on our organizing work. In the past dual authority seriously interfered with the success of our efforts. The result in the above mentioned districts fully justifies the action of the Board in this respect. We intend to carry on these campaigns of education and organization until every coal field in the country is thoroughly organized, and we trust the day will soon arrive when industrial democracy will be established and made secure in every mining field in the nation.

LITIGATION.

THE CASE OF THE CORONADO COAL COMPANY AND OTHERS
AGAINST THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

This action was brought by nine independent corporations for whom a receiver was appointed in the Federal Court at Ft. Smith, Arkansas, July 25, 1914. The complaint was filed in the names of the nine companies and their receivers. The defendants named were the United Mine Workers of America, District 21 of the United Mine Workers of America, 25 local unions and certain individuals. The complaint charged that the United Mine Workers of America had since 1898 been engaged in a gigantic conspiracy with union operators to interfere with the production and commerce of the non-union mined coal by the method of strikes and through the violence which it was alleged always accompanies strikes, and it was further alleged that the plaintiff's property was destroyed in pursuance of this conspiracy.

A demurrer was sustained to this complaint in 1915 by Judge Yeomans of the District Court at Ft. Smith, but on appeal the Circuit Court of Appeals held the complaint good and remanded it for trial. It was in this opinion that the Circuit Court of Appeals took the revolutionary position that a labor union, though an unincorporated society, could be sued in its union name, while admitting that they could find no precedent for such ruling.

Upon the trial before Judge Elliott, who was assigned to try the case, the plaintiffs introduced in evidence extracts from the debates of the joint conferences in the Central Competitive Field containing references by many of the operators to the competition of the West Virginia coal. These statements became the basis of the plaintiff's argument that there was an understanding, or agreement, between the union and the union operators to interfere by unlawful methods with the production and commerce of non-union coal. The attorneys for the union showed by the reports of these proceedings that they were held for the specific purpose of negotiating wage scales, that the debates were simply arguments for and against the miners' demands, that the arguments of the operators were in each instance sharply contested by the miners, that the representatives of the miners in these conferences acted under a limited authority to simply negotiate a wage scale, which was fixed by the miners' annual conferences, and that any agreement entered into was required

to be referred to the membership of the union. In each instance the actual agreement made at the conference was introduced in evidence, and among the witnesses who denied that any agreement or understanding existed between the operators and miners to interfere with the production of non-union coal were John P. White, William Green, Francis Feehan, W. D. Ryan and E. C. McCullough, among the present and past officials of the union, and many operators, including Colonel Taylor, who has been connected with the interstate movement since 1898; Mr. Jenkins of St. Louis, and Mr. Traer of Chicago. These witnesses testified they had never heard of such a conspiracy between the members of the union or between them and the union operators. The last named gentleman, though called by the plaintiffs, vehemently testified that he had never heard of such a conspiracy, and the plaintiffs introduced no other witnesses upon this point.

There was much evidence introduced by the defendants to show that the plaintiffs' property was destroyed in a community revolt against the outrages of the gunmen stationed on the plaintiffs' property; that for three months these thugs insulted women, stopped and arrested travelers on the highways, made adjacent farms target grounds for reckless shooting and finally shot up the little village of Frogtown and drove its women and children in their night clothes across the hills to the town of Hartford. This was on July 12, 1914, and in five days the battle took place in which these gunmen were run out and the plaintiffs' property destroyed. In all events, there was nothing to show that the controversy between the plaintiffs and the miners of Hartford valley was more than a local one, except the far-fetched inference that it must have grown out of a gigantic conspiracy to interfere with the production and commerce of non-union coal. It was shown by the Constitution of the United Mine Workers of America that this strike was outside the jurisdiction of the International Organization and that the International Organization, its officers and Executive Board had nothing whatever to do with it. This was also testified to by President White and Secretary Green of the International Organization and by Dalrymple and McLaughlin of the district organization. However, the court seemed impressed with the theory of a general conspiracy permeating the entire membership of the union to interfere with and destroy production and commerce of non-union coal. He seized on the provision of the Constitution which authorizes strikes among other methods for accomplishing the purpose of a labor union,

declared that the Constitution reserved the practical control of all strikes to the officials of the International Organization and by giving them this power and the power to revoke charters and expel members necessarily imposed on the national organization and its officials the duty of controlling all strikes and the responsibility of answering in damages for any violence that may attend any strike, however local.

After the jury was out some forty-eight hours they were called before the court and informed by the judge that he considered a conspiracy had been established on the part of the International Organization and the jury was substantially instructed to return a verdict for the plaintiffs. A verdict of \$200,000 was then returned by the jury, which, under the terms of the Sherman anti-trust act, authorizes a judgment for triple the amount, or \$600,000, together with plaintiffs' attorney fees and costs. Arrangements are being made for an appeal.

There are many questions of importance involved in this litigation, of importance not only to the United Mine Workers of America, but to every trade union of the country. If trade unions are to be set apart from the ordinary rules which govern unincorporated societies and be subject to suits in their union names, the law for this distinction should be declared by the highest court in the land. If this rule prevails there is no reason why suits at law may not be instituted against political parties. If the policy of the Mine Workers in organizing the unorganized mine labor of the country subjects it to a charge of conspiracy in violation of the Sherman act, then every nation-wide labor union is an illegal combination, and the effort to convert non-union production to production under union conditions is necessarily a criminal interference with trade and commerce. Again, if it be the law that every member of a trade union shall be held responsible for the violence that shall occur in a local strike, however far removed from him, and however little he may have participated in it, or ratified the same, then this decision ought to be made by the Supreme Court of the United States with the distinct understanding that they are thus putting a knife in the vitals of trade unionism.

It was not claimed or contended by the plaintiffs that the entire 400,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America had knowledge of this trouble at Prairie Creek, Ark., or that they had, after its occurrence, ratified any wrongful conduct there. Indeed, the property was destroyed July 17, 1914, and within six weeks the suit was begun. In the meantime there was no annual conference of the miners, no meeting of its

Executive Board and no suggestion that information of this trouble had in any way been brought to the collective membership. To sue the collective membership of a nation-wide trade union and hold its entire membership liable because violence may attend a local strike or lockout, is an extraordinary extension, even of the rule laid down in the *Danbury Hatters'* case, for in that case—*Loewe vs. Lawlor*, 235 U. S. 522—the court said:

“The court (meaning the district court) instructed the jury that if these members paid their dues and continued to delegate authority to their officers unlawfully to interfere with plaintiffs' interstate commerce under such circumstances as that they knew, or ought to have known, and such officers were warranted in the belief that they were acting in the matter within their delegated authority, then such members were jointly liable, and none others.”

I believe the delegates to this convention will realize the importance of this particular case; which affects the very life of our movement. If this judgment is sustained by the Supreme Court, then the efforts of our union to extend its beneficent influence into the unorganized fields of the country will fail of success. In this connection I want to inform you that we are appealing this case to the Supreme Court of the United States. We have ninety days' grace in which to file this appeal. We are called upon to furnish a bond of approximately \$800,000 in order to secure an appeal to the higher court, and we are informed by reliable bonding companies that we must furnish collateral for this bond. As you know, our treasury will not permit us to furnish any such amount. Unless we furnish this bond, or unless some court action can be taken to permit us to appeal without furnishing this enormous bond, judgment by order of court can be executed against us on March 1, 1918. In other words, the funds of our organization, international, district and local, can be levied upon by those who secured judgment in this particular case. You can well realize what sort of a situation this would create. We must, in this convention, act wisely and promptly in dealing with this particular issue.

THE HITCHMAN COAL COMPANY CASE.

Since the trial of the *Bache-Denman* suit mentioned above, our union and the whole organized labor movement has received a more serious blow from the Federal judiciary—more serious because the

question involved is more fundamentally important and because the decision itself has been handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States. This was the decision in the case of the Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. against John Mitchell et al., on an appeal taken from an injunction issued by Judge Dayton for the Northern District of West Virginia, January 18, 1913. This injunction was granted by the district judge to prevent the organizers of the union from soliciting employees of the Hitchman Coal Co. to become members of the union, the judge justifying his decision on the old English common law that labor unions are illegal. Upon appeal the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed this decree, but a further appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. On December 10, six judges of that court sustained the injunction in an opinion that was delivered by Justice Pitney. According to this opinion the conclusion of Judge Dayton that labor unions were illegal was not sustained; but a more ingenious and hardly less disastrous blow was struck at the organized labor movement. The coal company in this case was operating a closed non-union mine, employing men with the understanding that they could not join the United Mine Workers of America and remain in their employ. While such employment was recognized as "at will" and terminable at any time, the majority of the court held that it established a relationship of pecuniary value to the company and that the company was entitled to an injunction against our representatives, who sought, by methods wholly peaceable, to interrupt that relation by persuading the miners there to join the union. A vigorous dissenting opinion was filed by Justice Brandeis, with Justice Holmes and Justice Clark concurring, and the following quotation from the dissenting opinion will show clearly the line upon which the court divided:

"To induce third persons to leave an employment is actionable if done maliciously and without justifiable cause, although such persons are free to leave at their own will. It is equally actionable so to induce others not to enter the service. The individual contracts of plaintiff with its employes added nothing to its right in this connection, since the employment was terminable at will.

"As persuasion, considered merely as a means, is clearly legal, defendants were within their rights if, and only if, their interference with the relation of plaintiff to its employes was for justi-

liable cause. The purpose of interfering was confessedly in order to strengthen the union, in the belief that thereby the condition of workmen engaged in mining would be improved; the bargaining power of the individual workingman was to be strengthened by collective bargaining; and collective bargaining was to be ensured by obtaining the union agreement. It should not, at this day, be doubted that to induce workingmen to leave or not to enter an employment in order to advance such a purpose, is justifiable when the workmen are not bound by contract to remain in such employment."

It requires no explanation to show you the far-reaching consequences of this decision. Nor will its evil effects be limited to our organization. It involves a menace to the normal and heretofore legitimate activities of every labor union in the country. Under the law thus laid down it will be only necessary for every non-union employer to employ his men with the understanding that they are not to become a member of the brotherhood to which their craft belongs. Being employed under such conditions they cannot be approached, however peaceably, by the organizers of their craft, for a Federal injunction will restrain such effort at the suit of the employer on the ground that it is an unlawful attempt to destroy a pecuniary interest he has secured in his employees.

In the present national crisis such attacks on the labor movement are apt to be unnoticed or poorly understood, not only by the public generally, but by those interested in trade unions. But the facts of these decisions and of their far-reaching consequences must not be ignored by us. The great labor unions of this country have rallied magnificently to the support of the government, and none more so than the United Mine Workers of America. We have a right to believe that it was the splendid organization of the mine labor and the patriotism of our members that have enabled the government to meet as successfully as it has the crisis in coal production. Decisions of this character are calculated, if not designed, to destroy our organization and return coal mining conditions to the chaotic state that once prevailed; and we have the right in the name of our patriotic service to the country as well as our own economic welfare to protest against these revolutionary decisions and to insist if this be the law of the courts that it shall be corrected by legislation.

2—M. Pro.

In this crisis the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and other Federal statutes are set aside to permit the formation of exporting trusts and similar pools, some of it by administrative action and some by express congressional laws. It seems, however, to be declared an open season by the Federal judiciary for hunting labor unions; and this convention should not adjourn without taking some decisive steps for laying before Congress the situation raised by these two decisions and of securing legislative assurance against their repetition.

In connection with the Hitchman Coal Company case, I want to inform you of a recent development growing out of the same. We are informed by the attorney who represented us in this case, Mr. C. E. Hogg, of West Virginia, that there has just been served upon him notice of motion to show cause why a rule should not issue against your International President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, the officials of District 6 and other members of our organization, to show cause why we should not be in contempt of the Supreme Court of the United States and punished therefor for an alleged violation of the injunction awarded in the case of the Hitchman Coal Company.

Our attorney informs us that he has sixty days in which to file answer to this charge. This is a very serious matter and one that should command the best thought of this convention. In view of the importance of the litigation I have referred to in this report, I recommend that the convention refer this entire matter to a special committee for the purpose of formulating a policy to meet the issues presented in these particular cases.

INCREASE IN PER CAPITA TAX.

It has long been evident to close observers of the International organization that an increase in the per capita tax must be provided if the membership expects the organization of the non-union fields of the country. It is a financial impossibility to conduct our International organization on the small revenue of 25 cents per member per month, and with this small amount finance campaigns in the non-union fields and defend our interests in the courts, where we are so often attacked. For example, in the strike we conducted in Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, we were called upon to pay out for relief purposes the amount of \$30,000 per week. Our revenue from per capita tax, and this is the only income we receive, is less than \$25,000 per week. Out

of this sum we are called upon to pay the running expenses of our organization, calling for many thousands of dollars per week, finance weak and partially organized districts, and also to take care of the campaigns in various non-union districts in which we are endeavoring to extend the organization. As you no doubt know, for the past several years we have been waging vigorous campaigns in the non-union fields of the country, with the result that we have practically depleted our treasury. If your International officials neglected their duty and left these fields alone, we would now have hundreds of thousands of dollars in the treasury. However, we believed it to be our duty and the desire of our people, as expressed by resolutions in our various International conventions, that we make every endeavor to organize the entire coal industry of the country, so that better wages, better working conditions and a larger degree of freedom and justice might come to all the members of our craft in every coal mining community in the United States and Canada. In my opinion, the time is past when the International organization, the parent body, must stand in the position of a supplicant, in the attitude of a beggar asking for alms, because of the small per capita tax we receive from our membership. In order to finance organizing campaigns, as well as protect our membership in the well organized fields, time and again we have been forced to borrow from the district organizations that maintained defense funds. This position has proved exceedingly embarrassing and has weakened, in large degree, the strength and influence of your International organization. We cannot expect the best results from an institution that is cheaply financed and must perforce beg assistance when it engages in struggles to protect and safeguard the rights of the miners of the country. I also want to call your attention to the fact that when this war is over we want to be in position to defend our interests. We cannot do this with a depleted treasury, and now is the time to build for the future. Our organization, as you know, is the largest trade union in America, and occupies one of the most important places in America's industrial life. In other words, it is the leader of trade unionism in this country, and, in view of this fact, it is time that it should be placed on a more solid financial basis. I dare say that the per capita tax paid to the International organization by our membership is the smallest amount paid by the members of any other large international union. I sincerely trust that the delegates

to this convention will approve of the ideas here presented, and will instruct the Constitution Committee to increase the per capita tax sufficiently to meet the needs of the organization.

For your information I am herewith giving you the following table of figures showing the per capita tax paid by members of other international unions:

Name of Union.	Amount of Per Capita.
Bakery & Confectionery Workers...	\$1.25 per month.
Barbers .....	.75 per month minimum dues.
.....	.75 per month.
Boiler Makers & Iron Ship Builders	1.25 per month for full members.
	.75 per month for helpers.
International Union of Brewery Workers .....	.75 per month.
Brick, Tile & Terra Cotta Workers Alliance .....	.50 per month.
Carpenters .....	.75 per month.
Union Carriage, Automobile Workers.. of Railway Clerks...	.50 per month.
.....	.60 per month.
.....	1.00 per month minimum dues.
Elevator Constructors .....	.50 per month.
I Union of Steam & Engineers .....	.50 per month.
Union.....	.70 per month.
Brotherhood Firemen	.50 per month.
International of	
Foundry Employees .....	.50 per month.
United Garment Workers.....	.50 per month for males.
	.40 per month for females.
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	.50 per month.
American Flint Glass Workers Union .....	.50 per month.
Granite Cutters International Union	1.00 per month.
United Cloth, Cap & Hat Makers..	.45 per month for males.
	.30 per month for females.
International Association of Machinists .....	.50 per month.

Name of Union.	Amount of Per Capita.
Molders' Union .....	.90 per month.
Painters and Decorators.....	.30 per month.
Paving Cutters' Union of the U. S.	.50 per month.
United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.....	1.30 per month.
Metal Polishers .....	.70 per month.
Operative Potters .....	.50 per month.
Powder and High Explosive Workers .....	.30 per month.
Pressmen's Union .....	.65 per month.
Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.	1.00 per month.
Stereotypers .....	.50 per month.
Stonecutters .....	.50 per month.
Stove Mounters .....	.50 per month.
Tailors .....	.65 per month.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors..	.50 per month.
Typographical .....	.50 per month.
Shingle Weavers .....	.50 per month.
Wire Weavers	1.00 per month.

INCREASE IN SALARIES OF OFFICERS AND EMPLOYES OF ORGANIZATION.

I wish to call your attention to the fact that after the second supplemental wage advance secured by our membership the International Executive Board, at a meeting held in October, decided that it was but fair that the officers and employes of the organization should receive a wage advance approximate to that received by their constituents. The Board, therefore, advanced the salaries of the board members and field workers on a percentage basis equal to that received by the membership, with the exception of the resident officials, who received a smaller advance on a percentage basis on account of their salaries being higher than the board members and field workers. This action was taken by the Board subject to the approval of the convention.

EMPLOYMENT OF FORMER PRESIDENT WHITE.

Our former President, John P. White, was appointed by Dr. Garfield as his labor adviser, and, as you know, resigned his position to devote his time to this important work. I need not say that in this position

he can render great service to our people. His efforts in this direction have already been of great value to our membership, and our rights have been fully protected at Washington because of his service in this particular capacity. For your information I wish to say that the Federal Government pays no salary to those who act in an advisory capacity. Your International Executive Board considered this phase of the matter very carefully and decided to continue former President White in the employ of the organization and to pay him the same salary as that received by your President. Former President White takes this position subject to your approval and has no desire to continue in this capacity unless it is the earnest wish of the delegates to this convention that he do so.

HOME FOR AGED MINE WORKERS.

I am pleased to direct the attention of the delegates to the fact that at the last biennial convention the following resolution on the advisability of maintaining a home for aged miners was adopted:

“Resolved, That the International President be empowered to appoint from our membership a committee of three members who shall be authorized to investigate and report to the next International convention the advisability and possible cost to our International Union of erecting and maintaining a suitable Home wherein to care for our aged, infirm and decrepit members.”

This committee made a very extensive investigation and has submitted an exhaustive report upon this all-important subject. The committee makes a recommendation upon this matter, providing for a pension fund, instead of the maintenance of a Home, and they also provide, in their report, how the revenue for pensions shall be collected, and I invite your most thoughtful consideration to the plan they submit.

OUR POSITION IN THE WAR.

Our position in the war should be one of unswerving loyalty and devotion to the aims and purposes of our country. There must be no half-way allegiance on the part of the coal miners in giving the best that is in them for the preservation of the ideals and principles of a democratic people—for the preservation of those concepts of life and labor upon which our great movement is founded. So much depends upon coal in these trying times. Permit me to emphasize the fact that without an

uninterrupted coal supply, without the maximum effort on our part, the efforts of those battling in the trenches will be without avail. Our ships cannot sail, our railroads cannot operate, our munition plants must close down, if the coal miner fails to play his part. Shall we be found wanting in the present emergency? Shall we ignore the call of our homeland, of liberty-loving France, of outraged and devastated Belgium, of heroic Britain and Italy, of starving Roumania and Servia? There can be but one answer by free men, and let us in this convention firmly resolve that every atom of energy we can contribute to the winning of the war will be given gladly, freely, and in the same loyal spirit as those who go out to give their lives, if need be, for the peace, freedom and security of the civilized world. Let there be no mistake about this war and its relation to the great humanitarian movement in which we are engaged. It must be evident to every close observer that the triumph of the central powers means the menace of militarism throughout the ages—means a world in turmoil and agony for centuries to come. What chance would labor have against the edicts and pronunciamientos of military autocracy? What chance for the forces of evolution against this fearsome, frightful, murderous machine? A philosophy based upon the right of a few to rule and conquer should find no place in the minds of liberty-loving men. It was to escape the tyranny of this military madness that millions of Germans emigrated to our fair land. It is a matter of particular pride that approximately 20,000 members of our organization have enlisted in the military forces of our nation. Our hearts go with them across the sea, and we know that these heroes of ours, who have faced the perils of the mines year in and year out, risking their lives in the production of coal, will not be found wanting when they face the foreign foe. While we are earnestly desirous of peace, we recognize that it is unattainable as long as the German emperor and his cohorts seek to dominate and force upon the world the creed that "might makes right," and that the power of the sword shall decide all issues that may arise between the nations of the world.

From the beginning of the war we have pledged our loyal and enthusiastic support to our government. The International Executive Board has exonerated from the payment of dues all members who enlist in the service of the country. We have a big part to play in this war. Let us ever remember that the coal miner is as necessary as the soldier

in this great battle for universal liberalism. Permit me to quote the language of President Wilson, which I think is very apropos:

"To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does; the work of the world waits on him. If he slacks or fails armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great service army."

Let us, in this convention, go on record in no uncertain terms, strongly pledging ourselves and our great organization to the high purposes of our nation.

NATURALIZATION OF MEMBERS.

I have long held the idea that something should be done by our organization to assist our foreign-born members to become citizens of our country, and I think the time is peculiarly appropriate for us to take some action upon this important matter. It is a well-known fact that a large per cent. of our membership are not citizens of this country. I believe this is due to the fact that no aid or encouragement is given by our organization to our foreign-born members to induce them to take out their citizenship papers. I feel that those who enjoy the privileges and opportunities of America should become full-fledged citizens of our country. In line with this thought I recommend that we incorporate in the Order of Business of every local union the following language: "Are there any members present who desire to become citizens of the United States?" And further, that each local union appoint a committee of three, to be known as the Committee on Naturalization, whose duty it shall be to assist our foreign-born members to obtain information concerning our naturalization laws, and that this committee lend every assistance possible to these members and encourage and aid them to become citizens of the United States.

CONCLUSION.

This will, no doubt, be the most important convention in the history of our organization. This is the first convention held since our country's entrance into the war, and there are many questions growing out of the war that this delegate body will be called upon to decide. We can well feel proud of the progress our organization has made. As can be seen by the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, we have added many thousands

of members to our union during the past two years. We have, as you know, established universal mine run, extended the principle of the eight-hour work day practically throughout our entire jurisdiction, and have secured three substantial wage advances since our last biennial convention. I trust, in the legislation we enact, we shall measure up to the high opinion the American public has always entertained toward our organization.

To my associate officers, the board members and field workers, I tender my deep appreciation for the support and co-operation they have so generously given me in all the various activities of my office. I feel sure this convention appreciates the great responsibilities devolving upon it, and I express the hope that good will and harmony will prevail among all the delegates here assembled.

I now ask your earnest co-operation in the conduct of the affairs of this great and important convention.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK J. HAYES,

President.

REPORT OF VICE-PRESIDENT JOHN L. LEWIS.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America—
Greeting:

In conforming to the mandate which necessitates a report from the Vice-President I am conscious of the fact that but a brief time has elapsed since the retirement of former President White and my subsequent selection to fill the important office of Vice-President. However, during the past two-year period I have been continuously engaged in work for the International organization and at the time of my appointment to the vice-presidency was serving as Statistician and Business Manager of the Journal.

A great deal of my time has been devoted to field work wherein I have rendered assistance in the general campaign of organization in the non-union fields. I have attended all the interstate and many of the district wage conferences, as well as frequent and extended governmental conferences, and have addressed many meetings in different parts of our great jurisdiction. A detailed chronological report on these mat-

ters would be burdensome indeed to you and serve no particular necessity. Accordingly, I shall content myself with comment on some few matters which I feel to be of interest and importance to our membership.

WAGE INCREASES.

Since and beginning with the year 1912 the United Mine Workers have secured wage advances for the period ranging from 30 per cent. to 104 per cent. on different classifications of labor. Our union has been successful in securing wages that rightfully place the earning power of the mine workers on a par with the other stable unions comprising the American labor movement. The establishment of universal mine run, the eight-hour day for anthracite mine workers, the reopening on two occasions of our wage agreement during the life of the present contract and the resulting substantial increases from the special conferences held are achievements which firmly establish the prestige and strength of the United Mine Workers of America. In no two-year period in the history of our organization has equal progress been accomplished; in fact, the success won by the mine workers served as an inspiration to the members of other international trade unions and they pointed out to their employers our successes as reasons why their membership should receive increased wages and better conditions of employment.

It is argued by some that the opening of a wage agreement and the increasing of wages during the term of a contract is a policy fraught with grave danger. They reason that if an agreement can be opened to secure an increase that the precedent thereby established is in reality an invitation to the coal operators to demand a lowering of wage schedules in periods of depression in the coal industry.

I am firmly convinced that such opinions are mistaken ones. If we maintain our strong union in the future as we have in the past (and I am confident we will), and continue to prosecute strong organizing campaigns in the unorganized coal fields, I feel sure there is no power strong enough to dislodge our institution from the achievements we have won or to compel our members to labor under conditions which are worse than those of the present day.

We must oppose sternly a return to the demoralized competitive conditions previously existing in the industry. By every reason of right coal should bring a market price sufficient to enable the producer to make

a fair profit and pay the miners wages commensurate with the highest wages paid in any other industry. Likewise the conditions of employment must continually improve, and regardless of the cost the mines of this country must be made more sanitary and safer for life and limb. Too long our members have suffered under the cut-throat competitive conditions of a stagnated and disorganized coal industry. To prevent, when the industrial life of the nation is restored to normal, the return of the deplorable situation existing prior to 1916 is the present and continuous work confronting our union.

ORGANIZATION OF NON-UNION FIELDS.

It is my unalterable conviction that there should be no cessation of the great work of organizing the non-union fields. It is indeed imperative that effort, greater than ever before, be put forth. As our union waxes in power and influence so should the continuous pressure upon these fields become more and more powerful. It is a startling commentary upon present-day conditions that in certain sections of our country, the non-union coal operator still rules in his mountain fastnesses, like the feudal overlords of old with but a brutal concept of human rights which violates every moral consideration and ruthlessly throttles the ideals of democracy.

Remarkable progress in organizing work has been made during the past biennial period. Thousands of mine workers in these territories now enjoy the blessings of our union, but scores of thousands are yet denied that privilege and the work of organizing must go on and on, regardless of cost and effort, until their freedom is assured and these citadels of oppression fall.

The difficult task of our corps of organizers in carrying on their great work under the most distressing conditions is not fully appreciated or comprehended by the majority of our members. Laboring in isolated communities where they are often denied even food and shelter; handicapped and persecuted by the almost satanic ingenuity of the shameless agents of the non-union coal operators; insulted, abused, beaten and offered every personal indignity by murderous mine guards, their lot is far from being an easy one. Long absences from home in the field deprive them of the joys and comforts of family life. Only the greatest loyalty to our cause and our union makes it possible for men to serve

under these conditions. To our organizers we owe a debt of gratitude and a high place on the roll of honor.

The seeds of hope and ambition constantly being planted by these ardent advocates of justice and freedom are daily taking root. Thousands of men now working in peace and happiness in union fields owe their first inspiration to secret conferences held in the darkness of the night with our intrepid organizers.

I am hereinafter rendering a report bearing on matters of statistical importance, which I feel is due because of my service as Statistician, which position was vacated by me when I was selected as Vice-President.

While as previously set forth, most of my time has been spent in field work, yet I have found time to compile the data used in our numerous wage conferences and have taken advantage of such opportunity as was afforded me to prepare a report for this convention in conformity with the constitution. Likewise I am rendering a full account of my stewardship as Manager of the United Mine Workers' Journal.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN L. LEWIS,
Vice-President.

MINERS IN SERVICE.

The United Mine Workers have just cause to feel proud of the unbounded patriotism proved by the enlistment of 19,135 members in the nation's service and 60,604 subject to draft.

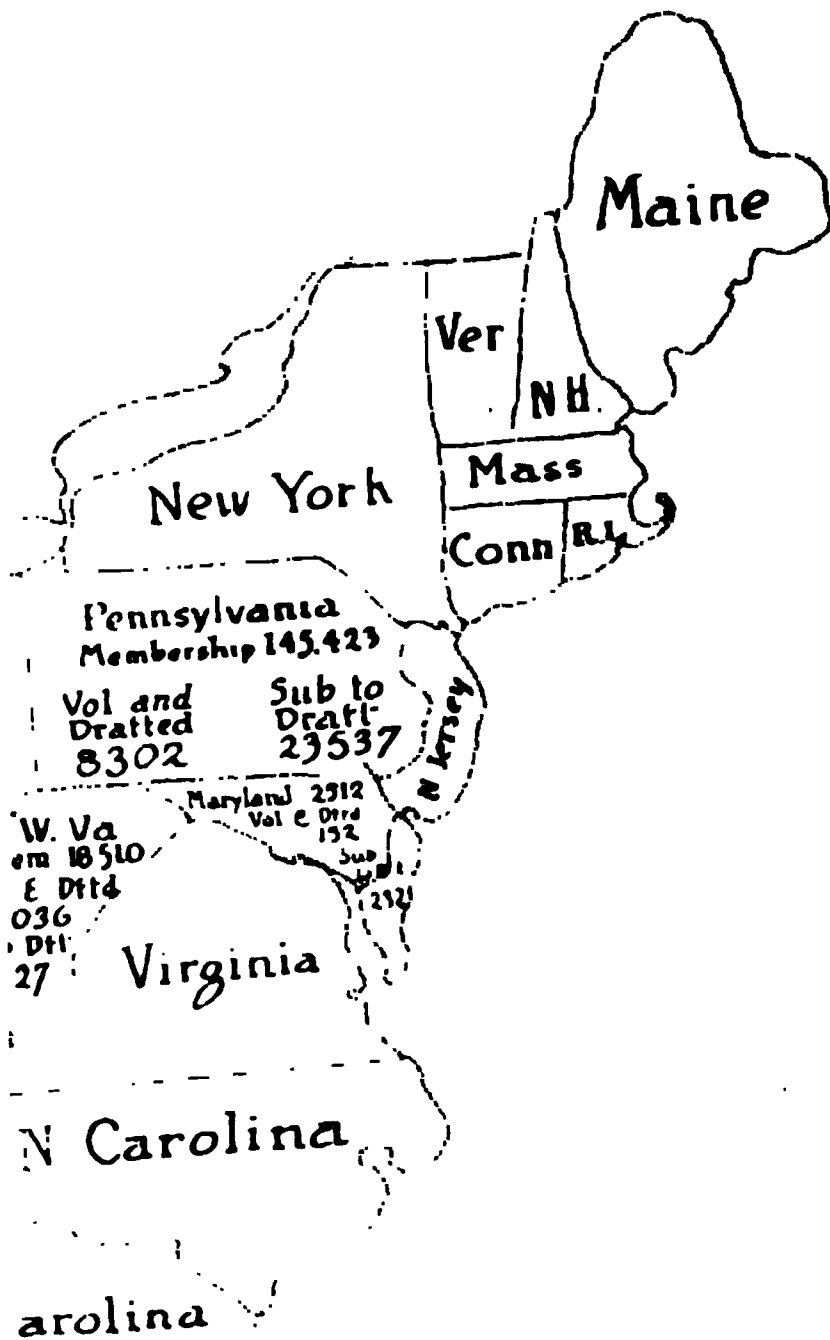
The largest number of men in service of any organization or industry is our proud boast.

From the reports received from 544 locals, the transportation system seems to have been the only branch of mine service in which a shortage of men could be claimed, and such claims were limited to a comparatively few localities.

In many localities reports indicated crowded conditions in the mines notwithstanding a liberal response to the government's call for men.

Many of the returns came in too late to be included in the tabulation, but in every instance the basic averages upon which the grand total found was predicated proved to be substantially correct.

TO DRAFT BY STATES



Florida

Other international unions are conducting investigations to ascertain just how many and what percentage of their membership have volunteered, have been drafted and are subject to draft, and no doubt when all have finished gathering this information a joint arrangement will provide for the publication of Labor's part and patriotism in the war.

A table and illustrated map showing the number volunteered, drafted and subject to draft, by districts and states, will be found embodied in this report.

Pennsylvania, with five districts, leads in furnishing men in about the same ratio that she leads in coal production, with a total volunteered and drafted of 8,302 and subject to draft, 23,537. Illinois is second with 3,269 volunteered and drafted and 13,863 subject to draft.

The following table lists the number by states:

State.	Membership.	Volunteered and drafted.	Subject to draft.
Alabama	5,885	253	1,083
Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas...	14,632	576	2,086
Colorado and New Mexico.....	5,213	328	608
Illinois	87,189	3,269	13,863
Indiana	24,649	788	3,471
Iowa	13,288	460	671
Kansas	9,231	392	1,707
Western Kentucky	4,446	104	742
Maryland	2,512	152	232
Michigan	2,005	34	322
Missouri	7,945	373	636
Montana	3,971	176	664
Ohio	40,553	1,561	7,129
Pennsylvania	145,423	8,302	23,537
Tennessee and Eastern Kentucky..	12,322	702	1,910
Washington	5,591	269	985
West Virginia	18,510	1,036	3,527
Wyoming	6,949	360	1,431
Total	410,314	19,135	64,604

CAR SHORTAGES.

From the results shown by the table opposite there can be no question but what the members of the United Mine Workers would have produced in excess of 50,000,000 additional tons of coal during 1917 had the railroads provided an adequate car supply. The railroads giving as a reason financial stress permitted coal car equipment to deteriorate; consequently when the demand for coal reached abnormal proportions what had been pointed out by close observers happened—there was an insufficient car supply to meet the demand. The miners were blamed for taking the usual holidays and even for not working in cases of explosions by many who felt the coal shortage and who hastily placed the blame, without investigation, upon the mine workers.

The following comparative results of the car shortage reported by the local unions responding to the car shortage questionnaire is proof positive that the blame for the present coal famine rests squarely upon the railroads.

OHIO—Out of a membership of 40,553, embraced in 450 local unions, 53 locals reported, with 6,593 members, loss of time due to car shortages the equivalent of 1,521,588 tons.

ILLINOIS—Out of a membership of 87,189, embraced in 307 local unions, 38 locals, with 12,137 members, reported loss of time due to car shortages the equivalent of 2,314,273 tons.

PENNSYLVANIA (bituminous)—Out of a membership of 79,982, embraced in 422 local unions, 44 locals, with a membership of 8,762, reported loss of time due to car shortages the equivalent of 1,228,608 tons.

INDIANA—Out of a membership of 24,649, embraced in 202 local unions, 29 locals, with a membership of 4,627, reported loss of time due to car shortages the equivalent of 1,123,315 tons.

By figuring the basic averages for all union coal fields for reported loss of production due to car shortages it is estimated that the per capita producing power of the 410,000 union miners was reduced approximately 82.7 tons per man employed, aggregating a total loss of 36,760,715 tons.

TABLE SHOW SUBJECT TO DRAFT.

The following table, and the averages found applied to the U. S. O to draft 64,604. The figures in this report are for the

Membership of drafted, volunteered and subject to draft, but are not 22 in both estimate and table, as the strike has been paying dues. The Canadian membership of 4,969 is not

District	STATE	Per cent of reported membership subject to draft	Number believed to have volunteered and been drafted of total membership based on average membership reporting	Number believed to be subject to draft of total membership based on average of membership reporting
1.	Pennsylvania	5.84	1,598	4,364
2.	Pennsylvania	8.57	2,930	8,371
5.	Pennsylvania	7.90	2,094	6,247
6.	Ohio	7.58	1,561	7,129
7.	Pennsylvania			
8.	Indiana			
11.	Indiana	4.08	788	3,471
9.	Pennsylvania	9.	1,040	2,213
10.	Washington			
12.	Illinois	5.9	3,269	13,863
13.	Iowa	5.05	460	671
14.	Kansas	8.50	392	1,707
15.	Colorado	1.67	328	608
16.	Maryland	9.24	152	232
17.	West Virginia	7.70	695	2,471
18.	British Columbia			
19.	Tennessee & E.	5.05	702	1,910
20.	Alabama	8.40	253	1,083
21.	Okla., Ark., Tex	4.26	576	2,086
22.	Wyoming	2.06	360	1,431
23.	West. Kentucky	6.70	104	742
24.	Michigan	6.10	34	322
25.	Missouri	8.	373	636
26.	Nova Scotia			
27.	Montana	6.73	176	664
28.	Vancouver Island			
29.	West Virginia	23.17	341	1,056
		7.62	18,226	61,277

The U. S. Geological coal industry in the United States, as against 734,008 in 1915, a

Districts 8 and 11,

District 7 (anthracite)

In arriving at the reported in each district, as they had already left for training ordered, the total volunteered and drafted already in the service were

If the draft has opened and drafted totals 33,525. The number subject to draft totals 115 reported by the Geological Survey.

Many blanks were indicated that the basic averages upon which this report is tabulated

In the anthracite region

Officials of the mine that a good percentage are eligible under Canada's recently enacted

COAL PRODUCTION IN 1917.

Figures furnished by the Geological Survey, subject to revision, estimate the bituminous coal production of 1917 to be approximately 544,142,000 tons, which represents an increase over 1916 of $8 \frac{3}{10}$ per cent., or practically 42,000,000 tons.

The 1917 coal production steadily exceeded that of 1916 as reported by weeks from February 15 until October 13, when congested traffic caused the car shortage to reach its maximum.

From October 27 to November 10, the comparative production was about equal to that of 1916. From November 10 to December 8, 1917, coal production showed a slight increase, but another drop occurred which reached the low point the week ending December 15, when the average production per day reached the low figure of approximately 1,400,000 tons, as against the high peak of production in the week ending December 14 and the week ending November 10, when approximately 1,900,000 tons of coal were produced per work day.

ANTHRACITE.

Anthracite coal production for the year was estimated at approximately 80,000,000 tons. The Anthracite Bureau of Information, maintained by the anthracite operators, estimated an increased production of 61,000 tons during October, with a shortage of 25,000 miners. This feat, and the fact that during the Christmas week period the bituminous mines showed an average production every work day of 1,793,000 tons, establish beyond doubt the loyalty of the mine workers, who were willing to sacrifice their usual holidays to stimulate and increase per capita production to meet the nation's coal requirements.

MINE FATALITIES DURING 1916 AND 1917.

The Bureau of Mines reported twenty-two mine explosions during 1916 to December 20, 1917, in which five or more men were killed. The total reported killed in the twenty-two accidents was 417. The explosions at the Old Ben, Nemo and Zeigler mines listed in the table opposite are still under investigation and it is possible there may be slight changes in the number of fatalities.

The total number of mine fatalities from all causes from January, 1916, to August, 1917, was 2,904. The following table sub-divides the fatalities by causes:

MINE FATALITIES BY CAUSES, 1916.

Fatalities due to falls of roof and coal.....	1,064
Fatalities due to mine cars and locomotives.....	462
Fatalities due to gas and coal-dust explosions.....	226
Fatalities due to explosives.....	148
Fatalities due to electricity.....	97
<hr/>	
Total	1,997

MINE FATALITIES BY CAUSES, 1917.

Fatalities due to falls of roof and coal, January to August (inclusive), 1917	446
Fatalities due to mine cars and locomotives, January to August (inclusive), 1917	219
Fatalities due to gas and coal-dust explosions, January to August (inclusive), 1917	166
Fatalities due to explosives, January to August (inclusive), 1917...	33
Fatalities due to electricity, January to August (inclusive), 1917...	43
<hr/>	
Total	907

TABLE NOVEMBER, 1917.

Table showing loss of coal production during November 1, 1917, for the United States only. No local unions answered the joint questionnaire to ascertain number of men in military service. The membership of 289 locals, reported an aggregating method of computation was employed: i. e.—250 men lost. Geological Survey's report for 1915 was four tons per man per day.

District No.	STATE
1.	Pennsylvania
2.	Pennsylvania
5.	Pennsylvania
6.	Ohio
7.	Pennsylvania
9.	Pennsylvania
10.	Washington
8-11.	Indiana
12.	Illinois
13.	Iowa
14.	Kansas
15.	Colorado
16.	Maryland
17.	West Virginia
19.	Tennessee
20.	Alabama
21.	Ark., Okla., Tex.
22.	Wyoming
23.	West. Kentucky
24.	Michigan
25.	Missouri
27.	Montana
29.	West Virginia

More than 100 locals of the 544 reporting replied that they had no record of days lost due to car shortages, and in many instances the companies by whom they were employed absolutely refused to give this information from their records. Practically every union reporting in Alabama complained of the companies' attitude in refusing to co-operate.

Therefore, the estimates of the aggregate loss of coal production based on the averages obtained from the information in this table will be far under the actual loss of coal production due to car shortages.

The total membership of the districts reporting in response to the joint questionnaire is 391,431; 103,404 is the total membership of the local unions reporting from these districts.

8,557,883 Tons is the tonnage loss due to car shortages reported, making an average loss per man for the eleven months of 82.7 tons.

This average applied to the 391,431 members of districts reporting would mean a loss of 32,371,344 tons for eleven months; average loss per month 2,797,612, or for twelve months, loss, 35,168,955.

Applied to total membership of the United Mine Workers in the United States, 410,314, means a loss of 33,932,968 tons for the eleven months, or for twelve months, average loss per month, 2,827,747; twelve months' loss, 36,760,715.

If all local unions reporting whose membership had suffered idleness due to car shortages had kept records, there can be no questioning the fact that the loss of coal production due to car shortages would have exceeded 50,000,000 tons during the twelve months' period.

No reports received of Canadian car shortages.

PRINCIPAL COAL MINE DISASTERS

The following table gives a list of coal-mine disasters during 1916 and 1917 in which five or more men were killed:

Date.	Name of Mine.	Location of Mine.	Nature of Accident.	Killed.
1916 Feb. 8.	Lance.	Plymouth, Pa.	Mine explosion	7
1916 Feb. 11.	Jefferson and Clearfield No. 2.	Earnest, Pa.	Mine explosion	27
1916 Feb. 29.	Davis No. 42.	Kempton, W. Va.-Md.	Mine explosion	16
1916 Mar. 9.	Hollenback.	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	Mine explosion	6
1916 Mar. 28.	King.	Kimball, W. Va.	Mine explosion	6
1916 Mar. 30.	Robindale.	Seward, Pa.	Mine explosion	8
1916 Aug. 8.	Woodward.	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	Mine explosion	6
1916 Oct. 19.	Jamison No. 7.	Barrackville, W. Va.	Mine explosion	10
1916 Oct. 22.	Roden.	Marvel, Ala.	Mine explosion	18
1916 Nov. 4.	Bessie.	Palos, Ala.	Mine explosion	30
1916 Dec. 13.	Fidelity No. 9.	Stone City, Kan.	Mine explosion	20
1917 Mar. 13.	Henderson No. 1.	Henderson, Pa.	Mine explosion	14
1917 Apr. 18.	Lynden.	Mason, W. Va.	Lightning exploded powder in powder house	5
1917 Apr. 27.	Hastings.	Hastings, Colo.	Mine explosion	121
1917 June 2.	Rend No. 2.	Herrin, Ill.	Mine explosion	9
1917 Aug. 4.	West Kentucky No. 7.	Clay, Ky.	Mine explosion	62
1917 Oct. 11.	Flat Top Mine.	Flat Top, Ala.	Haulage	4
				417
1917 Nov. 12.	Gowen No. 40, Gowen, Oklahoma			3 killed
1917 Nov. 29.	Old Ben No. 11, Christopher, Illinois			17 killed
1917 Dec. 5.	Zeigler Mine, Zeigler, Illinois			15 to 20 injured
1917 Dec. 15.	Yukon Mine No. 1, Bluefield, W. Va.			17 killed
1917 Dec. 20.	Nemo Mine, Harriman, Tennessee			11 killed

Production, men employed, and number killed in and about the coal mines in the United States during the year ended December 31, 1909

TABLE SHOWING GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP.

October, 1910-October, 1917.

The following table shows the increase in membership by districts for the seven-year period beginning with October, 1910, and ending with October, 1917.

Total increase in membership for the period named, all districts, was 179,246, exclusive of all exonerations. A percentage increase of 75.93.

District 1, Pennsylvania:

October, 1910.....	4,930		
October, 1917.....	27,550		
increase	22,620	Increase	458.82%
:			
October, 1910.....	31,339		
October, 1917.....	45,082		
increase	13,743	Increase	43.85%
:			
October, 1910.....	34,562		
October, 1917.....	34,900		
increase	338	Increase	.97%
:			
October, 1910.....	32,628		
October, 1917.....	40,553		
increase	7,925	Increase	24.29%
:			
October, 1910.....	2,078		
October, 1917.....	13,292		
increase	11,214	Increase	539.65%
:			
October, 1910.....	1,355		
October, 1917.....	1,098		
decrease	257	Decrease	23.4%
:			
October, 1910.....	3,078		
October, 1917.....	24,599		
increase	21,521	Increase	699.18%

District 10, Washington:

October, 1910.....	4,459	
October, 1917.....	5,591	
	<hr/>	
increase	1,132	Increase 25.38%

District 11, Indiana:

October, 1910.....	16,449	
October, 1917.....	23,551	
	<hr/>	
increase	7,102	Increase 43.18%

October, 1910.....	51,718	
October, 1917.....	87,189	
	<hr/>	
increase	35,471	Increase 68.58%

October, 1910.....	17,550	
October, 1917.....	13,288	
	<hr/>	
decrease	4,262	Decrease 24.28%

October, 1910.....	4,152	
October, 1917.....	9,231	
	<hr/>	
increase	5,079	Increase 122.32%

October, 1910.....	187	
October, 1917.....	5,213	
	<hr/>	
increase	5,026	Increase 2,687.7%

October, 1910.....	
October, 1917.....	2,512	
	<hr/>	
increase	2,512	

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Virginia:

October, 1910.....	2,085	
October, 1917.....	13,953	
	<hr/>	
increase	11,868	Increase 569.2%

Columbia:

October, 1910.....	3,753	
October, 1917.....	4,810	
	<hr/>	
increase	1,057	Increase 28.17%

District 19, Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee:

October, 1910.....	726	
October, 1917.....	12,322	
increase	11,596	Increase 1,597.24%

October, 1910.....	198	
October, 1917.....	5,885	
increase	5,687	Increase 2,872.2%

Oklahoma and Texas:

October, 1910.....	4,604	
October, 1917.....	14,632	
increase	10,028	Increase 217.8%

October, 1910.....	5,958	
October, 1917.....	6,949	
increase	991	Increase 16.6%

Kentucky:

October, 1910.....	5,512	
October, 1917.....	4,446	
decrease	1,066	Decrease 19.4%

October, 1910.....	2,532	
October, 1917.....	2,005	
decrease	527	Decrease 20.81%

October, 1910.....	2,445	
October, 1917.....	7,945	
increase	5,500	Increase 224.9%

October, 1910.....	889	
October, 1917.....	.....
decrease	889	

October, 1910.....	2,858	
October, 1917.....	3,971	
increase	1,113	Increase 38.94%

District 28, Canada:

Membership October, 1910.....	....
Membership October, 1917.....	159
	<hr/>
Membership increase	159

District 29, West Virginia:

Membership October, 1910.....	....
Membership October, 1917.....	4,557
	<hr/>
Membership increase	4,557

Local Union 828, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Membership October, 1910.....	14
Membership October, 1917.....	22
Total membership October, 1910.....	236,059
Total membership October, 1917.....	415,305
	<hr/>

Membership increase	179,246	Increase 75.98%
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Per capita receipts for October, 1917, showed a total paid-up membership of 405,025. Adding 10,280 members exonerated in Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, who will start paying dues in November as a result of the successful termination of their strike, makes a total of 415,305.

The settlement of the Alabama controversy will likely show an additional increase of from 10,000 to 15,000 men.

THE COST OF LIVING.

Bountiful crop yields, that in ordinary times would have sent food prices downward, failed to relieve the American worker from his seemingly perpetual game of "pinch living" during the past two years.

Prices of all food commodities have fluctuated around 50 to 100 per cent. above normal times. To attempt to accurately report increases month by month, to arrive at definite knowledge, ascertaining the margin of retailers' and wholesalers' profits on top of the profit naturally resulting to the producer, is a task that would keep the largest department clerical force of the government overtaxed, and even then it is doubtful whether the result could be used for basic comparisons when completed.

Every one in every station of life is constantly complaining of the high cost of living, and not only the high cost but the nation-felt shortage of food as well.

Food control has not yet produced the working efficiency predicted when Hoover assumed the directorship. Neither the producers, manu-

facturers, retailers, wholesalers or the people have yet adjusted themselves to the new order of things. How and when prices are to be regulated so as to enable the average wage to provide a fairly decent table and meet all other of life's necessary expenses is still a matter of conjecture.

Like the gentleman from Georgia, the people can well inquire: "Where are we at?"

DOLLAR HAS LESS THAN HALF BUYING POWER BEFORE WAR.

Ever soaring food costs can best be determined by a summary of Bradstreet's review of food prices for the year, which follows:

[Bradstreet's.]

Perhaps no single development of the year surpassed the record made by prices of commodities. The deficient food harvests of 1916, which fell one-fifth below those of 1915, were only partly responsible for the aeroplane-like flight of prices. Foreign demand, sharpened by lessened yields, especially of grain abroad, was very large, while our own or our allies' calls for all sorts of war supplies—cotton and woolen cloth, leather, iron, steel, coal, copper, lumber, provisions of all kinds, chemicals and drugs—drove prices to unexampled heights. Nearly all civil war records of food prices were broken; wheat sold up to \$3.50 a bushel; corn to \$2.45; oats to 93 cents; flour, \$17 a barrel; hogs, \$20 a 100 pounds, live weight; lard, 29 cents a pound; pork, \$53 a barrel; refined sugar, \$8.40 a hundred pounds; pig iron, \$55, and steel, \$100 a ton; lead, 12 cents; tin, 91 cents; copper, 34 cents; cotton, 31.25 cents, and print cloths, 8½ cents a yard; and, indeed, the list of articles advancing to dizzy heights was a virtual roll call of the products of farm, forest, mine and factory.

Most of these peak points were reached in the fore part of the year, and food and fuel control undoubtedly held down prices later; still only *three* of the thirteen groups of commodities failed to reach peak points in 1917. Hence it was that the general price level as shown by Bradstreet's index numbers of commodities went up steadily month by month throughout the year; that the advance from January to December was 29 per cent.; that the advance over August 1, 1914, was 105 per cent., or more than doubling since the war began. In other words, the buying power of the dollar today is less than half what it was at the outbreak of the war, and only one-third what it was in the low-water-mark year

1896. The yearly index numbers, reflecting as they do the average for the entire year, do not show as great a gain, but still the 1917 number is 75 per cent. in advance of that of 1914.

CAR SHORTAGE CAUSE OF MANY INFLATED PRICES.

Congested traffic, car shortages, priority orders of munition shipments, and the never before equaled transportation demands made upon the railroads have produced actual shortages in cities and communities of such articles as sugar, flour, milk, etc., when in fact there are stores of these products sufficient to meet every need.

Such shortages have invariably resulted in increased profiteering by the merchants. To stop such practices, to regulate transportation proportionately so as to eliminate recurrences of unnecessary shortages, is the trial test for the Federal Food Control plan.

War duty of every citizen bids each to do his full part towards food conservation. Grinding toil to produce the implements of warfare demands food in plenty at prices sufficiently reasonable to permit the worker's wage to purchase in quality and quantity his just share, and should and must be the basis of improved regulations.

Limitations of profit to producer and all middlemen, even though it be necessary to close shop for thousands to reduce handling costs and overhead expenses, may be the plan eventually adopted. There are too many food dispensaries. The standard profits are too large. Out of the experience that we are now passing through I feel confident that the future bids fair to remedy wholesale defects in our present system of marketing foods.

We must be alert that wage earner reaps the benefits.

ALLEGED LABOR SHORTAGE SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR LABOR.

Labor unions have a serious problem to meet in the labor shortage "bugaboo" being talked overtime by Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, profiteering manufacturers, et al., who are not suffering from an inability to secure workers, but who seek to hold wages down to the lowest level.

Even in the coal industry operators are crying man shortage. YET IT IS ESTIMATED THAT WITH THE SAME FORCE OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS EMPLOYED IN AND ABOUT THE MINES, WITHOUT THE ADDITION OF NEW MACHINERY, MORE THAN 920,000,-

000 TONS OF COAL CAN BE PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES ANNUALLY, AN EXCESS PRODUCTION OF 3,000,000 TONS OVER AMERICA'S MAXIMUM DEMAND.

The cry of "labor shortage" was heard long before the United States entered the war. Industries which persisted in maintaining low wages suffered the competition of munition plants. Business heads who have sought to sell labor rather than commodities, especially those employing non-union labor, are determined to break down the barriers to Asiatics, in order to keep wages down. Emissaries are at work at Washington to create this menace to American workers. Already they have succeeded in inducing the government to make plans for an investigation. If the trade union movement is not awake, if we do not participate in seeing that this investigation is thorough and the truthful findings honestly reported, the American worker will find himself engulfed in competition with Asiatic labor, and this will mean deterioration in present wage and living standards.

WHAT IS ACTUALLY BEING DONE.

The government is preparing to make a nation-wide survey of facts relating to the need and supply of labor.

Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, has introduced a bill providing for importation of Chinese during the period of the war.

Japan would immediately violate her "gentlemen's agreement" and insist that her industrious sons be permitted like entrance.

In many sections where the cry of labor shortage has been loud for months, farmers report greatly increased harvests and manufacturing enterprises increased outputs.

A. F. OF L. INVESTIGATION.

During the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor I served on a committee appointed for the express purpose of investigating labor shortages. Previously the executive council had taken the matter in hand and by investigation and thorough questionnaires had secured a great deal of direct information which enabled the committee to get at the truth or falsity of the cry.

No better survey is at hand, and in order that the delegates may have the full benefit of the A. F. of L. findings, I herewith reproduce the report read and adopted by the Buffalo convention.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ALLEGED SHORTAGE OF LABOR.

The entire labor policy of the United States during the war depends upon the supply of wage-workers. If there is a sufficient number of men to answer the demands of any branch of industry usually employing men, there is plainly no need to call upon women to replace men. If by efficiently distributing the unemployed to the point where labor is actually needed the supply can be made to equal the demand, no extraordinary measures need be taken anywhere to obtain needed human power.

It is of fundamental importance to this country to start right in this matter of national policy. Every step to be taken now and in the future in the course of the war depends on getting at the undeniable facts relative to the supply of labor. So long as there is an unemployed, or partially unemployed, reserve to be drawn upon, there will evidently be no need to depart from the present standards of wages, hours, conditions and undilutions, as recognized by organized labor.

On this great problem the trade unions have begun fair. By resolutions formally adopted at their conventions, and by their consistent action since the outbreak of the war, they have placed their membership in a patriotic attitude toward the government. Their officials have without exception continually assisted the public authorities by every means possible in the great work of preparation for the war. The departments of the government at Washington and in the various states have called upon the trade union officials for the service of information, advice and supply of wage-workers. There has come from the ranks of the wage-workers no demand for exemption from draft by class, nor for any exceptional advantage.

On the other hand, it is regrettable to record that a sufficient number of employers, aided by those newspapers which act as their publicity agents, and also by superficial newspapers which habitually sacrifice truth for sensation, have hastened to misrepresent the volume of the labor supply of the country and to assume that our Government must hurry on to the point at which, in imitation of Great Britain, male labor must be replaced by female, skilled labor diluted by unskilled, the age at which children may be employed reduced, and the workday for all classes of labor extended to a point which would break down the health and efficiency of workers. Proceeding with their baseless assumptions

and selfish arguments, these spokesmen are today talking of conscripting labor; of putting labor in uniform; of placing all labor under the same discipline and regulation as the soldiers at the front.

The uninformed and to a considerable extent the uninquiring public is in danger of being deceived by the employers' cry of shortage of labor. Legislative bodies may be influenced in turn by what may appear to be a general conclusion that there is such shortage. The time for organized labor to fight to get at the truth and before the country is now!

The only correct interpretation of the term "labor shortage" is that situation in which the number of positions to be filled exceeds the number of applications for work in all classes.

Your committee herewith submits a body of facts to show that not only is there not in any degree a labor shortage according to this definition, but with the exception of a few classifications, brought into existence through war conditions, there is in no region of the entire country a lack of labor seeking employment.

To come at once to the facts: The October number of the American Federationst contains a review of the labor situation of the country, made up of the substance of reports from Federal Departments, State Labor Bureaus, State employment agencies and competent public observers, which warranted the conclusion that the cry of a scarcity of labor was false, lacking in particulars that could be substantiated, and untruthfully promoted for selfish purposes. Further to ascertain the facts in the matter, President Gompers sent out a letter on October 12 to a certain number of Central Labor Unions, especially in the industrial cities, and to international unions, particularly those making war supplies.

Replies have been received to date from twenty-eight international unions, with a paid-up membership of 922,400 in the American Federation of Labor. Members of your Committee of Inquiry have also consulted, during the sessions of this convention, with the delegates of unions probably representing 500,000 other members. The written replies, without exception, state that there is no shortage of labor among their membership. The great unions whose members are to supply the skilled labor in construction, in making uniforms and in transportation, all declare that they have unemployed members who may be turned to the service

at any point at any time. There are mining districts where every best and shoe and other factories either closed or have just finished their operations and other building operations just finished. The garment factories with tens of thousands of unemployed workers avoiding the employment of skilled machinists. The trades concerned stands ready to supply labor from the unemployed.

In all cities the Central Labor bodies report no shortage of labor. These cities represent all parts of the country, from coast to coast. An estimate of the wage workers in the area of each city reaches nearly one million. Not represented in this list are the largest cities: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and St. Louis, in each of which laborers by the thousands can be found at any time for any work. One New York daily newspaper contained 700 "situations wanted" advertisements, not counting employment agencies.

Only three replies to the letter of inquiry brought reports of local shortages and two of these were in the vicinity of cantonments under construction. One of the smallest international unions, the Wire Weavers, reported all its members at work and a need of more.

A reply from one of the organizers of this Federation tells the story of 100 men in Newark, N. J., hired by a bogus employment agent to perform work at an imaginary aeroplane factory in Baltimore. These men paid their transportation and agent's fee to find themselves in a foreign city without employment. A reply from Denison, Texas, tells of the employment of women at \$30 per month to replace men doing the same work at \$60 a month. Lewiston, Mont., reports farm hands in all kinds in good supply. Shoe workers in Salem, Mass., are on half time. Milwaukee, Wis., reports no shortage in wood-working, the main local industry. Roanoke, Va., reports women garment workers working in the shops. New York, the women's garment workers' local unions report factories 75 per cent. closed. Gloversville, N. Y., reports glove makers out of work. Hudson, N. Y., reports that if an American applies for a job there is no work; if a poor foreigner applies, there is work at low wages. Connellsville, Pa.: In a strike of railways clerks the newspaper reported: "All places promptly filled in one day." Kansas City, Mo.: "All vacancies promptly filled." Detroit, Mich.: "Thousands

of workers walking the streets." Dayton, O.: "The scarcity of labor cry is another trick of the common enemy to tear down standards." Canton, O.: "Carpenters and painters are taking jobs at common labor." Fitchburg, Mass.: "The only firm advertising is one notoriously opposed to organized labor. A foreman stated that the only reason women were being employed was dollars and cents; that his firm could employ women at \$1.50 where they would have to pay men \$2.25," Camden, N. J.: "The potters of this city are only working half time." Norwich, Conn.: "Any fair-minded employer will tell you he can get all the help he wants." San Antonio, Texas: "Absolutely no foundation for the assertion that a shortage of men exists." The foregoing are examples of reports coming from all parts of the country in the letters from the Central Labor Unions.

Letters from State labor bureau and employment agencies and other authoritative sources fully confirm the statements of the labor organizations. From Ohio comes: "The Ohio employment bureaus raised 20,000 men for building the Chillicothe cantonment; practically all of these men were secured from the State of Ohio and without exception the industries of the State were not at all disturbed. If Ohio can take 20,000 men and center them in one place in the course of a few weeks without dislocating the industries of the State, there is no reason why the Federal Government should not be able to raise 100,000 men in the same time." During the month of September the twenty-two State employment offices in Ohio received 45,796 applications for work from the unemployed, of whom 26,576 were placed, leaving nearly 20,000 on the registry. A Federation organizer reports that at one of the munition plants in New Jersey between 200 and 300 men can be seen any day waiting at the gates to apply for work; one morning 318 were counted. At the office of a Newark evening newspaper, at the time of the issue of the noon edition, 108 men were counted, waiting to be first to answer the "help wanted" advertisements. Several of the reports from organizations declare that companies are by settled policy hiring foreign labor and refuse to take on Americans. From our Building Trades Department in Washington the statement comes that a local contractor and builder who advertised for 600 carpenters, when waited upon by a labor representative, said: "We have 100 now and we do not want any more."

The Commissioner of Labor of California and the President of the

California State Commission on Housing and Immigration both reported in the summer no lack of labor in California for permanent employment; for the brief periods of seasonal employment some care in distribution was necessary. The editors of labor papers in fifty of the leading cities of the country recently sent in testimony uniformly to the effect that thousands of persons were advertising in those cities every week seeking situations. The Director of the New York State Bureau of Employment says: "There is plenty of labor in this country to do the work there is to be done, and there will be plenty of labor as long as the war lasts, even if it lasts five years." The Public Employment Bureau of Newark, N. J., was recently asked to furnish 1,000 men for skilled and unskilled work at a cantonment. Within forty-eight hours the needed men were gathered and on their way to work.

Nothing more significant in the abundance of unemployed labor in this country can be had than what is shown in the "labor turnover" of many of the large firms which strive to obtain and overwork cheap labor. (Labor turnover is a soft phrase, meaning the merciless hiring and firing of workmen.) The following testimony has come from the managers of works from employment agencies, from trade union officials, from published reports of labor inspectors and similar authoritative sources:

Curtiss Aeroplane Company of Hammondsport and Buffalo, N. Y.: A labor turnover of 80 per cent. a month during several months preceding November 19, 1917. Pierce-Arrow Automobile Company of Buffalo, N. Y.: A labor turnover from 15 to 22 per cent. a month for a period covering nine months previous to this date. The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company of Manchester, N. H., employing from 22,000 to 25,000 help, has a labor turnover averaging over a period of the past five years from 54 to 79 per cent. The G. E. Keith Company of South Boston, Mass.: One of the plants of this corporation, on the testimony of its treasurer, has a labor turnover of 20 per cent. a month. The Denison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Mass., manufacturers of tags and paper accessories, reports a labor turnover, after several years of very careful efforts to reduce it by employment management, of 46 per cent. a year. The records of a firm reporting from Des Moines, Iowa, show that 14,000 help were employed in one year to maintain a labor force of 3,000. The Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation of Quincy, Mass.: Hired 5,200 men between May 14, 1917, and August 14, 1917, to increase its labor force

from 3,600 to approximately 7,000. The Austin Company Building Corporation: Following an efficiency system suggested by the Curtiss Aeroplane Company, for which they are building a plant in Buffalo, has employed as many as eighty skilled mechanics in a single day to increase its working force nine men. This practice was kept up over a period of several months. So common in Buffalo was the practice of advertising for the semi-skilled or unskilled to come to fill places—presumably available—that skilled mechanics, of which there were an abundance in that city, were forced to find employment two thousand miles away on government jobs. The Detroit United Railways in nine and one-half months engaged 2,612 men, a labor turnover of 300 a month, the men usually leaving because of unsatisfactory working conditions. In the same city, at the Ford plant, employing 38,000 men, the labor-turnover is only seven a month.

That which employers and their public spokesmen represent as "shortage of labor" is, when sifted to the truth, almost invariably A SHORTAGE OF OTHER ESSENTIALS in industry. For example, a shortage of materials in the navy yards during the last year has been translated by the press into a shortage of labor. In the new munitions works in the course of construction, or nearly finished, there is frequently a shortage of the machinery necessary to put labor at work. Great new manufacturing establishments have been erected at points to which the transportation of the employes is most difficult or impossible. Uniforms are not finished at the time expected, simply because of a lack of dyes or looms to produce the duck for tentage and leggings.

The lack of HOUSING, and not the lack of unemployed labor, keeps men and women away from the manufactories and farms, which have joined in the shout of the shortage of labor. The following are extracts from testimony taken before the Housing Committee, Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, October 3, 1917:

Owing to the lack of housing the Remington Arms Company, Bridgeport, Conn., lost two to three hundred men every week and had to send agents out to replace them. A man would come in with his kit, work for two days and leave. Some men would not even open their kit; would sleep in the station over night and leave. To keep a force of 10,000 men the plant had to go through the employment bureaus of 20,000 to 25,000 men. A superintendent of the Sparrows Point plant, Maryland, Bethle-

hem Steel Company, said that to keep 3,200 men they had to get 12,500 through employment agencies. The Pennsylvania Railroad built temporary shacks in good sanitary condition and brought 16,000 negroes from the South at a cost of \$200 each. Two thousand left because they would not live that way. President Gompers told this committee that nearly 60 per cent. of the men in the bulding trades were out of work. A witness said: Brick can be gotten. I had a survey east of the Mississippi made and we can get 90,000,000 bricks for from \$9 to \$14 per thousand. The bricklayers are here." The head of the Industrial Service Department, Emergency Fleet Corporation, testified: "I have just returned from a two days' conference of shipbuilders in Boston. Every time the question of shortage of labor and labor turnover came up the argument went around in a circle and always landed on housing conditions. This large turnover is due to inability of men not only to get decent accommodations, but any accommodations." A representative of the Navy Department employes at Newport, R. I.: "We have been handicapped greatly in production from lack of machinists. We could get plenty to come if we had the proper housing facilities." The chairman of the Advisory Commission stated: "On January 1 we are told that 5,000 more men will be needed at Bridgeport with absolutely no place for them to live." The chairman of the Sub-committee on Emergency Construction and Contracts, General Munitions Board, said: "The labor turnover at Hampton Roads is enormous. Steady men stay and they get the housing. The floating element get hired and fired, and there is that exchange all the time. There is a general complaint in all kinds of business about the large turnover of labor at present."

The president of the Sparrows Point plant, Bethlehem Steel Company, testified: "Our facilities, our mechanical equipment, are adequate for the employment of double the number of men we have been able to gather and maintain. At present we have a working force of 3,200 to 3,500, but could keep employed to advantage 7,500. The chief handicap to securing and maintaining more men is our location. It is eleven miles by steam car from Baltimore to the plant, twelve by trolley, but because of the frequent stops it takes from thirty-five to forty-five minutes to make the trip, and to this must be added the time for the men to go from their homes to the station or street cars. In this shipyard, with a present working force of about 3,500 men, we had on January 1 about 2,900.

Since that time we have actually engaged and set at work 11,000 men, with only an increase in the permanent force of 300 to 400. We engaged more men than that—actually engaged 18,000—but some never turned up.”

The following case in which the shortage of housing causes the shortage of labor some from a special investigator of the Committee on Labor, Council of National Defense:

“The Lincoln Motor Company wants twenty-five hundred to four thousand operatives. Its machinery is not on hand, it cannot use any operatives at this moment. If fortunate, it may begin taking them on in considerable numbers in a couple of weeks. Two weeks ago I saw acres of floor space with only here and there a machine. The buildings were just finished.” “A Rochester firm wants about three thousand workers. The directory of the New York State Employment Bureau, on having inquiry made at the company office, was informed, ‘We want three thousand people.’ Being told, ‘Give me an order and I will get them quickly,’ the answer was, ‘We don’t want them now, but very soon.’” “The Dayton-Wright Aircraft Company, Dayton, Ohio, call for very many people. Two weeks ago their buildings were just completed and their wood-milling room was pretty well manned, but the rest of the factory was just beginning to take on people.” “A representative of the Hog Island Shipbuilding plant recently said: ‘We want twenty-five thousand men.’ A government agent replied: ‘I’ll get them for you right away.’ (Answer.) ‘We don’t want them now, but soon. We want only one hundred immediately.’”

While it is true that the poorest classes of foreign-born wage-workers, mostly those arriving in the two or three years previous to 1914, avoid the murderous conditions of work which their extreme poverty at first obliged them to accept, the proportion of them still constantly unemployed or partly employed is large. Investigation in American cities, some twenty in all, from Boston, Mass., to Kansas City, Mo., disclose the fact that the Greek restaurant keepers, pool room operators, bootblack managers and fruit hucksters find no difficulty in keeping their working forces, even at long hours and comparatively low wages, or to get such labor as they need, in the face of the declaration of great labor shortage in these cities. Officials of the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers assert that from their union thousands of men, usually Italians, can be offered to contractors at the present time providing

that the conditions of labor are fit for human beings. Officials of the needle trades say that from their Hebrew ranks they can place in light war supply works without difficulty one hundred thousand men and women accustomed to skillfully operating sewing machines. The investigations carried on in the steel industry, oil industry, and in the mining and ore handling occupations disclose the fact that up until quite recently large gangs of unskilled immigrant laborers were used at great risk to life and limb, and danger to communities and consequent increased expenses to the taxpayers, because of increased compensation demand and hospital and other expenses, where the introduction of machinery—which is now being used—could have easily replaced, as it now has, these laborers, and if such machinery would have been put in charge, as they now have, of this machinery.

The exaggeration of the numbers wanted or the indefiniteness as to the time when wanted, as well as repetitions in advertising, especially in government work, add confusion in the problem of labor supply. Examples:

The New York State Industrial Commission, Bureau of Employment, November 1, 1917, says: "The New York City newspapers published (apparently under the authority of the United States Shipping Board) the fact that the Port Newark Terminal shipyards were ready to employ 12,000 workers. A specific offer of the State Employment Bureau to furnish a number of men resulted in the discovery that the Port Newark Terminal yards did not need men; that they were daily turning away a great many, and had on their registration lists the names of several thousand unneeded workers. These unwarranted publications cause great loss of time and also the opportunity on the workers' part to secure actual positions. Further, they create a great deal of unrest, causing workers to quit their positions because they believe that the scarcity of labor will give them an opportunity to secure a position at a high wage. A great loss of man power takes place while this hunt is going on, and thus the apparent scarcity is augmented." The United States Civil Service Commission authorized a statement in the "Official Bulletin," October 31, that 10,000 typewriters and stenographers and typewriters, both men and women, were needed in the department at Washington, salaries ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,200 a year. This announcement was followed in a few days by an appeal from the chairman of the Women's Committee, Council

of National Defense, to young women of the country to qualify themselves as rapidly as possible for stenographic and typewriting work. No time was given in these announcements as to when the 10,000 young persons were needed. As a fact, they are not needed at once, and when any particular number is to be engaged has not been made public. Moreover, the housing situation in Washington is such that no young woman should go to the city unless a shelter is secured for her beforehand, and the government thus far has not completed any means for the accommodation of persons joining its clerical staffs. The morning papers at this writing reiterate the same story, coming from the New York Civil Service Commission, which calls for 5,000 typists and shorthand clerks for Washington, the dispatch serving no purpose but to exploit the shortage which has been assumed by so great a part of the press. In the Navy Department, by arrangement with the trade unions concerned, there was opened up in connection with the war needs a list of trained wage-workers who had expressed a willingness to enter government service, although in many cases already in regular employment, yet the men on this list witnessed branches of the department going on in the usual perfunctory manner advertising for help through a period extending over months, leaving the men offering their services uncertain as to who were wanted to fill jobs or whether there really were jobs ready to be filled. The secretary-treasurer of the National Federation of Postal Employees reports: "Our postal administrators have seemingly proceeded on the theory that there was an unlimited supply of labor anxious to step in and fill up the gaps left by those who quit in disgust. There need be no cry of labor shortage in the postal service if those in control of it would joint with the organized employes and make the entrance conditions more attractive, Promotions more certain, the maximum wage substantially higher (it is the same now as ten years ago) and offer something other than the scrap heap when old age incapacitates the workers."

The general situation relative to FARM LABOR is not of sufficient departure from the normal to cause any loud complaint. On this point the president of the Commission of Immigration and housing of California writes: "For months now we have had to listen to all kinds of general statements alleging farm shortage in this State. Not one of these statements has been supported by what even gave it the appearance of being evidence in fact." From the city employment bureau of Portland, Ore., is this statement: "We can positively state that at no time this

year have we been unable to fill any position offered where the wages and working conditions were at all reasonable. There is no labor shortage.' The Commissioner of Labor of New Jersey made the public declaration on November 4: "The department is prepared to furnish workers for the farmers in any county in the State. Farmers can get all the men they can use. We are receiving applications for work at the rate of 300 to 400 a day. The farmers must be prepared to pay for transportation, for adequate housing and the wages which the men are demanding." From North Yakima comes: "There was an oversupply of labor in hop picking time; people were enticed by false promises." From several points in Utah and adjacent States organizers report that for the sugar beet crop Japanese and Mexicans have this year supplanted the whites. From Albion, N. Y.: "Canners and farmers have had no trouble in getting all the help they wanted this season." Oklahoma reports upon the abundance of unskilled labor. The Department of Labor at Washington has stated, with respect to the gathering of the wheat crop: "Replies have been received from practically all of the States and indicate that the harvest help situation has been carefully and efficiently handled. No reports whatever have been received of failure to gather the cereal crops in any part of the country." In a letter October 6 the Secretary of Agriculture writes: "The department is greatly extending its facilities for dealing with the farm labor problem, and a conference of the farm help specialists of the department, who have been assigned to the various States, will be held in the near future, primarily to discuss plans for the next season." The Assistant Secretary of Labor states: "Seasonal agricultural work can be met to a large extent from efforts being put forth by the Boys' Working Reserve, which is being used by the department to secure the services of boys from sixteen years of age up."

The year's farm work, consisting as it does of two rush seasons and two dead seasons, presents a permanent problem all over the country, which until recently the individual farmer had been left to work out for himself. Therefore, his cry for labor customarily becomes acute at least twice a year.

The SNAPSHOT STATISTICIAN is responsible to a considerable degree for the assumption of the country's shortage of labor. His argument is: "For three years there has been an annual net shortage of a half million immigrant workers. A million men have entered the army; enormous

demands are being made by the government and its contractors for workers in the war supplies and shipbuilding plants." But this argument by figures must give way to the plain evidence of another set of figures. It fails to take proper account of the falling off of employment in many occupations, especially the building trades, the clothing trades and in transportation, but what is more important, it fails to take account of the statistics of population for the country as a whole. Every year nearly two million young Americans arrive at the age of fifteen; between the ages of fifteen and twenty there are eight million young Americans capable of going to work. By estimates of the Department of Labor at least two million men were at times out of work in the United States. The director of the New York State Bureau of Employment says that, even if the country drafts three million men it will not exhaust the labor supply; that the absurdity that the draft has made deep inroads on the labor of the country is seen in the fact that whereas New York has three million laboring men the war has not taken more than 100,000 of them; the draft has taken only about 60,000 from all walks of life in the Empire State.

What has occurred in this country relative to labor supply has been the development of a slight opportunity for a laborer to choose the conditions in which he will take employment and the shifting of the common labor supply from economic slaves to relatively free men.

The immigrant of five years ago, or even three years ago, is well on the way to being Americanized. The new laborer, through the growth of population, is American. All of this labor now refuses to perform the most repugnant work under the worst imaginable conditions, such as was undertaken by the penniless immigrant and which so heavily contributed in bringing to American industry 35,000 to 40,000 deaths by accident and more than two hundred thousand serious injuries annually. No longer will the foreign-born workers consent to live in unhealthy industrial villages where there are no civilized conditions—no churches, no sewerage, no prospects of homes, only partial employment and the wages of slavery. Young Americans refuse to do the hot, dirty, coarse and dangerous work which formerly was left to the helpless and ignorant outlander. Among all this great class of labor the teachings of trade unionism are spreading, and the employing class is awake to the fact. The least scrupulous among them are promoting the cry of a scarcity of

labor for the purpose of breaking down the trade unions, of extending the women's workday to hours beyond the strength of women and of bringing into the ranks of the wage-workers children of tender years. "My experience," writes the manager of one of the largest public employment systems in America, "has taught me that the average large employer of labor figures that in order that wages may be maintained to the point of his satisfaction, there should be two workers for every job." This kind of manager is today manifesting his dissatisfaction of a better state of things for the laborer by an attempt, skillfully conducted through the press and otherwise, to deceive the entire country with respect to the supply of labor.

With regard to particular calls for certain minor or strictly war-time classifications of labor, no intelligent observer in the ranks of labor will assert that there is in every case an immediate and full supply. Of course, there is somewhat of a shortage of tool and die makers; of course, there are not endless regiments of stenographers at Washington headquarters; of course, there are not thousands of women ready to walk into a factory to make time fuses for Russian shells; of course, there are not within easy reaching distance the men fully instructed to act as foremen and workmen in aeroplane establishments; of course, shipbuilding at certain points needs more perfectly qualified men. And equally, of course, the employers who are calling for Mexican, Japanese, Hindoo and Chinese labor are disappointed in not having their million of immigrants from southeastern Europe in the year 1917. But for all the kinds of labor to be performed in war needs, there are today seeking employment somewhere in this country tens of thousands of men of the building and other skilled trades whose training for the ordinary tasks of shipbuilding or new machinery would be only a matter of a few weeks or even a few days.

These are outstanding facts of the case as collected and viewed from the standpoint of American organized labor. Where else has any person or any institution, public or private, gone to the trouble to get at the facts broadly? Who else has attempted to sum them up; to consider the question as a whole, in a word, to get at the truth? The problem of labor supply and the conditions of American employment is the very first question of the day in importance after, if indeed it does not precede, that of our military organization. It is one of the urgent

patriotic duties of every citizen of the country to understand this problem, to work it out patiently in his mind, and reach in regard to it a clear, just and honest conclusion.

The American Federation of Labor may therefore justifiably sound a note of warning to the employers of this country, calling upon them not to arouse too deeply the resentment of the laboring classes by the promotion of an untruth which may affect the nation detrimentally for years to come. Here is a call to duty. The truth in this case constitutes in itself a call on every man in influential position to examine his conscience and to act accordingly. The truth here calls on all the officials of the Government not to countenance misstatements of selfish employers meant to swell the cry of a scarcity of labor which does not exist. The truth calls loudly to newspaper managers not to speak on the subject without well grounded information; it calls on fair-minded employers not to join wealth-seeking conspirators in misleading public opinion. It call on every agent of publicity, on every man cherishing his rectitude as a citizen, on every employe, whether organized or unorganized, to perform the duty of helping to consolidate the country as a whole in the presence of a world's disaster which menaces the democratic principles of our Republic. The hope of a future society founded upon economic justice and the essential quality of man lies in the success of democracy in this war.

JOHN L. LEWIS,

JOHN F. TOBIN,

J. E. McCLORY,

MARGARET DALY,

CHARLES FRY,

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,

JOHN J. McDEVITT.

Trusting that the information contained in this brief satistical resume meets with the approval of the delegates, I am,

Fraternally yours,

JOHN L. LEWIS.

MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third
Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America.

Greeting:

I herewith submit for the information of the delegates, and also the entire membership, a report of the financial condition of the United Mine Workers' Journal, accounting of which deals with my management for the four and one-half months beginning July 15, 1917, and ending November 30, 1917, which period includes twenty issues.

For the convenience of those who desire to make comparisons of the operation of the Journal from year to year, I have tabulated a statement showing the annual income and expenditures of the Journal beginning with December, 1909, as previous to that time no salaries, postage or other expenses save printing were charged against the Journal:

Dec. 1, 1909, to Nov. 30, 1910—	Dec. 1, 1913, to Nov. 30, 1914—
Income\$ 8,307.95	Income .....\$23,043.79
Expense 13,947.33	Expense 30,731.48
<hr/>	<hr/>
Loss\$ 5,639.38	Loss\$ 7,687.69
Dec. 1, 1910, to Nov. 30, 1911—	Dec. , 1914, to Nov. 30, 1915—
Income \$ 7,810.64	Income .....\$30,680.59
Expense 14,493.40	Expense 80,503.37
<hr/>	<hr/>
Loss\$ 6,682.76	Loss .....\$49,822.78
Dec. 1, 1911, to Nov. 30, 1912—	Dec. 1, 1915, to Nov. 30, 1916—
Income\$ 7,025.82	Income .....\$34,939.59
Expense 13,417.85	Expense .....100,322.17
<hr/>	<hr/>
Loss\$ 6,392.03	Loss .....\$65,382.58
Dec. 1, 1912, to Nov. 30, 1913—	Dec. 1, 1916, to July 15, 1917—
Income .....\$15,435.08	Income .....\$28,143.93
Expense 24,031.60	Expense 64,025.84
<hr/>	<hr/>
Loss\$ 8,596.52	Loss .....\$35,881.91
July 15, 1917, to November 30, 1917, audit and summary follows:	
July 15, 1917, to November 30, 1917:	

—Receipts—

Loans from Wm. Green, Secretary- Treasurer.....	\$ 4,000.00
Advertising	11,306.77
Subscriptions	7,981.27
Miscellaneous	22.48
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$23,310.52

—Expenditures—

Salaries, business office.....	\$ 1,193.42
Salaries and expenses, editorial.....	3,084.00
Miscellaneous printing, office supplies, telegrams, etc.	164.87
Postage, business office	62.41
Postage, mailing Journal	1,118.25
Advertising commissions	1,805.96
Miscellaneous advertising expense	48.15
Circulation commission paid where agents sent full subscription price	228.96
Paper for Journal	8,678.72
Cornelius Printing Company, for Printing Journal, presswork and composition	4,923.60
<hr/>	
Total expenditures	\$21,308.34
Balance cash on hand November 30, 1917...	\$ 2,002.18

—Business Summary—

Paper on hand and paid for July 15, 1917, 487 reams, weight 42,142 pounds, at 8½ cents per pound.....	\$ 3,529.43
Paper on hand and paid for November 30, 1917, 358 reams, weight 31,862 pounds, at 7½ cents per pound.....	2,358.83
<hr/>	
Value of paper consumed, including purchase, storage and in- surance, over amount purchased.....	\$1,170.60

—Liabilities—

Bills payable, commission due agents.....	\$ 1,014.13
Cornelius Printing Company, November printing...	1,790.18
Loans from International Union.....	4,000.00
Paper stock on hand July 15, 1917, in excess of amount purchased	1,170.60
<hr/>	
Total	\$ 7,974.91

—Assets—

Balance cash on hand.....	\$ 2,002.18
Bills receivable, current advertising (only good, no old accounts included).....	3,063.10
<hr/>	
Total	\$5,065.28
Loss for 20 weeks, from July 15 to November 30, 1917, 4½ months	\$2,909.63
Average loss per week for 20 weeks.....	145.31

TRADE UNION PUBLICATIONS.

More than 90 per cent. of the total number of all publications started in newspaper or magazine form fail. A large percentage of those who do not actually go out of business due to financial failure operate at a loss which is made up through voluntary contributions in some instances and by reason of per capita arrangements to support an official organ of an association, trade union, political party or like organization. The United Mine Workers' Journal, like the great majority of official organs of other trade unions, has not yet entered the dividend-paying class.

COMPARISON OF PUBLICATIONS.

In 1916, when the high cost of paper was claiming the serious attention of every newspaper and magazine publication in the land, and congress itself was besieged with petitions from everywhere to take decisive action to curb the paper trust, which boosted prices from 200 to 800 per cent. on practically every known paper product, through the direction of ex President White a questionnaire was sent to all international trade unions publishing an official organ to ascertain the following.

- 1 Circulation.
- 2 Manufacturing cost per copy.
- 3 Subscription rate.
- 4 Advertising rate and commission paid on same.
- 5 If the printing was contracted for through a private firm or printed in their own shop.
- 6 If operated at a profit or loss.

Only thirty of the replies received dealt with magazine form of publication that could be used as a basis of comparing publication costs, etc., with the United Mine Workers' Journal.

In order that the delegates and membership might have the full benefit of the information secured the following table, showing twelve of the replies giving name of publication, circulation, amount of subscription price, advertising commission, frequency of publication and manufacturing cost per copy, is submitted:

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PUBLICATION COSTS.

Hodge and Iron Workers Per capita subscription 5 cents per month published on week 3 5 15 10 15 100 copies 1000 for ten years aver-

ages \$1,721.15; monthly; circulation, 13,216; amount of subscription, 60 cents; agents' commission, advertising, 50 per cent.

Cigar Makers' Journal—Free to members and no ads are solicited, but taken if offered; publication cost, 2½ cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 40,000; amount of subscription, \$1 to non-members; agents' commission, advertising, 50 per cent.

Barbers' Journal—Per capita subscription, \$1 per year; publication cost, 6½ cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 28,825; amount of subscription, \$1.

Painters and Decorators—Per capita subscription of 12½ per cent. of total revenue; publication cost, 3½ cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 68,000; amount of subscription, \$1; agents' commission, advertising, 45 per cent. of amount collected.

Bookbinders' Journal—Per capita subscription, 5 cents per month; publication cost per copy, 3½ cents; monthly; circulation, 11,000; amount of subscription, 60 cents; agents' commission, advertising, 33 1/3 per cent.

Carpenters' Journal—Per capita subscription, 5 cents per month; publication cost, 2⅞ cents per copy; profit of \$11,000 during six months ending September 1; monthly; circulation, 212,000; amount of subscription, 60 cents; agents' commission, advertising, 50 per cent.

Plumbers' and Steam Fitters' Journal—Per capita subscription; publication cost, 2.9 cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 45,000; amount of subscription, \$1; agents' commission, advertising, 50 per cent.

Stove Mounters' and Range Workers' Journal—Per capita, 5 cents per month; publication cost, 4½ cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 2,000; amount of subscription, 60 cents; agent pays 5 cents per line, makes his own rates to advertisers.

The Lather—Per capita subscription, 5 cents per month; publication cost, 3 1/3 cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 6,500; amount of subscription, 60 cents; no agents.

Brotherhood Railways Maintenance of Way Employes—Per capita subscription, \$1 per year; publication cost, 4 cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 20,000; amount of subscription, \$1; agents' commission, advertising, 20 per cent.

In a summary included in the financial statement, Secretary Morrison estimated that the increased cost of paper over normal prices amounted to \$14,509.50 for the year.

PAPER COST FOR JOURNAL.

During 1915 the paper upon which the United Mine Workers' Journal is printed could be bought f. o. b. Indianapolis for \$3.75 per cwt. The cost for the same paper during 1917 has amounted to \$8,385.80 in excess of the normal cost.

PUBLICATION COSTS OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL.

The following is the exact manufacturing cost of the United Mine Workers' Journal under the present contract prices for mechanical work and paper, based on the circulation of 35,000 copies:

71 reams of paper at 89 lbs. per ream, 6,319 lbs. at 6.15 cents per lb. and $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per lb. for drayage, storage and insurance, making a total cost of paper per issue.....	\$ 412.31
Postage	63.19
Average printing costs per week.....	325.00
Total cost per week.....	\$ 800.50
Average cost per copy	2.28 cents

Thus in comparison the United Mine Workers' Journal shows a lower publication cost than any of the leading trade union publications reporting, and the cost per copy of the Journal includes the postal mailing charge.

Practically all official trade union publications are monthly, while the Journal is published weekly.

POSSIBLE YEAR'S COST.

Manufacturing cost for 52 weeks at \$800.50 per week	\$41,626.00
Income for year on 35,000 subscriptions less 50 per cent. commission	17,500.00
Excess of manufacturing cost over subscription income	\$24,126.00
Editorial salaries and expenses per week.....	\$ 184.69
Business office salaries per week.....	65.57
Total	\$ 250.26
Total salaries for year.....	\$13,013.52
Total excess expenses over subscription income..	\$37,139.52

Railroad Telegraphers—Per capita subscription, \$1 per year; publication cost, 8.4 cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 45,000; amount of subscription, \$1; agent pays for space used, makes own charge to advertisers.

Locomotive Firemen's and Engineers'—Per capita subscription; publication cost, 6.6 cents per copy; monthly; circulation, 81,833; amount of subscription, \$1; agents' commission, advertising, 50 per cent.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

A striking comparison of the limited possibilities of successfully (from a financial standpoint) publishing a trade union official organ is contained in the report of Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, covering the business affairs of the American Federationist for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1917:

Total receipts	\$66,383.20
Total expenses	81,800.83

Excess of expenses over receipts.....	\$15,417.63
---------------------------------------	-------------

—Receipts—

Advertising and subscription receipts.....	\$31,056.20
Tax received from local unions on account of subscription.....	35,327.00
Total	\$66,383.20

—Expenses—

Commission on advertising contracts and subscriptions.....	\$20,843.40
R. G. Dun & Co.....	100.00
Hauling	15.50
Postage, pound rate	2,401.80
Postage stamps	480.00
Printing regular edition American Federationist.....	10,333.30
Printing additional copies for local unions.....	45,601.46
Refunds	60.72
Salaries	1,964.65
Total	\$81,800.83

Secretary Morrison, a printer by trade, thoroughly versed in the publishing business, actively manages the American Federationist. President Gompers is the editorial head of the publication. No salaries are charged other than clerk hire in the expenses of the Federationist.

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Total	\$ 250.26
Total salaries for year.....	\$13,013.52
Total excess expenses over subscription income..	\$37,139.52

The only source of revenue available to offset this deficit, unless the funds be secured from the treasury of the International organization, is that of advertising. Based upon an average of ten pages of advertising per week, at \$70 per page, the weekly revenue would be \$700. After deducting agents' commission of 50 per cent., the net revenue would amount to \$350 per week, or \$18,200 per year. Applying this income from advertising on the deficit of \$37,139.52 reduces it to \$18,039.52.

COST OF PRINTING ADVERTISING.

There has been a great deal of speculation at various conventions when the publication of the Journal was being debated as to just what the cost of publishing advertising amounted to and what profits were derived from advertising in the aggregate per year.

The total cost of manufacturing, mailing and all composition, including advertising, was included in the previous figure of manufacturing cost of \$41,626 per year.

In order that the delegates may have the full benefit of this information I submit cost of publishing advertising, as follows:

Composition cost, based on average cost per week for twenty weeks	\$ 10.00
Cost of paper, ten pages advertising per week.....	128.53
Cost of postage, mailing ten pages.....	19.70
<hr/>	
Total of all costs (typesetting, paper and postage) for ten pages of advertising per week.....	\$ 158.23
Net revenue from ten pages.....	\$ 350.00
Cost of ten pages.....	158.23
<hr/>	
Net profit per week on ten pages advertising.....	191.77

Inasmuch as the advertising manufacturing cost has already been included in the manufacturing cost as a whole, the above figures will in no way disturb the amount of \$18,939.52 as being the actual loss per year on the present publication basis.

No incidental expenses are shown, for the reason that the single subscriptions, for which \$1 is paid and no commission paid thereon, together with the direct advertising received, will be sufficient to take care of such expenses.

The audit of the Journal for the past four and one-half months, however, shows that the loss did not reach the maximum indicated by the

above figures, as the entire loss for the four and one-half months was \$2,909.63, or an average cost per week for the twenty weeks of \$145.31. Many favorable conditions, such as the collection of old accounts and a large amount of direct advertising, made possible this favorable showing:

BASIS OF COMPUTING ADVERTISING RATES.

The following is the basis of computing advertising rates for the different kinds and character of publications as compiled by the associated advertising agencies and upon which all advertising rates are based:

Women's publications	4 5/6 cents per inch per thousand
Social and literary	8 2/3 cents per inch per thousand
Educational	10 1/2 cents per inch per thousand
Agricultural	8 2/3 cents per inch per thousand
Fraternal	6 3/7 cents per inch per thousand
Labor	3 5/8 cents per inch per thousand
Religious	10 cents per inch per thousand

Thus you will see that labor publications are computed upon the lowest rate. Had we submitted to this standardization of low rates by which the value of labor advertising is computed by large advertising agencies, our present advertising rate would be \$1.27 per inch, whereas our charge per inch is \$2.25.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

Prior to the war there was a steady inflow of immigrants to America. The coal mines, cotton mills and other like manufactures were the industries to which the great majority of immigrants looked for employment. Operators in the non-union coal fields depended upon immigration to stimulate and maintain their forces. New immigrants came faster than it was possible for the United Mine Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor to educate the newcomers to the necessity of affiliating themselves with a strong labor organization as a means of securing better working conditions and increased compensation.

To meet the growing need of educating the steadily increasing number of immigrants to the cause of trade unionism, the 1914 convention of the International Union conferred upon the International Executive Board authority to print the Journal in three languages. December 7, 1914, the first issue of the Journal appeared in magazine form printed in three languages—English, Italian and Slavish.

Immediately the Lithuanian and other nationalities complained that they were being discriminated against. At the start they demanded, and have done so continuously since the adoption of the foreign languages, that a section be devoted to their language or the Italian and Slavish languages be entirely eliminated.

Subscription agents of the Journal who have been engaged in soliciting subscriptions in the anthracite region, Illinois and elsewhere, have reported much friction between the various nationalities and a great lack of patronage for the Journal due to the steadfast belief on the part of the Lithuanians and others that they were being discriminated against.

Complaints have been numerous to the effect that articles appearing in the foreign language section were but mere translations of what appeared in the current and previous issues of the English section, thus establishing proof that a large number, if not a majority, of those of our subscribers who are reckoned with as patrons solely from the fact that the Journal is printed in their native tongue are eminently capable of reading English.

WAR BRINGS CHANGES.

The deplorable world-wide conflict has transformed the fundamental exigency upon which the necessity for the foreign section was originally predicated, namely, immigration, which has practically stopped, especially so as affecting new labor supply for the mining industries. The entrance of the United States as an active combatant in the war has brought about a serious condition which all publications printed wholly or in part in foreign languages must recognize. Immediately following the declaration of war there was organized an Americanization Committee, with Dr. Wheaton at its head. The purpose of this organization is to kill the market for foreign language papers in America. The organization proposes by a system of night schools, visiting house-to-house teachers, through moving pictures, and in fact resorting to every possible plan of education, to teach the foreigners employed in America to read and write English.

Dr. Wheaton has stated that this can be accomplished in a remarkably short space of time once the university, college and high school teachers are enlisted in the work.

POSTAL DEPARTMENT OUT WITH A BAN.

It is apparent that the intent of Postmaster General Burleson, "who is an avowed opponent to trade unionism," intends to clamp the lid down tight on foreign language publications. His department has adopted a most rigid censorship program. Mailing privileges are denied all publications violating the following rules:

1. Advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States.

2. Conveying false reports or false statements intended to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States, or to promote the success of its enemies.

3. Intended to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States.

4. Intended to obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service of the United States.

5. Matter, the circulation or the publication of which involves the violation of any of the numerous other criminal provisions of the espionage act, but which are not of special interest to publishers.

6. Any matter printed in a foreign language containing any news item, editorial or other printed matter respecting the government of the United States or of any nation engaged in the present war, its policies, internal relations, the state or conduct of war, or any matter relating thereto, unless the publisher or distributors thereof, on or before offering the same for mailing, or in any manner distributing it to the public, has filed with the postmaster at the place of publication, in the form of an affidavit, a true and complete translation of the entire article containing such matter proposed to be published.

If the war continues no one can forecast just where the censorship will stop. New rules will be promulgated from time to time to meet the viewpoint of the censorship, so the question with all publications printing foreign languages naturally is whether the continuance of the foreign languages will meet the war-time demands of the government censorship. This is a matter solely for the delegates to determine.

CIRCULATION.

Another question involved in the printing of the foreign languages is that of circulation. When the foreign languages were inaugurated the circulation of the Journal was 29,000. The present circulation is

around 35,000, including complimentaries, etc. Thus it is plainly dent that the addition of the foreign sections has not produced the v spread demand for the Journal as was originally anticipated.

The following table, compiled and sworn to by a public account shows the actual circulation for the issue of November 29, 1917 nationalities:

**STATEMENT SHOWING CIRCULATION BY NATIONALITY
ISSUE OF NOVEMBER 29, 1917, INCLUDING ALL MAIL LIST**

State.	Bundles	Italians	Slavs	Balance	7
Washington	2	39	210		
New York	34				
Oklahoma	18	1	78		
Tennessee	75		97		
Texas	5	10	2	27	
Wisconsin	4				
Maryland	390		69		
Michigan	1	6	166		
Kentucky	315	1	1	879	
Kansas	25	16	1	67	
Wyoming	139	3		254	
Washington, D. C.				15	
West Virginia	549	35	51	1,237	
Missouri	273	17	8	186	
Montana	177	1	84	137	
Iowa	143	66	123	1,049	
Alabama	740	1		203	
Arizona				3	
Canada	9			51	
Arkansas	15			84	
Colorado	444	18	81	235	
Pennsylvania	2,735	254	391	2,342	
Ohio	7	60	628	1,920	
Illinois	210	1,031	1,066	9,745	1
Indiana	107	154	147	4,381	
Totals	6,358	1,688	2,629	23,473	3
(Signed) ALICE ANDERSON					

State of Indiana, County of Marion, ss:

I, Alice Anderson, Notary Public in and for said county and I hereby certify that the above is a correct and accurate account of galley proof of mail list of the United Mine Workers' Journal subn

for tabulation of issue of November 29, 1917, so far as I am able to determine, giving the items as outlined above as per the instructions from the management of the United Mine Workers' Journal.

(Signed) ALICE ANDERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to this 13th day of December, 1917.

My commission expires June 15, 1920.

(Signed) ELLA M. PYLE, Notary Public.

COST OF PUBLISHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

The cost of printing the two foreign sections per year, including Paper, typesetting, postage, editors' salaries and expenses, is as follows:

Paper, eight pages per week per year.....	\$5,709.92
Typesetting, eight pages per week per year.....	1,497.60
Editors' salaries (two).....	5,000.00
Average expenses two foreign editors.....	1,402.10
Postage, extra eight pages per year.....	844.48
Total	\$14,454.10

In addition there would be numerous incidental expenses and a small make-ready printing cost saved.

PAPER SITUATION.

The paper question has been one that has disturbed the peace of mind of every publisher in the land. Immediately following the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the paper mills the manufacturers, true to form, endeavored to treble profits under the guise of labor benefiting. True, all of the raw materials used in the manufacture of paper have increased in price, and the cost of practically every operation in connection with paper manufacture has likewise increased.

The maximum high cost of paper during the latter part of 1916, and in effect until the late fall of 1917, was an outrageous price. Paper for the Journal which could be purchased for \$3.75 per hundredweight in 1915 mounted to the high cost of \$8.50 in the summer of this year. By diligent effort and by contracting directly for space in the mills, eliminating all middlemen's profits, the Journal has succeeded in contracting for paper at \$6.15 per hundredweight, f. o. b. Indianapolis, for the 1918 supply.

MAIL COMPLAINTS.

Since the beginning of the war complaints from subscribers of their failure to receive the Journal on time have increased. To remedy this situation we have made repeated attempts without material success. The fact is, that the greatly increased use of the mail service for propaganda of every character, the increased demand for railroad equipment for war service, so crippled the efficiency of the postoffice department as to make these delays assured for some time to come. The Journal office is doing its best, however, to improve the situation.

JOURNAL PUBLICITY OF IMMEASURABLE VALUE.

The crisis of war time makes more apparent than ever the necessity for trade unions to maintain on a high plane an official organ to safeguard and maintain the betterments already won in the field of trade union endeavor and to establish in the public mind favorable support for future advancements. Conditions are such as to menace the very life of the liberal press now in existence. High cost of paper and printing materials, increased overhead expenses, increased mailing charges, all operate to increase to an almost prohibitive cost the continued publication of hundreds of uplift and labor publications in the United States. If the war continues for three or four years—and every estimate of its duration fails to entertain a shorter period—it is doubtful if but few of the free lance liberal publications will survive. Labor publications, always discriminated against by advertising agencies and efficiency experts, will experience a more difficult time in securing advertising. Although the pronounced business spirit of the time is to keep business going as usual, the facts are that hoarding in advertising expenses by merchants and manufacturers is being keenly felt by the more solid publications.

Therefore, the duty of maintaining periodicals that will carry the necessary publicity to keep the fundamental issues of trade unionism alive in the breasts of the people devolves itself upon the powerful trade unions of the nation. Now more than ever before the need for nationwide publicity is apparent. Labor must publicly refute accusations of profiteering employers who would hide under the guise of loyalty and patriotism to import Asiatic labor, to have the public believe that an acute labor shortage exists, and the refusal of unions to tilt the lid of

union regulations and permit a return to the sweatshop system as being responsible for every war-time failure.

The United Mine Workers of America, the largest trade union of the world, must meet this duty in conserving the ideals of labor. The Journal should be made a real live publication. Its columns should be awake to the conditions of the times. No limit should be placed on possible improvement. It should be and can be at the forefront of the labor publications of the world.

JOURNAL TO EVERY MEMBER.

During the past year the membership defeated overwhelmingly by referendum vote to place the Journal on a per capita tax basis, the plan by which the great majority of the trade unions operate their official organs. Figures have been secured that prove beyond doubt that the Journal can be delivered to every member of the United Mine Workers of America every week for 60 cents per year per member, and on this basis pay a profit.

For the adoption or rejection of such a plan I make no recommendation, leaving it with the delegates to determine whether or not the conditions brought about by the war justify the adoption of the per capita tax basis of circulating the official organ.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, however, I shall take the liberty of recommending that the restrictive constitutional provisions which hamper the progress of the Journal be eliminated, and full authority be given to the International Executive Board, who I believe will, after careful investigation, be able to decide a business policy that will insure a great improvement and larger success.

Trusting this report meets with the approval of the delegates, I am,
Fraternally yours,

JOHN L. LEWIS,
Manager.

REPORT OF SECRETARY-TREASURER WILLIAM GREEN.

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates:

We are assembled in International Convention in the midst of a great world war; at a time when war necessities have brought about changes in long established social customs, in the extension of governmental authority over commerce and industry, and in the thoughts and actions of men—the war has added new and perplexing problems to various ever-present ones with which we are required to deal. Our vital interest in all that is transpiring throughout the nation makes this the most important convention of the United Mine Workers of America ever held. As representatives of those employed in a basic industry producing a commodity so essential to American success in this great world conflict, we are obliged to approach the consideration of all questions presented for action to this convention in a spirit of grave concern and with calm and mature deliberation.

Throughout all the period intervening since our own nation became engaged in war, we have maintained the standards of life and living established by our organization as a result of years of struggle and organized effort. We are unwilling to surrender what we have gained, but are ever ready to respond to our nation's needs by giving the best service of which we are capable. This thought, I am sure, will influence our acts and words throughout the sessions of this convention.

When the last International Convention of the United Mine Workers met two years ago, conditions in the mining industry were quite different than now. The demand for coal at that time was much less than it is today. The ability to produce coal was far in excess of market requirements, consequently many mines were closed altogether and many members of our organization were thrown out of employment. Now, all mines are in operation, the mine workers everywhere are employed at least part of the time and the production of coal is increasing to a remarkable degree. The amount of coal produced at the present time is measured largely by the transportation service furnished by the railroads. This condition is reflected in the membership of our organization.

Whereas, the average paid-up membership of our union two years ago for the year ending November 30, 1915, was 311,786, our average paid-up membership now for the year ending November 30, 1917, is 367,381, and

whereas, the average number of members exonerated from the payment of dues because of enforced idleness for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1915, was 49,241; the average number exonerated from the payment of dues because of enforced idleness for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1917, is 12,782. These figures show that the average paid-up membership for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1917, is 55,595 greater than for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1915, while the average number exonerated because of enforced idleness is 36,459 less during the fiscal year ending November 30, 1917, than during the fiscal year ending November 30, 1915.

While this showing is most gratifying, indeed, I am firmly convinced the increase in the paid-up membership would be far greater if all local unions paid per capita tax on their full membership. I am of the opinion that many local unions do not report their full membership, particularly in districts where dues are voluntarily paid. This opinion is based upon an increase in the number of local unions organized since the last convention of the United Mine Workers of America. One thousand and sixty-two local unions have been organized and 288 have been abandoned, an increase in locals organized of 774. The number organized during the year just ended, November 30, 1917, was 807, the number abandoned 102, an increase in the number of local unions added to the organization during the last year of 705. This increase in local unions of itself should show a far greater increase in the paid-up membership of our union than the figures above quoted.

Offsetting this, however, are thousands of members of our union who have enlisted for military service or who have been called through the selective draft. From figures obtained from various local unions throughout the country, we find that approximately 20,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America have left the mines to engage in military service. These figures must be taken into consideration in determining the increase in the present paid-up membership of our organization.

In order that our membership may know the total numerical strength of the organization, I submit the following table, showing the number of paid-up members and the number exonerated each month during the years of 1916 and 1917, and also the average paid-up membership as well as the average membership exonerated.

You will observe that in November, 1917, the paid-up membership is 110,600. This is the largest paid-up membership for any month during the

last two years. It has been exceeded only once in the history of our organization in the month of December, 1913.

The number exonerated each month added to the number of members is the actual membership of the organization. These tables show the period intervening since my report to the last International Conference two years ago.

Month.	Paid-up	
1915.	Membership.	Exonerated.
December	355,216	20,884
1916:		
January	326,284	19,146½
February	341,433	16,641
March	368,625	21,229½
April	317,883	55,179½
May	273,209	58,788
June	282,162½	50,106
July	287,843	33,837½
August	331,351½	26,476½
September	325,889½	22,153
October	328,035	18,154½
November	336,998	15,684
Average	322,911	29,857

Month.	Paid-up	
1916.	Membership.	Exonerated.
December	355,090	13,074
1917:		
January	343,956	13,541½
February	346,738	14,450
March	385,038	14,672
April	322,708	15,184
May	358,729½	14,502½
June	350,011	11,273
July	356,871	11,392
August	388,958	17,666½
September	384,844½	17,589½
October	405,025½	6,264½
November	410,600	3,778
Average	367,381	12,782

In some districts under the jurisdiction of our organization, and especially in newly organized districts, local union officers do not seem to understand the laws of our organization providing for the exoneration of members from the payment of per capita tax and assessment. In many instances they seem to be under the impression that the International Secretary-Treasurer may exercise his own judgment in withholding or extending exoneration. Also, many fail to understand that it is necessary to make application for exoneration in the manner prescribed by the international law, when the members of a local union are idle during an entire month because of idleness caused by strike or other causes over which they have no control. They seem to assume that the International Secretary-Treasurer instinctively knows when they are idle or when they are working. Such officers of local unions are in error, because the laws of the organization provide a local union may only be exonerated from the payment of tax and assessment when its members are idle during an entire month and when application for exoneration is made in the regular way. Besides, a local union should report to all the different branches of the organization each month, when its members are idle, just the same as when they are working. The constitution provides the method by which local unions may be exonerated from the payment of per capita tax and assessment. The International Secretary-Treasurer cannot exercise his discretion, but instead must comply with the laws of the organization in exonerating local unions when entitled to same. I suggest delegates to this convention impress upon the local union officers the necessity of reporting to the International Secretary-Treasurer each and every month, regardless of whether the membership of local unions is working or idle.

For the purpose of maintaining in our official reports, in consecutive order, a record of the yearly membership of the organization since its formation in 1890 to the present time, the following table showing the average paid-up membership is submitted:

1890	20,912
1891	17,044
1892	19,376
1893	14,244
1894	17,628
1895	10,871
1896	9,617
1897	39,731

1898	.....	32,902
1899	.....	61,887
1900	.....	115,321
1901	.....	198,024
1902	.....	175,367
1903	.....	247,240
1904	.....	251,006
1905	.....	264,950
1906	.....	230,667
1907	.....	260,740
1908	.....	252,018
1909	.....	265,274
1910	.....	231,392
1911	.....	256,256
1912	.....	289,269
1913	.....	377,682
1914	.....	333,333
1915	.....	311,786
1916	.....	322,911
1917	.....	367,381

AID.

As usual, strikes have occurred in various mining sections, and an international organization has been called upon to supply financial aid to those of our members who have been thrown idle. However, the amount expended for aid during the period covered by this report, while large, is not nearly so much as that expended for the period covered by my report to the last International Convention. During the two years ending November 30, 1917, we supplied as aid to those of our members on strike, and their families dependent upon them, the sum of \$735,000. This amount of aid was furnished out of the funds we received from the capita tax, no assessment having been levied during the last two years for strike purposes.

The following figures show the amount of money paid out for aid during the past two years and the districts wherein it was spent:

District No. 2	.....	\$ 23,000.00
District No. 5	.....	66,500.00
District No. 6	.....	50,000.00

District No. 15	66,850.00
District No. 16	700.00
District No. 17	3,600.00
District No. 19	258,350.00
District No. 20	112,600.00
District No. 23 (Geo. Hargrove, Hopkins Co.)..	120,500.00
District No. 23 (H. H. Vincent, Sec'y).....	28,023.75
District No. 29	1,400.00
Individual	3,008.00
Thos. Haggerty, aid Fairmont (W. Va.) field...	500.00
<hr/>	
Total	\$735,031.75

LOANS.

I reported to the last International Convention of the United Mine Workers of America that the international organization had been compelled to borrow large sums of money from district organizations for the purpose of supplying financial aid to those of our membership and their families involved in long and bitter strikes in Colorado and eastern Ohio. The total amount loaned by districts to the international organization was \$877,860.00. The districts which loaned the international organization money at that time and the amount each loaned is set forth in the following figures:

District No. 1	\$ 55,000.00
District No. 2	25,000.00
District No. 5	60,000.00
District No. 7	5,000.00
District No. 9	45,000.00
District No. 11	25,000.00
District No. 12	250,000.00
District No. 13	75,000.00
District No. 14	125,000.00
District No. 21	75,000.00
District No. 22	85,000.00
District No. 25	40,000.00
District No. 27	12,860.00
<hr/>	
Total	\$877,860.00

So that the international organization might return to each district the amount of money borrowed therefrom, the last international convention adopted the following resolution:

"That the International Executive Board be authorized to levy a two-dollar per capita tax assessment to be collected in four separate allotments and that districts to which the International Union is now indebted be exonerated from the payment of that assessment to the amount of their indebtedness."

Pursuant to this action, the International Executive Board, at a meeting held at the headquarters of the organization in May, 1917, authorized the International Secretary-Treasurer to put into operation the plan for the collection of the two-dollar assessment on the membership and the return of loans to the various districts authorized by the convention, as outlined in the foregoing resolution. By this action, \$696,882.00 of the indebtedness of the international organization to the different districts has been paid, leaving a balance due of \$180,978.00. This is a very creditable showing, and we hope and expect within a short time to be able to liquidate the balance of the amount due from the international organization to the various districts from whom sums of money were borrowed.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Experience in the department of the organization, which I have the honor and privilege to supervise, suggests some amendments to several sections in the organic law of the organization. I will submit them in consecutive order, as follows:

First: In newly organized districts and others where the organization is not completely established, local unions occasionally lapse and fail to report to the international office for quite a long time. Later, interest is again revived and a wish is expressed by the membership that the local union be reorganized. There is nothing in the law which provides a plan by which a local union which has lapsed may be reorganized. Such local unions must account for all the months during which they were lapsed in order to place themselves in good standing again.

I suggest the law be amended so as to provide that lapsed local unions in newly and poorly organized districts be reorganized by the payment of per capita tax on a fixed number of members in such an amount as may be fair and reasonable.

Second: A rule has been followed by my predecessors in office and since I have been acting as International Secretary-Treasurer, in organizing new local unions, which provides that all newly organized local unions are exempt from the payment of tax on their membership for the month in which they are organized. This has been done, because it has always been recognized as the aim and purpose of the International Union to encourage and foster newly organized local unions, to help them and start them on their way. In order that this rule may be legalized, I suggest that the law be amended providing that newly organized local unions are exonerated from the payment of dues for the month in which they are organized.

Third: The charter fees fixed in the laws of our organization, which newly organized local unions are required to pay, have always been less than the cost of the charter and supplies furnished them by the international organization. Until some time ago, when considerable increase in the cost of material included in the supplies furnished local unions took place, the loss to the organization was comparatively small. Since war prices have prevailed and the cost of books, paper and other material furnished newly organized local unions has advanced in a remarkable manner, the international organization is losing altogether too much on the supplies furnished newly organized locals. Added to this is the increased cost to the organization of the new standardized bookkeeping supplies furnished local unions. For these reasons I recommend that the charter fees for new local unions be increased from \$8.00, the amount now fixed by the constitution, to at least \$15.00. While this will not cover the cost of furnishing supplies, we will lose, of course, much less at this figure than the amount now provided for by law.

Fourth: I have arranged a simplified, standard set of books for use by local unions. These were arranged after consulting traveling auditors in all the different districts. These books as arranged are the product of the experience and best thought of the traveling auditors and myself. It is our unanimous opinion that as arranged they are best suited to the needs of the officers of local unions—simple, easily understood and thoroughly practical in every way. The traveling auditors have prevailed upon local unions to adopt the standard books as best they could when visiting local unions. They complain, however, that they lack authority to require local unions to use the books furnished by the international organization, and find

in many instances that local union officers purchase tablets from book stores, in which they attempt to keep their accounts, and many times it is well nigh impossible to audit them.

I recommend that the law provide that traveling auditors may require local unions to use only the simple, standardized books and records furnished by the international organization, for the purpose of keeping in a proper manner the records and accounts of local unions.

Fifth: When traveling auditors report local unions have overpaid per capita tax on their membership, I promptly return the amount overpaid. When they report local unions have failed to pay per capita tax on their full membership and owe a certain amount to the international organization, I write such local unions, acquainting them with the findings and report of the traveling auditors, and requesting them to send the tax due. In almost all instances local unions respond by paying the amount reported due by the traveling auditors. While the law provides that local unions must be placed upon the delinquent list if they are in arrears two months or more for tax, it does not provide that local unions must be placed upon the delinquent list for failure to pay tax reported due by traveling auditors.

While it may be imposing a penalty altogether too severe by placing local unions upon the delinquent list for failure to pay tax which traveling auditors report is due, some amendment to the constitution should be adopted by the convention which would require local unions to pay such per capita tax within a reasonable length of time.

COLLECTION OF BACK ASSESSMENT.

At the last International Convention, delegates from local unions that owed the fifty cents per month per member assessment levied during the period between September, 1913, and June 30, 1915, for the purpose of supplying aid to the members of our organization on strike in Colorado and eastern Ohio, and their families who were dependent upon them, were seated with the understanding that the International Secretary-Treasurer would bring about settlements of this back assessment with local unions that had not paid it. The convention in seating delegates from local unions that owed back assessment adopted the recommendation of the Credential Committee, which read as follows:

“Inasmuch as a majority of the local unions, which our report shows

to be in arrears for assessments, are in districts which have no check-off, we recommend that they be seated and that they make individual settlements with the International Secretary, subject to the approval of the International Board."

In carrying into effect this action of the convention, the traveling auditors have been utilized. They were instructed to visit local unions that owed back assessment, meet with them, explain the situation and endeavor to reach final settlements. In this work the traveling auditors have rendered valuable service. Since July, 1917, they have brought about settlements with local unions in various districts, by which \$27,338.39 of this back assessment due has been paid. Their work has been of the highest order, and in its performance they have been required to exercise discretion and patience to an unusual degree. I could not have collected this money in any other way. With the help of the traveling auditors I have succeeded in bringing about settlements with practically all local unions that were in arrears for assessment on a basis that was fair to the local union and just to the organization. Only a few have refused to settle when called upon by the traveling auditors to do so.

TRAVELING AUDITORS.

Since the adjournment of the last International Convention two meetings of traveling auditors have been held, one in July, 1916, and the other in July, 1917. These meetings were held for the purpose of systematizing the work of traveling auditors, of bringing about collective co-operation in their work, and of improving the methods by which local union officers keep a record of local union affairs and their financial accounts. As previously explained, a simple standardized system of bookkeeping has been arranged for local unions. In addition, a standardized method of auditing the accounts of local unions and standard report blanks, upon which the auditors make their reports to the international and district secretary-treasurers, have been adopted. The traveling auditors have been, and are, rendering splendid service. Many of them, working in districts where a large number of local unions owed back assessment, have brought about settlements with these local unions amounting in net returns to the international organization, many thousands of dollars in excess of the salaries they have been paid. These meetings have proved to be of great benefit.

The results are shown in greater efficiency and better understanding in work being done by practically all the traveling auditors.

FINANCES.

The balance on hand at the end of the last fiscal year was \$417,018. The income for the year 1917 was \$1,759,727.34, and the expenditures were \$1,966,999.20. There was a balance on hand December 1, 1917, of \$207,745.05. The income for the two years since my report was made to the International Convention was \$2,807,598.44, and the expenditures were \$2,790,410.36. These figures are submitted so that the attention of the membership may be attracted to the large sums of money which pass through the hands of the International Secretary-Treasurer during the periods between conventions.

While these sums of money seem quite large, experience shows that our income is quite insufficient to meet the growing demands which are constantly being made upon the organization. The appeals for help to feed and clothe members who join our union in non-union fields, and the families dependent upon them, are greater than we can meet, for it has ever been the policy of the organization that the expense incurred when we respond to the appeals of non-union men for help must be borne by the International Union and the money paid out of per capita tax received from the membership.

For instance, when in June of last summer 18,000 mine workers in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, included in District No. 19, and their families, amounting in all to more than 80,000 people, were suddenly made dependent for food and clothing each week on funds supplied by the International Union, because of a strike, the task of taking care of this vast number of people out of per capita tax received each month from local unions was greater than we could bear. The situation had to be met. The men were idle and they and their families were without food. They could look for help to no other source except the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America. The need was so urgent and immediate that sufficient time to call a meeting of the International Executive Board, levy and collect an assessment, could not be spared. I was forced to issue an appeal to local unions and district organizations for voluntary donations, so that this army of men, who were fighting for the right to belong to our union, for higher wages and better living conditions, and their wives and

children dependent upon them could be fed while this industrial conflict was being waged. Local unions and district organizations responded quite promptly by sending me a total of \$60,764.10, which I in turn sent to eastern Kentucky and Tennessee to buy food and clothing. By this means, our members in this part of the Southland and their families were supplied with barely enough with which to satisfy their urgent needs. They won in a most clean-cut and decisive manner, are now working under a union contract and union conditions, and the men who made this brave fight deserve to be congratulated upon the heroic and loyal manner in which they fought and upon the decisive victory which they gained. Altogether, the International Union supplied this district for aid alone with \$258,350.00, and it was this money which enabled them to win.

It is mighty trying, fellow delegates, to meet situations of this kind without sufficient funds in the international treasury. Imagine, if you please, my feelings and sense of responsibility as the financial agent of your organization when suddenly 80,000 people become dependent upon the organization for food and clothing, when I know the limited amount of money I have on hand and which amount is totally inadequate to meet the most urgent needs of the situation, conscious of the fact that unless the hungry needs of this vast army of people are met each week the men on strike will be forced back to work, discouraged and defeated. Moments of this kind are full of anxiety beyond description. One can endure the thought that strong men are hungry, but not so of women and little children. Our obligations in instances of this kind are very solemn and very great. A failure to properly discharge them is little less than criminal. This being true, if situations of this kind are to be successfully met by the International Union, means must be provided by which a sufficient amount of money to do so is made available. This is a problem with which this convention ought to deal.

Having sent all local unions an itemized statement of all moneys received and expended for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1916, I am submitting at the end of this report an itemized statement of all moneys received and expended for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1917.

MONEYS IN COLORADO BANKS.

In my report to the convention two years ago I directed attention to funds of the organization deposited in certain banks in Colorado. These various sums of money had been placed in these banks to the credit of the

United Mine Workers before I became International Secretary-Treasurer. When I endeavored to withdraw them, at a time when we were hard pressed for money, I was unable to do so.

In the meantime three of the banks in which sums of money belonging to the organization had been deposited—namely, the Erie Bank of Erie, Colo., the Louisville Bank of Louisville, Colo., and the Lafayette Bank and Trust Company of Lafayette, Colo.—passed into the hands of a receiver. Ordinarily the receiver would have paid our pro rata share of the money we had deposited in these banks out of the available assets, but in this instance he refused to do so, and, protected by an injunction issued by the district court, refused to recognize in any way our certificates of deposit.

The sums of money which I found the international organization had deposited in these banks are as follows:

Louisville Bank, Louisville, Colo.....	\$ 6,303.60
Lafayette Bank, Lafayette, Colo.....	41,565.50
Erie Bank, Erie, Colo.....	4,712.25

and \$5,000.00 with one James P. Miller, cashier of the Lafayette Bank and Trust Company, for which no certificate of deposit had ever been issued and which, it was stated, was being held for some reason to be deposited at some time with the Interstate Savings Bank or some other bank in Denver. These deposits amount to \$57,581.35.

In addition, ex-Secretary McDonald of District No. 12, U. M. W. of A., deposited in these banks \$50,000.00 belonging to District No. 12, divided as follows:

Interstate Bank of Denver, Colo.....	\$25,000.00
Louisville Bank of Louisville, Colo.....	10,000.00
Lafayette Bank of Lafayette, Colo.....	10,000.00
Erie Bank of Erie, Colo.....	5,000.00

Besides, District No. 27, Montana, has \$8,000.00 on deposit in the Interstate Bank of Denver. The money belonging to District No. 12, I am informed, the International Union obligated itself to return in case these banks failed to do so for any reasons whatever. Our attorney, Mr. Horace N. Hawkins, about one year and a half ago was instructed to institute legal proceedings in an effort to recover for the organization the money deposited in these banks. A hearing was held during April, 1916, before the Bank Commissioner at Denver, in an effort to collect this money. The

Bank Commissioner decided against our claim and Mr. Hawkins appealed from his decision to the Supreme Court of Colorado, where the case is still pending. For the purpose of making a report of the present status of this case to this convention, I requested our attorney, Mr. Hawkins, to advise me regarding it. He sent the following message:

"Denver, Colo., December 12, 1917.

"William Green, Secretary-Treasurer
United Mine Workers of America,
Indianapolis, Ind.

"Colorado Bank Commissioner held that the funds were deposited with the banks pursuant to an agreement with President White that the moneys were to be loaned by the banks to the American Fuel Company and not to be repaid by the banks to the United Mine Workers unless the banks collected from the fuel company. The banks having become insolvent, the Commissioner held that the United Mine Workers could not compel repayment from the banks. We appealed from the decision of the Commissioner and case is now pending on appeal. Can not tell when decision will be rendered. President White denied making any such agreement, and we hope to reverse decision of Bank Commissioner. In my judgment the decision was a rank outrage.

"HORACE N. HAWKINS."

I can not tell, of course, when a decision in this case will be rendered by the Supreme Court of Colorado, nor what the decision may be. I am firmly convinced, however, that even though the decision may be favorable to our claims, that the assets of the Erie, Louisville and Lafayette Banks are so worthless that very little, if any, of the moneys deposited by either the International Union or District No. 12 will be recovered.

The money deposited by District No. 12 and District No. 27 in the Interstate Bank and Trust Company of Denver will no doubt be paid if the decision is favorable, because this bank is solvent. For the present, at least, and until a decision is rendered by the court finally disposing of our claims, we are carrying these sums of money as cash on hand. In reality we do not have this amount of money to our credit available, therefore in determining the actual amount of money we have, these sums of money deposited in these Colorado banks, amounting to \$57,581.35, as above stated, must be deducted from the amount stated in my report as balance on hand. Our attorney, Mr. Hawkins, has been instructed to press our claim for final decision, and until this is done no definite action can be taken in the final disposition of this transaction.

JOURNAL.

The cost of printing and publishing the Journal is greater than its income. It has ever been thus, and the difference between the income and expenditures has varied in accordance with the quality and character of the publication. Experience shows that when, in accordance with instructions given by a former convention of the United Mine Workers, a change in the official organ was made from newspaper to magazine form, that in size and quality it was far superior to that of other labor organization magazines furnished for the subscription price fixed for the United Mine Workers' Journal. In other words, we gave too much for the price charged.

Beginning with December, 1916, the International Executive Board decided to reduce the size of the Journal and change its character and appearance so that the cost of publication would be less. Since that time the magazine has been printed in its reduced size and present form.

My experience as manager of the Journal, which I relinquished on July 15, 1917, has convinced me that the United Mine Workers' Journal can not be published weekly in magazine form at the present subscription price without costing the organization some money. The subscription price of \$1.00 per year is not sufficient to cover the cost of printing, publication and mailing. The deficit resulting from the publication of the Journal may be reduced, but it can not be altogether eliminated. But even so, in my opinion the money spent in printing the Journal is well spent. Why should not part of the money of the organization be expended for educational purposes? Education is knowledge and knowledge is power. Thousands of copies of Journals have been sent into Maryland, Alabama, eastern Kentucky and Tennessee while organizing campaigns were being conducted. Practically every trade union that publishes an official organ does so at a financial loss. The exception may be where the membership is assessed a sufficient amount to pay the cost of printing and publication. The money which we spend in giving this form of education to our membership and the public as well, through the columns of the United Mine Workers' Journal, is comparatively small when measured by the total expenses of the organization.

The printing firm which had been printing the United Mine Workers' Journal when it was changed to magazine form apparently overcharged and failed to comply fully with the contract they made with us. The matter was gone into most exhaustively and it was found there was due the Inter-

national Union \$7,577.14. The printing firm returned this money to the organization, and their representatives explained that this was caused by an extraordinary situation in the print paper market resulting from war conditions.

Figures showing the income and expenses of the Journal for the year 1915 were included in my report sent the membership for that year. The income and expenses are submitted in this report for the period between December 1, 1916, and July 15, 1917. During the period between July 15, 1917, and November 30, 1917, \$4,000.00 was paid to Vice-President John L. Lewis, present manager of the Journal, for the purpose of meeting such deficiency as may have been caused in publishing the Journal during that period.

COURT DECISIONS.

While it is neither expected, nor required that the International Secretary-Treasurer would report upon questions which properly come within the constitutional supervision and authority of the President of the organization, I feel sure I can, with perfect propriety, make exception in referring to the recent decisions in the Federal Court at Fort Smith, Ark., in the Coronado Coal Company vs. United Mine Workers case and the Supreme Court of the United States in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company vs. the United Mine Workers injunction case, because the courts' decisions are so extraordinary and they so vitally affect the very life and future of our organization.

In the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company case the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the decision of the Federal Court of Appeals by affirming the action of Judge Dayton in granting an injunction against the officers of the organization restraining them from soliciting men employed in the mines of the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company to join the United Mine Workers of America. This case has been pending in the different courts since 1906, a period of eleven years. The decision, stripped of legal technicalities and legal verbiage, is that if coal miners enter into a contract with their employer at any mine, agreeing to work as non-union men, that the coal operator with whom they make this agreement is entitled to an injunction restraining representatives of the organization from requesting, soliciting or in the most peaceful manner persuading them to become members of the union. The far-reaching consequences of this de-

Our attorneys inform us that after the case had been submitted to the jury and they were out for two days, evidently unable to agree upon a verdict. Judge Elliott, who tried the case, called them into court and asked them if they desired further instruction upon either the law or evidence in the case. The foreman of the jury replied they did not; that their failure to reach a verdict was due to a difference of opinion. Notwithstanding this reply, Judge Elliott addressed the jury as follows:

"You are advised that this court is of the opinion that the facts in this case justify you in the conclusion overwhelmingly that it was the policy and therefore the agreement for years of this national organization to prevent mining of non-union coal for the unlawful purposes named in the complaint, that it might not come into competition with union mined coal, that there is no question in this court's mind but that that strike was ordered down there for that purpose, to prevent the mining of non-union coal in these plaintiffs' mines; that the strike was called by those who were the instrumentality of the greater organization, the general organization, the defendants, and their act was its act, and that they put into motion the force which destroyed this property, and that that force was put into motion for the purpose of preventing the mining of that coal, the shipping of that coal, now that is the judgment of this court, and if it were my duty to decide it I would decide it."

The jury then retired, and within four hours brought in a verdict against the United Mine Workers and in favor of the coal company for \$200,000.00. Under the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law this amount is automatically trebled, consequently the judgment in effect amounts to \$600,000.00.

We propose to appeal this case to the higher courts for final decision.

Ninety days is allowed from November 21, the date on which the verdict was rendered, to perfect an appeal and before execution of the judgment may take place. Our attorneys advise us that unless an appeal bond is filed within that time securing the payment of this judgment together with costs and interest, in accordance to the ruling of Judge Elliott, may be executed by seizing the moneys and property of the international organization and officers, past and present, organizations' moneys and property, and that of each of us as well. The appeal bond which we will be required to furnish will be in excess of \$500,000.00.

In concluding this case it is the intention to define lines of policy and then, after the appeal has been followed.

First, as above explained, an appeal bond may be given which will stay the execution of the judgment until the case is decided by the court of last resort. In this instance, should the verdict of the lower court be affirmed, the bond will serve to guarantee payment of the judgment, court costs and accrued interest.

Second, the case may be appealed without a surety bond being given, guaranteeing payment of the judgment and costs. In this instance, collection of the judgment and costs through attachment proceedings may be begun within ninety days after the verdict was rendered. The convention should decide which course our organization will pursue.

I have consulted the representatives of a number of bonding companies regarding an appeal bond, and each and all of them have stated that we must furnish collateral in money, liberty loan or other bonds in an amount equal to the judgment and costs in this case before an appeal bond can be executed. This collateral must be given in order to indemnify the bonding company in case the higher court sustains the verdict rendered against us and they are required to pay it. The financial condition of the international organization is such that we are unable to meet this requirement. We only have about \$150,000.00 in the international treasury, so that if collateral to the amount of \$800,000.00 is to be given in this case, either the membership or district organizations must supply it.

This is a very serious question, and one which the convention should act upon. I hope and believe that the higher courts will set aside this verdict. The attorneys who represent us in this case are of that opinion. I do not believe the jury would have returned this verdict if it had not been for the instructions given them by the court, and I do not believe that such an unjust and unfair verdict will be sustained. If it is, our organization will no doubt be called upon to defend itself against innumerable damage suits of this kind, and if they are decided as this case has been, our membership will be unable to earn enough money to pay the judgments rendered against us. No labor organization can exist if such is the law of the land.

By this decision the officers and members of the United Mine Workers who have been officers and members since 1898 are conspirators, guilty of violation of law. Included in this list are ex-President Mitchell, who is now serving as chairman of the Industrial Commission of New York and

Naturally at this time the attention of the people of our land is centered upon this convention. It is the first time we have met in convention since our nation declared war. We will speak for the men who mine the coal and America will listen with interest to hear what the message shall be. There must be no misunderstanding, no doubt as to where the miners stand. Like a rugged rock, unshakable and immovable, we must stand squarely with our country and behind our soldiers on the battlefield.

If the twenty thousand or more members of our union who have presented themselves for service on the world's battlefield are willing to give their lives in this fight for democracy against autocracy, we at home with whom they worked and with whom they associated must give our labor and our service in full measure. They expect this from us. We must not disappoint them or falter in the performance of our duty. We must help make it possible for those who have gone to fight to strike swiftly and successfully.

Let the message which goes out from this convention be clear and unmistakable. We can not be pacifists now. The war is on and there is no choice for true, loyal Americans except to stand with the government and for the defense of democratic ideals and democratic principles. After the war is over and the battle has been won, when the right of free peoples to establish their own forms of government has been assured, when autocracy, either military or otherwise, has been destroyed, and when the future peace of the people of all nations in the world is made secure, we can then take up for solution the economic, social and industrial problems which were occupying our attention when this awful war was forced upon us.

In clear and ringing tones let this convention proclaim to all groups of citizens within our own land, to our workers across the sea and our blood and kin in the trenches of Europe that the miners of America are heart and soul, body and mind, without reservation, behind our government in the prosecution of this war, and we pledge to it a full measure of service until the battles are over and a decisive victory is won.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

INCOME.

Amount received from each local union for per capita tax and assessment from December 1, 1916, to November 30, 1917, inclusive:

DISTRICT NO. 1.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
20	Plymouth,			526	Scranton ..	1,036.00	365.75
	Pa.\$	512.49	.....	532	Lopez	679.75	.....
36	Forest City	26.00	.....	599	Glen Lyon..	324.00	.....
61	Forest City	1,057.50	\$ 262.00	622	Wyoming ..	49.00	.....
131	Old Forge .	113.25	.....	623	Wilkes		
147	Peckville ..	217.00	.....		Barre ...	327.00	.....
151	Scranton .	1,599.25	.....	637	Scranton ..	733.00	.....
182	Parsons ..	20.25	.....	699	Edwards-		
213	Scranton .	1,525.00	500.00		ville	1,595.50	10.00
265	Dupont ...	42.50	.....	727	Wilkes		
306	Rendham .	152.75	.....		Barre ...	127.75	.....
311	Plymouth .	787.50	.....	767	Pittston ...	37.50	.....
336	Duryea ...	188.25	.....	778	Duryea ...	21.00	.....
400	Wanamie .	1,277.00	100.00	808	Scranton ..	733.25	100.00
402	Duryea ...	242.50	.....	838	Nanticoke .	387.90	.....
439	Mildred ...	1,354.50	.....	844	Carbon-		
446	Sugar				dale	1,588.50	79.50
	Notch ..	247.50	.....	846	Alden		
452	Luzerne ..	539.00	.....		Station ..	1,080.13	.....
454	Luzerne ..	175.00	.....	862	Scranton ..	71.25	.....
458	Swoyers-			870	Plymouth .	1,247.25	.....
	ville	1,165.51	.....	877	Carbondale.	127.50	35.00
460	Scranton ..	750.50	56.00	879	Dunmore ..	484.50	.....
466	Wilkes			897	Nanticoke .	78.00	.....
	Barre ...	1,838.75	250.00	898	Nanticoke .	639.34	.....
484	Wilkes			899	Nanticoke .	208.55	.....
	Barre ...	589.00	.....	900	Nanticoke .	499.78	300.00
490	Shick-			901	Taylor	1,808.90	.....
	shinny ..	801.15	255.00	917	Oliphant ..	277.00	.....
495	Peckville ..	285.00	.....	925	Archbald ..	138.50	.....
512	Parsons ...	212.75	.....	957	Glen Lyon..	606.75	.....
519	Scranton ..	441.50	25.00				

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
969	Carbon-			1174	Plymouth ..	1,008.00	...
	dale	570.00	35.00	1192	Exeter	13.50	...
975	Olyphant ..	297.00	.....	1217	Luzerne ...	573.74	...
988	Marsh-			1221	Dorrance-		
	wood ...	250.00	.....		ton	339.25	100
996	Wilkes			1229	Scranton ..	876.50	...
	Barre ...	385.26	100.00	1278	Scranton ..	178.52	...
1001	Plymouth...	849.87	125.00	1296	Old Forge..	394.75	...
1004	Throop	1,268.50	450.00	1300	Carbondale.	47.75	...
1005	Jessup	407.00	.....	1311	Scranton ..	130.00	...
1010	Oliphant ..	468.00	165.00	1331	Scranton ..	1,277.50	40
1012	Eynon	194.25	.....	1353	Lafin	60.00	...
1013	Taylor	603.25	.....	1360	Scranton ..	451.25	50
1016	Scranton ..	142.50	40.00	1365	Miners		
1024	Mayfield ..	809.25	.....		Mills ...	33.50	...
1025	Jermyn ...	1,252.80	.....	1367	Pittston ...	15.00	...
1035	Forest City	384.50	.....	1389	Wyoming ..	342.75	...
1036	Minooka ..	237.50	.....	1407	Wilkes		
1052	Scranton ..	1,365.89	.....		Barre ...	1,382.25	...
1069	Plymouth ..	192.75	.....	1413	Lee	556.75	20
1072	Scranton ..	788.00	.....	1428	Scranton ..	1,373.00	...
1076	Plymouth ..	60.00	.....	1432	Ashley	1,084.85	100
1084	Pittston ..	106.12	.....	1456	Plains	70.75	...
1123	Avoca ..	45.00	.....	1482	Sugar		
1132	Plymouth ..	1,444.00	150.00		Notch ...	1,228.75	32
1133	Taylor ..	372.00	.....	1483	Plains ..	27.00	...
1138	Edwards-			1487	Pittston ..	186.50	...
	ville	1,037.50	380.00	1495	Avoca	35.75	...
1141	Pittston ..	23.30	.....	1512	Forest		
1142	Eynon	257.25	.....		City	74.50	...
1155	Plymouth	282.50	.....	1545	Kingston ..	399.75	...
1157	Macunaga	1,165.17	400.00	1546	Wilkes		
1159	Kingston	1,027.25	375.00		Barre	304.00	...
1162	Avoca	81.50	.....	1581	Scranton	193.50	...
1167	Glen Lynn	708.50	.....	1617	Scranton	2,164.00	35
1168	Wilkes			1620	Scranton	11.25	...
	Barre	311.75	.....			

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1635	Plymouth ..	372.00	.....	1756	Duryea ...	51.75	.....
1644	Scranton ..	572.50	.....	1760	Dunmore ..	166.50	.....
1645	Luzerne ...	940.75	.....	1766	Dupont ...	28.25	.....
1649	Scranton ..	1,394.00	191.38	1877	Olyphant ..	379.25	120.00
1656	Scranton ..	615.00	.....	1996	Hudson ...	33.75	.....
1670	Dunmore ..	557.50	.....	1997	Laflin	310.00	.....
1672	Olyphant ..	626.50	315.00	2202	Nanticoke..	362.00	.....
1679	Peckville ..	166.75	.....	2298	Olyphant ..	90.00	5.00
1680	Scranton ..	808.25	400.00	2407	Scranton ..	56.25	.....
1681	Scranton ..	783.50	.....	2439	Nanticoke..	440.00	.....
1682	Archbald ..	741.00	30.00	2444	Nanticoke..	219.75	.....
1689	Parsons ...	1,168.78	.....	2519	Scranton ..	59.60	.....
1691	Olyphant ..	719.50	306.81	3076	Wilkes		
1693	Scranton ..	34.50	.....		Barre ...	65.00	.....
1694	Schick-			3088	Mayfield ..	51.00	.....
	shinny ..	88.39	.....	3145	Scranton ..	153.50	.....
1700	Vandling ..	462.50	.....	3638	Moosic	11.00	.....
1703	Pittston ...	86.25	.....		Spec. Assessm't..		48,826.00
1707	Peckville ..	117.20	21.00		Jno. Mack, Secy. District No. 1.		
1732	Peeley	26.50	.....			
1740	Scranton ..	247.00	.....			
					Total....	\$75,883.44	\$55,740.94

DISTRICT NO. 2.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
9	Expedite,			176	Winburne..	1,193.00	.....
	Pa. \$	308.53	.....	199	Creekside..	1,250.00	15.00
18	Phillips-			293	Iselin	615.50	125.00
	burg	1,286.98	.....	339	Hawk Run.	541.25	50.00
34	Houtzdale..	351.14	\$ 50.00	375	Madera ...	1,434.64	250.00
62	Berwinsdale	14.00	.....	378	Glen Richy.	311.88	.....
64	Holsopple .	465.25	.....	395	De Lancey.	982.38	170.00
89	Starford ..	595.15	.....	472	South Fork.	3,175.50	.....
95	Defiance ..	608.50	.....	480	Chambers-		
140	Arcadia ...	1,278.00	.....		ville	371.56	.....
144	Spangler ..	359.75	.....	521	Portage ...	1,200.88	.....
145	Hopewell ..	273.25	.....	523	Du Bois ...	574.25	50.00

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Ass
538	Phillips-			1081	Ashville ...	133.28	
	burg	103.88	.....	1086	Morann ...	50.50	
541	Helvetia ..	1,495.27	.....	1106	Numine ...	755.75	
570	Portage ...	597.75	.....	1134	Grass Flat.	1,287.15	
577	Widnoon ..	685.50	.....	1139	Grampian..	146.00	
596	Sagamon ..	1,308.63	.....	1186	W. Mon-		
601	Love Joy ..	653.12	.....		terey	222.35	
609	Morrisdale..	724.50	200.00	1218	Anita	555.80	
616	Hastings ..	1,916.38	.....	1269	Elmora ...	1,667.25	1
617	Barnesboro.	3,679.13	2,000.00	1294	Lilly	556.25	
626	Desire	899.50	100.00	1295	Glen Camp-		
653	Coalmont ..	71.00	.....		bell	493.88	
673	Soldier	1,086.93	100.00	1304	Kittanning.	396.01	
738	Coal Glen..	235.75	.....	1305	Rimersburg	1,013.06	
801	Munson ...	569.26	50.00	1310	Walston ..	437.12	
819	New Beth-			1347	Nanty Glo.	767.50	
	lehem ...	1,136.76	150.00	1370	Morris Run	1,951.25	
830	Dunlo	1,450.75	700.00	1386	Nanty Glo.	1,912.00	
831	Ernest	1,288.87	.....	1402	Coalport ...	1,097.50	
837	New Beth-			1415	Furnace		
	lehem ..	265.40	.....		Run	430.94	
842	Patton	2,207.25	500.00	1441	Tyler	932.72	
861	Cresson ...	590.25	.....	1445	Broad Top.	236.25	
865	Arnot	868.04	.....	1468	St. Boniface	305.00	
871	Benezett ..	232.90	.....	1489	Clymer	1,222.00	
924	Carroll-			1515	Dixonville..	1,006.25	
	town	218.62	.....	1529	Carnwath ..	382.14	
930	Mayport ...	570.25	.....	1532	Du Bois ...	119.50	
935	Cassandra.	2,433.87	450.00	1569	Finsu-		
937	Glenwhite..	363.50	.....		tawney ..	525.00	
1020	Creekside..	470.74	.....	1583	Madera	340.01	
1031	Roberts-			1587	Homer City	727.52	
	dale	2,164.01	100.00	1627	Moshannon	329.25	
1043	Portage ...	542.38	.....	1654	Elk Lick ..	210.28	
1056	Gallitzin ...	1,805.37	50.00	1659	Morann ...	182.68	
1071	Ehrenfield..	1,113.63	100.00	1683	Six Mile		
					Run ..	308.40	

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1731	Sligo	168.00	.....	2092	Blandburg..	125.99	.....
1736	Rossiter ..	1,390.51	.....	2098	Antrim ...	870.64	400.00
1785	Yatesboro .	1,665.75	.....	2153	New Beth-		
1798	Ramsay-				lehem ...	555.75	.....
	town ...	774.75	100.00	2179	Lilly	450.50	.....
1848	Saxman ...	610.13	320.00	2200	Six Mile		
1855	Emeigh ...	930.00	.....		Run ...	128.30	.....
1857	Fallen			2233	Beaverdale.	2,284.63	.....
	Timber ..	542.49	.....	2246	Barnesboro.	862.26	83.25
1859	Catfish ...	257.77	.....	2248	Portage ...	782.25	.....
1871	Clarence ..	930.25	100.00	2265	Red Bank..	529.35	.....
1879	Brockway-			2279	Elbon	363.50	.....
	ville	274.00	.....	2288	McCart-		
1884	Bitumen ..	850.89	.....		ney	136.37	.....
1887	Homer City	390.07	.....	2292	Penfield ...	113.25	.....
1892	Amsbry ..	545.25	.....	2295	Curwens-		
1895	Dudley	663.00	.....		ville	533.77	.....
1908	St. Bene-			2296	Crenshaw .	109.00	.....
	dict	963.14	.....	2297	Brockway-		
1910	Cymbria				ville	427.00	.....
	Mines ...	915.00	425.00	2303	W. Mon-		
1917	Berlin	126.00	.....		terey ...	325.74	.....
1930	Byrnes-			2305	Boardman..	165.50	.....
	dale	625.25	.....	2308	Parkers		
1944	Osceola				Landing.	244.70	.....
	Mills ...	1,312.00	.....	2310	Shawmut ..	119.87	.....
1950	Clearfield ..	31.50	.....	2342	Lawson-		
1951	Blossburg .	285.00	.....		ham	603.38	50.00
1953	Wishaw ...	1,145.92	50.00	2345	Cherry		
1954	Dagus				Tree	344.50	.....
	Mines ...	1,100.35	.....	2351	Phillips-		
1955	Force	608.54	.....		burg	201.75	.....
1954	Coupon ...	332.55	.....	2370	Marion		
1954	Frugality .	510.50	.....		Center ..	48.00	.....
1955	Langdon-			2408	Sykes-		
	dale	319.78	.....		ville	1,060.50	100.00

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Ass
2426	Gallitzin ..	544.50	.....	3067	Strattons-		
2428	Homer				ville	69.75	
	City	1,876.38	.....	3068	Dysart	96.50	
2430	Rochester			3071	Dudley	534.40	
	Mills ...	54.23	.....	3072	Six Mile		
2463	Morann ...	23.38	.....		Run	587.25	
2484	Eriton	1,499.08	100.00	3074	Onnalinda .	334.26	
2527	Osceola			3075	Brisbin ...	216.50	
	Mills ...	94.77	.....	3077	Parkers		
2601	Conifer ...	957.25	.....		Landing .	185.29	
2604	Lochvale ..	173.43	.....	3078	Meyers-		
2629	Cowans-				dale	207.38	
	ville	168.53	.....	3080	Hyde	123.50	
2638	Wilgus	279.05	.....	3083	Garrett ...	573.87	
2658	Huey	233.47	50.00	3084	Six Mile		
2722	DuBois	1,378.50	50.00		Run	221.50	
2730	Kittan-			3087	Coupon ...	36.00	
	ning	53.50	.....	3089	Beccarria .	90.50	
2739	Gipsy	433.62	.....	3126	Boynton ..	206.76	
2744	Punxsu-			3127	Smoke Run	156.00	
	tawney ..	171.00	.....	3142	Lecontes		
2774	Meyers-				Mills ...	135.25	
	dale	510.00	.....	3163	Macdon-		
2776	Reed	313.00	25.00		aldton ..	120.00	
2778	Listie	94.75	.....	3168	Macdon-		
2789	Blackfield .	191.00	.....		aldton ..	216.00	
2809	Wigton ...	302.50	.....	3202	Boardman.	69.50	
2859	Utahville ..	183.50	.....	3401	Homer		
2956	Smith				City	105.50	
	Mills ...	334.00	.....	3433	Johnstown.	15.00	
2970	Anita	197.00	.....	3442	Force	8.88	
2986	Johnstown .	55.00	.....	3467	Kearney ..	22.25	
3000	Puritan ...	855.64	75.00	3519	Gallitzin ..	36.50	
3036	Cadogen ..	711.00	.....			
					Total...	\$115,352.16	\$ 9

DISTRICT NO. 5.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
51	Monongahela, Pa.	\$ 351.25	.....	615	Fayette City	889.70	.....
79	Webster	846.75	.....	688	Fredericktown	518.75	.....
92	Fayette City	974.50	.....	718	Shoring	97.75	.....
96	West Newton	627.50	.....	725	Cliff Mine	503.50	.....
108	Bridgeville	176.00	.....	762	Vestaburg	2,781.00	\$ 100.00
187	Allenport	175.75	.....	797	Carnegie	547.50	.....
235	Monongahela	436.25	.....	813	Gallatin	581.75	.....
260	Moon Run	1,717.50	.....	816	Johnetta	72.50	.....
269	Hazzard	138.75	.....	818	W. Newton	352.75	.....
274	Elizabeth	211.25	.....	827	Horning	1,435.50	.....
280	New Eagle	194.00	.....	849	Brownsville	160.75	.....
316	Belle Vernon	833.25	.....	854	Roscoe	1,063.25	.....
376	Arnold	959.00	.....	864	Sturgeon	970.80	.....
408	Monongahela	1,070.75	.....	873	Broughton	758.50	.....
410	Yohogheny	423.00	.....	904	Bruceton	254.00	.....
322	Coal Bluff	550.75	.....	911	Meadowlands	366.75	.....
424	Smith Ferry	147.85	.....	963	Monongahela	715.50	.....
428	Glassmere	302.50	.....	1046	Tyre	1,129.50	280.00
524	Harwick	951.25	.....	1098	Burgetts-town	315.00	.....
539	Floreffe	573.75	.....	1143	Meadowlands	557.50	.....
549	Elizabeth	915.25	.....	1147	Beadling	1,018.75	.....
558	Belle Vernon	135.75	.....	1165	Ellsworth	1,302.00	.....
593	Charleroi	963.50	.....	1180	Coal Centre	178.50	.....
595	Burgetts-town	590.00	.....	1188	Kaylor	712.50	.....
				1190	Ellsworth	1,268.25	.....
				1197	Cokesburg	1,055.75	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1198	Lawrence .	697.75	10.00	1664	Cuddy	324.25	.....
1201	Mononga-			1678	Sunny Side	795.75	.....
	hela	214.00	.....	1712	Rodfield ...	457.50	.....
1208	S. Burgetts-			1718	Homestead.	26.00	.....
	town	744.50	.....	1724	Houston ...	855.50	.....
1214	Canons-			1730	Amyville ..	847.50	.....
	burg	202.75	.....	1787	Califor-		
1230	Arnold	84.75	.....		nia	2,589.75	.....
1247	Sturgeon ..	730.00	.....	1794	Studa	401.75	.....
1254	Epton	306.20	.....	1809	Willock ...	460.00	.....
1266	Courtney ..	495.00	.....	1812	Fair		
1319	Roscoe	343.75	.....		Haven ..	212.50	.....
1380	Meadow-			1826	Canons-		
	lands ...	97.50	.....		burg	1,044.00	.....
1339	Castle			1829	Meadow-		
	Shannon.	1,379.75	.....		lands ...	1,118.00	.....
1346	Bruceton ..	1,326.25	.....	1830	W. Browns-		
1349	Suterville .	894.75	.....		ville	287.50	.....
1352	Manifold ..	961.75	.....	1898	Imperial ..	705.50	.....
1355	Avella	315.75	.....	1917	Burgetts-		
1359	Canons-				town	441.50	.....
	burg	321.95	.....	1943	Carnegie ..	175.00	.....
1361	Califor-			1947	Elizabeth ..	663.50	.....
	nia	42.75	.....	1965	Clifton-		
1372	Cecil	1,354.25	.....		ville	171.25	.....
1382	Nobles-			1969	Boyers	117.00	.....
	town	681.75	.....	1973	Bulger	585.00	.....
1446	Arden			2000	Cecil	123.50	.....
	Mines ...	698.00	.....	2007	Cherry		
1447	W. Browns-				Valley ..	200.25	.....
	ville	725.50	.....	2012	Midway ...	860.00	.....
1477	Mononga-			2025	Van		
	hela	705.30	.....		Meter ...	439.75	.....
1589	McDonald .	251.50	.....	2026	Westland ..	515.87	.....
1647	Avella	301.25	155.00	2029	Van		
1648	Fair				Voorhis..	687.25	.....
	Haven ...	378.75	143.00	2049	Midway ...	668.25	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
2050	Southview .	1,072.25	.....	2250	Browns-		
2057	Whitsett ..	1,262.00	.....		ville	79.00	.....
2065	Cherry			2252	Fayette		
	Valley ..	431.25	.....		City	92.00	.....
2086	Browns-			2258	Claytonia .	31.40	.....
	ville	286.75	.....	2267	Large	90.00	.....
2087	W. Browns-			2271	Smithton ..	324.00	.....
	ville	277.00	90.00	2272	Hickman ..	89.25	15.00
2091	Cherry			2273	Smithton ..	564.75	.....
	Valley ..	317.50	.....	2278	Bentley-		
2102	Fayette				ville	1,477.75	.....
	City	671.50	.....	2338	Federal ...	43.25	.....
2104	Bridge-			2353	Fitz Henry	251.75	.....
	ville	761.00	.....	2354	Belle		
2105	Federal ...	965.50	.....		Vernon ..	88.25	.....
2107	Avella	364.50	.....	2363	Mollen-		
2125	Houston ..	100.50	.....		auer	1,425.25	.....
2128	Houston ..	109.25	.....	2364	Elizabeth ..	1,421.00	.....
2144	Elizabeth ..	363.50	.....	2367	Mononga-		
2147	Morgan ...	821.00	.....		hela	94.00	.....
2148	Belle			2394	Crafton ...	57.50	.....
	Vernon ..	875.00	.....	2396	Fayette		
2206	Walkers				City	762.50	.....
	Mills	60.00	.....	2397	Belle		
2210	Virgin-				Vernon ..	128.25	.....
	ville, W.			2398	Van		
	Va.	210.00	.....		Voorhis .	460.75	.....
2230	W. Browns-			2399	Daisytown .	3,245.25	.....
	ville, Pa.	710.25	.....	2401	Sturgeon ..	120.00	.....
2232	W. Browns-			2424	Finley-		
	ville	172.50	.....		ville	165.50	.....
2241	Joffre	692.50	.....	2500	Large	1,341.25	.....
2242	Curtis-			2501	Van Meter.	617.25	.....
	ville	694.50	.....	2506	Scott		
2244	Courtney ..	606.25	.....		Haven ..	972.50	.....
2249	Bunola ...	66.00	.....	2545	Frederick-		
					town	195.25	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessr
2563	Cuddy	767.15	.....	3128	East		
2571	Fayette				Brady ...	267.00	...
	City	443.50	.....	3135	Russell-		
2597	Jacobs				ton	1,132.30	...
	Creek ...	58.00	.....	3136	Russell-		
2626	Atlas-				ton	590.75	....
	burg	500.50	.....	3137	Bairdford ..	753.75	....
2721	Stoneboro..	566.25	.....	3138	Leechburg..	110.00	....
2728	S. Burgetts-			3139	Curtis-		
	town	661.50	.....		ville	1,134.49	....
2782	Deegan	249.25	.....	3140	Vander-		
2874	Marianna...	887.00	.....		grift	174.25	....
2881	Avella	296.50	.....	3141	Avonmore..	132.00	....
2899	Burgetts-			3143	Nowry-		
	town	112.50	.....		town	465.00	....
2905	Salina	62.50	.....	3146	Leechburg..	76.63	....
2950	Clifton-			3147	Apollo	143.50	....
	ville, W.			3151	Freeport ...	134.25	....
	Va.	48.50	.....	3156	Freeport ..	54.75	....
2959	Jacobs			3157	Braeburn ..	133.75	....
	Creek, Pa.	84.50	.....	3195	Salts-		
2962	Evans				burg	22.50	....
	City	24.00	.....	3206	Kelley		
3057	Apollo	96.50	.....		Station ..	56.75	....
3073	Leechburg..	134.25	.....	3214	Kelley		
3081	Leechburg..	125.00	.....		Station ..	112.12	....
3111	Leechburg..	166.00	.....	3257	Wyano	442.25	....
3113	Vander-			3258	Hites	29.25	....
	grift	25.00	.....	3365	McDonald..	108.00	....
3115	Shenley ...	62.50	.....	3366	Yukon	4.25	....
3116	Leechburg..	33.50	.....	3368	Yukon	39.88	....
3118	Moween ..	230.51	.....	3405	Irwin	15.00	....
3119	Jacobs			3406	Herminie ..	57.25	....
	Creek ...	39.25	.....	3407	Herminie ..	51.50	....
3120	Apollo	20.75	.....	3422	Ellsworth...	2.50	....
3121	Saltsburg ..	61.50	.....	3424	Arnold	14.50	....
				3443	Bowerton ..	40.00	....

U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
06 Russell-			paid		
ton	26.75	.....	.....	.....	63,172.00
16 Logans-			Secy.,		
port	37.00	.....	assessment.		
33 Midway ...	1111	.....	Totals..	\$102,005.90	\$63,965.00

DISTRICT NO. 6.

U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
5 New Phil-			153 East Pal-		
adelphia..\$	418.00	.....	estine ...	196.25	.....
13 Bridge-			162 Doanville ..	106.75	.....
port	1,221.25	.....	170 Saline-		
35 Mineral			ville	452.00	.....
City	87.65	.....	183 Hopedale ..	163.00	.....
38 Cambridge..	657.85	.....	193 Neff	811.50	.....
44 Key	605.25	.....	202 Hollister ..	347.25	.....
49 Nelson-			208 Byesville ..	578.60	.....
ville	131.75	.....	211 Carbon		
50 Jobs	58.50	.....	Hill	74.25	.....
60 Tracey	69.00	.....	212 Cambridge..	38.25	.....
33 Cambridge..	791.50	.....	215 Millfield ...	359.25	.....
38 Murray ...	61.50	.....	218 Glen Roy...	10.25	.....
71 Martins			222 Oak Hill.,.	35.00	.....
Ferry ...	508.25	.....	231 Roswell	223.25	.....
3 Roswell	57.50	.....	245 Barton	973.75	.....
6 Coalton	93.75	.....	270 New Plym-		
11 Congo	1,152.50	.....	outh	133.50	.....
33 Flushing ..	88.00	.....	276 Glouster ...	1,045.00	.....
33 Shadyside..	17.00	.....	284 Martin's		
16 Warnock...	212.00	.....	Ferry ...	624.00	.....
18 Nelson-			290 Jobs	441.25	.....
ville	47.75	.....	292 Maynard ..	790.50	.....
121 Buffalo	505.00	.....	296 Glouster ...	618.75	.....
123 Maynard ..	149.25	.....	314 Fairpoint ..	802.75	.....
142 Mineral			319 Barton	467.80	.....
City	34.75	.....	324 Rose Farm.	855.25	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	As
327	Buchtel ...	674.75	.....	489	N. Lawrence	128.25	
335	Wellston ..	97.25	.....	499	Stewarts-		
338	Jacksonville	630.75	.....		ville	149.75	
353	Jackson ...	136.13	.....	502	Deerfield ..	370.50	
357	Waynes-			509	Roswell ...	112.75	
	burg	49.40	.....	515	Conesville .	194.00	
358	Chauncey .	574.25	.....	540	Buchtel ...	413.50	
359	Somerdale .	123.25	.....	552	Kipling ...	418.50	
365	Hollister ..	735.65	.....	566	Crooksville.	600.75	
369	Saltillo	202.00	.....	568	New Straits-		
371	New Straits-				ville	67.50	
	ville	138.25	.....	569	Corning ...	56.50	
379	Coshocton .	127.75	.....	573	Nelsonville.	255.50	
383	Robins	571.50	.....	580	Coalton ...	114.00	
385	Wainwright	656.50	.....	592	The Plains.	870.75	
389	Chauncey .	1,028.00	.....	608	Doanville ..	146.25	
394	Murray ...	856.50	\$75.00	614	Conesville.	112.25	
397	Tiltonville .	372.25	.....	619	Ramsey ...	432.50	
416	St. Clairs-			624	Caldwell ..	1,065.50	
	ville	387.50	.....	628	Coshocton .	171.00	
417	Carbondale	339.25	.....	632	Nelsonville.	16.75	
425	Flushing ..	81.50	.....	643	S. Zanesville	65.00	
429	Flushing ..	314.75	.....	648	Glouster ..	639.75	
430	Bellaire ...	953.50	.....	652	Klee	145.75	
435	Washing-			657	Nelsonville.	17.50	
	tonville ..	171.00	.....	689	Parlett	31.00	
436	Longstreth.	96.00	.....	717	New Lex-		
441	Crooksville.	33.25	.....		ington ..	76.25	
443	Massillon .	53.50	.....	741	Nelsonville.	26.25	
450	Adena	90.00	.....	774	Shawnee ..	32.25	
455	Byesville ..	44.00	.....	778	Bellaire ...	547.50	
457	Ironton ...	60.50	.....	802	Glouster ..	116.00	
459	Lafferty ..	378.00	.....	814	Rogers	133.55	
462	Jackson ...	148.50	.....	839	Nelsonville.	543.00	
464	Wellston ..	236.25	.....	867	Stewarts-		
471	Barnhill ...	232.75	.....		ville	489.25	
479	Byesville ..	38.50	.....	881	Wellston ..	487.25	

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
885	Buchtel ...	275.75	.....	1235	Bergholz ..	442.75	.....
886	Darlington.	122.25	.....	1238	Derwent ..	445.75	.....
891	Nelsonville	136.00	.....	1249	Zanesville .	95.00	.....
907	New Straits-			1252	New Straits-		
	ville	134.25	.....		ville	550.50	.....
932	Corning ...	185.35	.....	1256	Dilles Bot-		
964	Crooksville.	242.06	.....		tom	465.25	.....
965	Salineville .	125.25	.....	1262	Wellston ..	216.26	.....
966	Flushing ..	302.00	.....	1270	Oak Hill...	78.50	.....
971	Yorkville ..	602.50	.....	1271	Martins		
973	Jackson ...	165.00	.....		Ferry ...	78.00	.....
976	Conesville .	42.75	.....	1272	Martins		
978	Barnhill ..	49.25	.....		Ferry ...	366.00	.....
983	Nelsonville.	314.00	.....	1275	Cannelville.	506.00	.....
985	Leesville ..	169.00	.....	1279	Martins		
991	New Phila-				Ferry ...	192.50	.....
	delphia .	185.25	.....	1286	Stewarts-		
1029	Buchtel ...	308.50	.....		ville	373.00	.....
1060	Weems	112.75	.....	1297	Piney Fork	669.00	.....
1075	Pomeroy ..	194.00	.....	1299	Wheeling ..	150.00	.....
1077	Bellaire ...	1,281.50	.....	1302	St. Clairs-		
1083	Pedro	69.75	.....		ville	654.35	.....
1107	New Phila-			1323	No. Law-		
	delphia ..	47.25	.....		rence ...	211.50	.....
1145	Rendville ..	356.90	.....	1334	Athens ...	780.00	.....
1156	Jacksonville	367.00	.....	1336	E. Palestine	65.00	.....
1163	Middleport.	189.75	.....	1338	Wilkesville	66.50	.....
1172	Buchtel ...	70.25	.....	1342	St. Clairs-		
1181	Clarion ...	274.61	.....		ville	161.75	.....
1184	Carbondale.	565.75	.....	1348	Midvale ...	164.10	.....
1204	Parlett	272.25	.....	1351	Murray ...	690.50	250.00
1205	Millfield ...	612.75	.....	1373	McArthur .	85.00	.....
1206	Nelsonville.	47.25	.....	1375	Pomeroy ..	356.75	.....
1210	Tracey	156.50	.....	1378	Cambridge.	288.00	.....
1215	Tippecanoe.	271.25	.....	1390	Broadwell .	5.00	.....
1216	Brilliant ..	313.50	.....	1392	Adena	70.00	.....
1220	Crooksville.	149.75	.....	1395	Nelsonville.	38.75	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1396	Bannock ..	275.00	.....	1744	Baileys		
1399	Syracuse ..	415.50	.....		Mills	271.00	.....
1404	Magnolia ..	82.75	.....	1748	Robins	664.00	.....
1415	McLuney ..	70.50	.....	1750	Byesville ..	72.00	.....
1418	New Phila-			1753	Byesville ..	855.25	.....
	dolphia ..	203.00	.....	1758	Murray ...	38.50	.....
1422	Coalton ...	77.00	.....	1762	Adena	564.00	.....
1430	Rayland ...	605.00	.....	1801	New Phila-		
1431	Crooksville.	11.25	.....		dolphia ..	251.00	.....
1438	New Straits-			1803	Coshocton .	336.75	.....
	ville	4.75	.....	1804	So. Zanes-		
1435	Amsterdam	791.50	.....		ville	259.25	.....
1437	Shawnee ..	30.50	.....	1805	Fairpoint .	50.50	.....
1474	Nelsonville.	296.25	.....	1813	Pomeroy ..	534.25	.....
1486	Lore City..	797.75	.....	1815	Junction		
1488	Martins				City	210.25	.....
	Ferry ...	85.25	.....	1817	New Straits-		
1492	Rutland ...	51.25	.....		ville	122.00	.....
1493	Creola	59.75	.....	1825	Nelsonville.	72.50	.....
1496	Midvale ...	414.25	.....	1833	Maynard ..	397.75	.....
1531	Poston	1,025.75	.....	1834	McMechen .	140.00	.....
1566	Pedro	141.25	.....	1835	Cambridge.	19.75	.....
1575	Bellaire ...	28.75	.....	1840	Shady Side	1,320.75	.....
1576	Byesville ..	669.80	.....	1866	Jacksonville	960.25	.....
1578	Rayland ...	195.25	.....	1881	Salineville..	784.00	.....
1590	Salineville .	282.25	.....	1887	Bergholz ..	775.25	.....
1609	Lansing ...	842.75	.....	1888	Cambridge .	119.75	.....
1613	Dell Roy ..	103.00	.....	1900	Nelsonville.	98.39	.....
1643	Wellston ..	9.25	.....	1955	Glouster ..	682.00	.....
1650	Hopedale ..	81.50	.....	1962	Rayland ...	497.50	.....
1666	Moundsville	652.45	.....	1964	Dalton	39.25	.....
1667	Nelsonville	27.75	.....	1972	Coshocton .	28.75	.....
1666	Martins			1978	Shady Side	1,042.50	.....
	Ferry ..	558.00	.....	1979	Nelsonville.	18.50	.....
1706	Dillonvale .	597.75	.....	1980	Lisbon	465.75	.....
1723	Blairmont .	505.80	.....	1987	Adena	425.75	.....
				2002	Murray ...	86.75	.....

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
Coshocton .	1.00	.....	2186	Canaanville	909.84	.....
le			2188	Corning ...	158.75	.....
Valley ..	530.75	.....	2190	Cutler	471.25	.....
lyland ...	355.00	.....	2191	Wellston ..	310.25	.....
lonvale .	718.75	.....	2193	Conesville..	138.75	.....
w Phila-			2194	Hemlock ..	277.31	.....
elphia ..	50.63	.....	2195	Nelsonville.	418.00	.....
nesville .	168.75	.....	2203	Cheshire ..	50.75	.....
amble ...	161.00	.....	2225	Roseville .	427.50	.....
ysport ..	103.35	.....	2247	Amsterdam	739.10	.....
adley ...	766.00	.....	2260	Baileys		
stus	106.60	.....		Mills ...	247.25	.....
meroy ..	533.75	.....	2261	Wellston ..	11.25	.....
lonvale .	34.75	.....	2262	Jacobsburg.	943.75	.....
k Hill ..	19.75	.....	2266	Alice	52.75	.....
scarawas	29.50	.....	2268	Bellaire ...	20.80	.....
ffalo ...	946.00	.....	2276	Bellaire ...	467.50	.....
k Hill ..	69.00	.....	2284	Crooksville.	392.75	.....
a	1,036.00	.....	2285	Barton	3.75	.....
w Straits-			2286	McCuneville	60.50	.....
ville	34.00	.....	2290	Coshocton..	55.50	.....
fferty ...	44.25	.....	2300	Glouster ..	282.25	40.00
bon	68.50	.....	2313	Nelsonville.	49.65	.....
nesville .	59.50	.....	2349	Nelsonville.	196.25	.....
ashing ..	433.49	.....	2379	Dalton	242.75	.....
erfield ..	18.50	.....	2380	Bellaire ...	371.00	.....
ynard ..	1,299.50	.....	2386	Glencoe ...	454.75	.....
mbridge.	593.00	.....	2387	Fairpoint .	931.50	.....
llston ..	238.30	.....	2389	New Phila-		
idgeport.	896.50	.....		delphia ..	252.75	.....
ver	211.14	.....	2390	Dalton	223.95	.....
racuse ..	274.75	.....	2393	Wellston ..	86.62	.....
lonvale .	638.75	.....	2400	Rush Run..	334.00	.....
msey ...	632.00	.....	2421	Middleport.	84.75	.....
rwent ..	591.25	.....	2449	Pleasant		
ey Fork	691.25	.....		City	748.50	.....
ilo	128.25	.....	2450	Middleport.	191.50	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
2451	Senecaville.	518.25	.....	2688	Martins		
2452	New Lex- ington ..	325.25	.....		Ferry ...	45.00	.....
2453	Nelsonville.	14.00	.....	2696	Cheshire ..	58.25	.....
2454	Bellaire ...	60.25	.....	2723	Mineral City	89.50	.....
2457	Pedro	21.25	.....	2724	Dalton	194.75	.....
2458	Pomeroy ..	423.75	.....	2729	Wellston ..	191.50	.....
2459	New Phila- delphia ..	356.00	.....	2731	Murray ...	12.00	.....
2461	Roswell ...	341.00	.....	2735	Weems	611.25	.....
2481	Wellston ..	49.00	.....	2736	Nelsonville.	32.00	.....
2486	Cheshire ..	246.25	.....	2737	Chauncey .	351.50	.....
2526	Steel	1,145.50	.....	2740	Coshocton..	1.25	.....
2528	Roseville ..	158.75	.....	2768	Germano ..	175.25	.....
2529	Maynard ..	416.00	.....	2807	Leetonia ..	202.40	.....
2530	San Toy...	715.00	.....	2810	Wellston ..	40.00	.....
2531	Cadiz .....	.50	.....	2815	Oak Hill ..	25.00	.....
2558	Lisbon	195.50	.....	2872	Shawnee ...	51.75	.....
2559	Longstreth.	116.50	.....	2873	Coshocton..	27.75	.....
2560	Massillon .	11.00	.....	2878	Wellston ..	258.50	.....
2580	Mineral City	83.25	.....	2879	Pleasant City	626.25	.....
2581	Amsterdam	613.00	.....	2883	Longstreth.	39.00	.....
2584	Jackson ...	122.50	.....	2932	Corning ...	42.00	.....
2591	Flushing ..	80.70	.....	2936	Roseville ..	36.50	.....
2592	Bridgeport.	142.50	.....	2937	Saltillo	179.50	.....
2593	Flushing ..	470.50	.....	2938	Roseville ..	49.25	.....
2594	Jackson ...	165.68	.....	2967	Doanville ..	57.75	.....
2595	Dennison ..	3.00	.....	2978	New Straits- ville	26.50	.....
2603	Pomeroy ..	337.00	.....	2979	Dillonvale .	135.35	.....
2617	Nelsonville.	476.45	25.00	3011	Nelsonville.	8.25	.....
2618	Darlington.	21.00	.....	3015	Buchtel ...	25.25	.....
2640	Ironton ...	402.25	.....	3056	Jobs	27.75	.....
2641	Clinton ...	69.75	.....	3065	Blairmont .	65.75	.....
2642	Buffalo ...	935.00	.....	3066	Bergholz ..	120.75	.....
2674	Shawnee ..	370.00	.....	3092	Glouster ..	82.75	.....
2677	Carbon Hill	15.00	.....	3114	Nelsonville.	76.75	.....

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
Wellston ..	36.00	.....	3462	Uhrichsville	23.50	.....
Lore City .	38.50	.....	3480	Rendville .	14.25	.....
New Lex-			3482	Yorkville .	7.00	.....
ington ..	15.00	.....	3483	Bellaire ...	12.00	.....
Nelsonville.	42.50	.....	3488	New Phila-		
Bellaire ...	28.00	.....		delphia .	8.25	.....
Roswell ...	53.05	.....	3489	Moundsville	87.00	.....
Carbon Hill	14.00	.....	3490	Cambridge	13.75	.....
Murray ...	18.00	.....	3493	Coshocton .	4.75	.....
Shawnee ..	18.50	.....	3494	Ironton ...	5.25	.....
Elm Grove.	77.75	.....	3522	Baileys		
Triadelphia	66.25	.....		Mills ...	4.50	.....
Bladen ...	11.75	.....	3523	Shady Side	16.25	.....
Powhatan .			3537	Moundsville	49.25	.....
Point ...	11.50	.....	3538	Wellston ..	14.10	.....
So. Zanes-			3540	Nelsonville.	20.75	.....
ville	18.25	.....	3546	Jackson ..	24.45	.....
Carbon Hill	22.75	.....	3550	Tiltonville .	11.00	.....
New Marsh-			3556	Wellston ..	14.87	.....
field	21.25	.....	3557	East Liver-		
Barton ...	30.00	.....		pool	3.75	.....
Cheshire ..	11.25	.....	3561	Lisbon	7.75	.....
Uhrichsville	21.25	.....	3562	Neff	12.00	.....
Wellsburg.	77.50	.....	3568	Cambridge.	2.00	.....
Follansbee,			3579	Pedro	3.62	.....
W. Va. .	30.00	.....	3596	Nelsonville	10.00	.....
Nelsonville,			3640	Steel	7.50	.....
Ohio	12.75	.....	3641	Harrisville	4.25	.....
Brilliant ..	53.25	.....	3671	Neff	2.50	.....
Coalton ...	28.00	.....	3680	Roseville ..	2.00	.....
Tiltonville.	17.00	.....			
Collier	152.50	.....		Ass. paid by Dist.		
Crescent ..	34.25	.....		6, Geo. W. Sav-		
Sherodsville	30.50	.....		age, Secy., be-		
New Phila-				ing special \$2		
delphia .	7.50	.....		assess. ....	.....	37,952.00
Shawnee ..	14.50	.....			
Coshocton	12.25	.....			
				Totals.	\$113,980.55	\$38,368.00

DISTRICT NO. 7.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asse
69	McAdoo,			1521	Upper		
	Pa.\$	154.00	.....		Lehigh .	614.25	.
82	Audenreid.	414.74	.....	1527	Sheppton .	510.97	.
166	McAdoo ..	113.23	.....	1536	Coal Dale .	726.75	.
169	Kelayres ..	222.75	.....	1548	Hazle Brook	514.75	.
178	Beaver			1549	Tresckow .	22.75	.
	Brook ...	635.05	\$300.00	1554	McAdoo ..	202.63	.
185	Sugar Loaf	307.26	.....	1571	Tamaqua .	923.00	.
189	Hazleton ..	3.50	.....	1572	Lansford .	1,765.75	.
190	Kelayres ..	185.95	.....	1595	Mauch		.
236	Hazleton ..	57.25	.....		Chunk ..	27.00	.
250	Milnesville.	2,450.75	730.00	1652	Freeland ..	558.25	.
251	Tresckow .	220.75	7.50	1653	Sandy Run	693.20	.
288	Oneida ...	295.25	100.00	1657	Stockton ..	235.00	.
309	Freeland ..	889.84	.....	1665	Summit Hill	848.50	.
461	Coal Dale..	499.08	402.75	1671	Lansford ..	149.75	.
700	Hauto	72.00	50.00	1687	Coal Dale .	154.50	.
803	Hazleton ..	882.00	.....	1704	Nesque-		.
926	McAdoo ..	51.50	.....		honing ..	2,337.15	.
961	Jeanesville.	829.25	1,000.00	1719	Lansford ..	518.00	.
1200	Nuremburg	349.50	75.00	1738	Lansford ..	693.86	.
1376	Hazleton ..	1,236.25	500.00	1831	Hazleton ..	1,176.75	.
1381	Freeland ..	70.50	.....	1902	Ebervale ..	351.25	.
1434	Hazleton ..	967.13	550.00	1998	Beaver		.
1438	Hazleton ..	180.00	.....		Meadow .	524.25	.
1476	Hazleton ..	184.99	300.00	2033	Coal Dale..	192.00	.
1494	Beaver			2077	Hazleton ..	625.25	.
	Meadow .	1,127.75	.....	2095	Freeland ..	217.75	.
1505	Harwood			2135	Fern Glen .	25.37	.
	Mines ..	782.00	1,000.00	2168	McAdoo ..	274.50	.
1507	Eckley	584.25	.....	2339	Hazleton ..	993.75	.
1513	Fern Glen.	354.25	.....	2477	Freeland ..	515.50	.
1518	Jeddo	942.50	1,000.00	2547	Tamaqua .	459.89	.
1519	Drifton ...	732.16	.....	2631	Oneida ...	365.00	.
1520	Hazleton ..	349.00	.....	2647	Beaver		.
					Meadow.	256.00	.

L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
2718 Hazelton ..	167.25	120.00	3289 Audenried .	410.25	.....
2806 McAdoo ..	88.00	.....	3292 McAdoo ..	329.75	.....
2857 Freeland ..	259.55	.....	3311 Zehner ...	21.88	.....
3069 Hazleton ..	135.25	.....	Totals	\$34,979.68	\$9,133.75

DISTRICT NO. 8.

L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
48 Clay City, Ind.\$	79.39	.....	1251 Brazil	90.63	.....
136 Carbon ...	173.87	.....	1325 Diamond ..	163.50	.....
216 Brazil	47.00	.....	2716 Perth	41.51	.....
244 Brazil	1,022.50	.....	2794 Clay City..	69.50	.....
246 Diamond ..	66.00	.....	3100 Coal City..	20.25	.....
249 Brazil	54.88	.....	3112 Clay City..	43.00	.....
301 Ashboro ..	28.25	.....	3174 Carbon ...	56.51	.....
337 Diamond ..	198.13	.....	3182 Patricks- burg ...	53.00	.....
629 Brazil	47.00	.....	3535 Saline City	9.00	.....
697 Center Point ...	69.77	.....	3665 Jessup	5.00	.....
769 Brazil	105.85	.....	Assess. paid by Dist., being \$2 spe. assess. for- warded by Ed. H a v e r k a m p, Secy., Dist. 8..	.....	\$1,200.00
771 Perth	182.25	.....	Total ..	\$2,880.89	\$1,200.00
776 Harmony .	66.25	.....		
779 Brazil	81.10	.....		
883 Coal Bluff.	54.00	.....		
1211 Fontanet ..	52.75	.....		

DISTRICT NO. 9.

L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
32 Mahanoy City, Pa.\$	166.51	.....	115 Shamokin .	336.81	150.00
90 Heckscher- ville	110.00	.....	124 Trevorton .	1,711.72	200.00
105 Mt. Carmel	681.87	\$50.00	160 Shamokin .	430.72	.....
110 Ranshaw .	250.50	25.00	192 Mt. Carmel	179.25	.....
112 Excelsior .	374.00	100.00	198 Keiser	194.62	75.00
113 Shenandoah	238.03	.....	204 Shamokin .	104.66	.....
			205 Shenandoah	54.25	.....
			233 Cumbola ..	80.45	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asses
272	Shenandoah	105.00	.....	1398	Shaft	584.86	1
506	Locust Gap	1,725.72	.....	1409	New Boston	438.51	.
555	Strong ...	104.15	.....	1414	Shenandoah	311.86	1
561	Shamokin .	462.75	250.00	1427	Blackwood.	570.15	.
579	Mt. Carmel	1,298.60	50.00	1443	Shenandoah	877.75	5
807	Shenandoah	969.13	.....	1451	Connerton .	329.25	.
868	Minersville .	58.50	.....	1455	Shamokin .	371.52	.
886	Mahanoy	'		1464	Girardville.	790.24	.
	City	910.13	75.00	1465	Shenandoah	82.75	.
910	Sagon	128.25	.....	1467	Shenandoah	353.27	.
918	Girardville.	619.00	.....	1479	Centralia .	1,190.79	2
920	Port Carbon	147.05	.....	1500	Mahanoy		
938	Mt. Carmel	218.04	25.00		City	1,500.66	.
967	Mt. Carmel	219.75	50.00	1509	Shenandoah	331.90	2
968	Shamokin .	182.27	.....	1510	Mahanoy		
984	Shamokin .	296.50	.....		City	345.00	.
1028	Shamokin .	896.14	50.00	1511	Mahanoy		
1049	Ranshaw .	825.90	75.00		City	514.34	.
1062	Wiconisco .	1,858.10	.....	1514	Lost Creek.	256.38	.
1096	Brockton .	144.68	.....	1516	Lost Creek.	423.73	.
1103	Morea	495.52	824.82	1517	Ashland ..	1,972.23	.
1112	Mahanoy			1533	St. Clair ..	581.24	2
	Plane ...	107.25	.....	1534	Heckscher-		
1118	Middleport.	100.20	.....		ville	74.00	.
1188	Wilburton .	518.80	50.00	1535	Shamokin .	94.77	.
1246	Mahanoy			1537	Tuscarora .	392.25	.
	City ...	291.20	.....	1540	Buck		
1261	Pomer City	1,901.24	200.00		Mountain	555.25	.
1270	Mahanoy			1541	Gilberton .	426.25	.
	Plane	214.87	.....	1542	Mahanoy		
1288	Mahanoy				Plane ...	1,074.37	.
	City	1,728.00	.....	1543	Shaft	588.59	.
1292	Mahanoy			1547	Shaft		
	City	578.78	.....		Mountain	285.00	.
1296	Shamokin	1,113.47	.....	1552	Wilburton		
1305	Gilberton	474.70	.....		Plane	2,539.25	.
1308	Lost Creek	31.75	25.00	1553	New Boston	751.12	.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1552	Aristes	225.00	.....	1688	Duncott ...	72.75	.....
1553	St. Nicholas	174.25	.....	1709	Excelsior ..	337.55	100.00
1558	Pine Grove.	1,230.17	.....	1711	Gratz	462.99	.....
1560	Tremont ...	941.54	200.00	1721	Pottsville ..	201.51	50.00
1561	Donaldson..	539.49	.....	1725	Shamokin ..	221.60	100.00
1563	Mahanoy			1728	Wilburton..	342.13	25.00
	City	296.75	50.00	1763	Atlas	296.75	25.00
1564	Shenandoah	211.40	50.00	1767	Silver Creek	305.73	.....
1568	Silver Creek	487.00	.....	1781	Mt. Carmel.	821.65	.....
1577	Girardville..	571.52	.....	1796	Mt. Carmel.	812.50	.....
1582	Shaft	381.61	150.00	1838	Gilberton ..	323.00	.....
1584	Locust Dale	1,207.75	250.00	1850	Middleport..	86.50	.....
1588	Lost Creek.	98.57	10.00	1867	Gilberton ..	149.20	.....
1592	Cumbola ...	141.60	75.00	1868	Mahanoy		
1593	Shenandoah.	51.13	.....		City	351.15	.....
1594	Frackville..	390.50	75.00	1876	Shenandoah.	202.00	.....
1596	Cumbola ...	51.25	.....	1886	Mahanoy		
1597	Outwood ...	427.00	100.00		City	328.15	.....
1598	Middleport.	105.62	.....	1889	Shamokin..	75.40	10.00
1599	Joliett	130.75	.....	1906	Minersville.	41.25	.....
1600	Ravine	529.55	.....	1936	Branchdale.	852.75	.....
1618	Shenandoah.	106.27	25.00	1946	Silver Creek	220.60	.....
1619	Shenandoah.	78.63	10.00	1954	Minersville.	154.25	.....
1621	Centralia ..	168.64	.....	1956	Sagon	330.75	.....
1626	Mt. Carmel.	187.75	.....	1960	Cumbola ...	63.73	.....
1628	Hegins	493.25	.....	1961	Minersville.	240.50	.....
1629	Park Place.	328.89	.....	1999	Minersville.	8.75	.....
1637	Joliett	238.95	.....	2006	Shamokin..	214.50	.....
1638	Glen Carbon	47.50	.....	2199	Keiser	60.50	.....
1640	Minersville.	44.25	.....	2239	Shenandoah.	159.25	.....
1641	Peoples	142.75	50.00	2270	Maryd	123.64	.....
1642	Minersville.	205.41	.....	2305	Shenandoah.	259.00	.....
1660	Valley View	584.37	.....	2319	Kulpmont..	314.81	25.00
1669	Shamokin..	1,160.00	50.00	2346	Shenandoah.	479.60	50.00
1684	Minersville.	47.00	4.00	2350	St. Clair...	111.88	.....
1685	Shenandoah.	727.54	.....	2420	Ranshaw ...	112.00	15.00
1686	Wade	441.36	.....	1435	Centralia ..	654.00	200.00

5-M. Pro.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asse
2438	Trevorton..	193.76	25.00	2780	Minersville.	33.50	.
2539	Girardville.	136.25	.....	2825	St. Clair ...	99.80	.
2540	Lost Creek.	226.74	.....	2836	Ranshaw ...	436.37	.
2565	Shamokin..	321.37	.....	2838	Mahanoy		
2577	Mt. Carmel.	571.25	.....		City	304.00	.
2578	St. Clair ...	414.50	.....	2844	Zerbe	293.92	
2587	Raven Run.	464.81	50.00	2848	Mt. Carmel.	851.65	
2596	Shamokin..	1,205.60	.....	2854	Pottsville...	43.75	.
2602	St. Clair ...	217.75	.....	2861	Frackville..	106.86	.
2611	Shenandoah	551.08	200.00	2890	Llewellyn ..	102.35	.
2667	Girardville.	209.67	.....	2928	Pottsville...	189.75	.
2701	Kulpmont .	253.50	.....	3551	Pottsville...	13.50	.
2713	Shenandoah	13.38	.....		Jas. McAndrew,		
2745	Shamokin..	130.42	.....		Special Assess-		
2764	St. Nich-				ment		45,
	olas	167.91	.....			
					Total....	\$72,544.34	\$51,

DISTRICT NO. 10.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asse
227	Roslyn,			2510	Roslyn	829.25	
	Wash. ...\$	793.75	.....	2512	Cle Elum ..	1,215.75	
934	Carbonado..	1,291.50	.....	2583	Roslyn	775.00	
1044	Cumberland	126.07	.....	2634	Wilkeson ..	834.75	
1717	Tono	347.25	.....	2682	Cle Elum ..	391.25	
1853	Palmer ...	190.75	.....	2717	Cumberland	260.50	
1863	Chehalis ...	87.00	.....	2747	Issaquah ...	222.33	
1890	Cumberland	156.55	.....	2869	Spiketon ..	158.50	
1911	Palmer	174.88	.....	2871	Roslyn	754.50	
1994	Bayne	257.00	.....	2963	Melmont ...	36.75	
2157	Taylor	150.75	.....	3055	Kopiah	51.75	
2257	Black			3179	Fairfax	58.00	
	Diamond.	1,293.50	.....	3458	Renton	128.50	
2269	Roslyn	250.00	.....		Wm. Short, Secy.,		
2362	New Castle.	1,112.03	.....		Dist. 10, Special		
2369	Mendota ...	163.40	.....		\$2 assessment.		\$ 8
2373	Burnett ...	837.37	.....			
2413	Issaquah ...	274.00	.....		Total....	\$13,222.63	\$ 8

DISTRICT NO. 11.

L.U.	Location	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
19	Terre Haute, Ind.	\$ 80.40	.....	390	Evansville..	300.45	.....
21	Princeton ..	704.75	.....	399	Linton	853.00	.....
23	Terre Haute	1,043.25	.....	412	Hymera ...	915.16	.....
24	Jasonville..	250.50	.....	437	Jasonville ..	331.95	\$ 106.70
28	Clinton	454.18	.....	463	Jasonville ..	691.50	22.50
39	Clinton	889.50	.....	496	Jasonville ..	235.50	.....
42	Staunton ...	292.96	.....	508	Terre Haute	686.25	.....
46	Petersburg.	496.63	.....	516	Newburg ..	49.50	.....
54	Linton	363.00	.....	525	Terre Haute	695.50	.....
74	Clinton ...	531.50	.....	582	Augusta ...	139.23	.....
75	Sullivan ...	743.63	.....	590	Terre Haute	75.89	.....
114	Elberfeld ..	177.25	.....	604	Clinton	862.80	35.00
117	Terre Haute	605.63	.....	610	Washington	46.00	.....
134	Clinton	406.25	.....	625	Linton	682.25	.....
141	Dugger	104.00	.....	647	W. Terre Haute...	41.90	.....
155	Bicknell ...	613.05	.....	656	Jasonville ..	111.25	.....
184	Jasonville ..	185.50	.....	670	Terre Haute	638.83	.....
195	Sullivan ...	852.92	.....	690	Augusta ...	168.01	3.00
214	Brazil	271.64	.....	713	Winslow ...	375.43	3.25
217	Boonville ..	72.91	.....	752	Newburg ..	197.13	.....
223	Staunton ..	57.63	.....	764	Littles	550.75	.....
228	Sullivan ...	631.26	.....	770	Linton	111.89	.....
248	Terre Haute	477.63	.....	884	Bicknell ...	1,533.25	25.00
254	Brazil	149.64	.....	906	Clinton	1,182.00	.....
287	Newburg ..	167.50	.....	942	Montgom- ery	321.50	.....
289	Winslow ...	985.40	.....	953	Terre Haute	1,190.63	.....
294	Coal Bluff..	453.70	.....	1019	Universal ..	633.87	.....
308	N. Terre Haute....	371.75	.....	1022	Chandler ..	156.35	.....
350	Clinton	259.00	.....	1045	Clinton	636.00	.....
352	Bicknell ...	763.01	.....	1065	Evansville..	241.25	.....
355	W. Terre Haute....	410.50	.....	1095	Francisco ..	127.25	.....
381	Clinton	398.00	.....	1099	Sullivan ...	67.75	.....
382	Clinton	506.13	.....	1109	Evansville..	222.11	97.50
				1111	Shelburn ..	468.95	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assess
1187	Rosedale ...	869.25	.....	2062	Sullivan ...	215.50	...
1243	Boonville ..	258.15	.....	2075	Terre Haute	615.90	...
1244	Boonville ..	161.00	.....	2090	Linton	340.95	...
1277	Sullivan ...	515.52	.....	2121	Jasonville ..	576.00	...
1301	Linton	152.50	.....	2122	Midland ...	166.75	...
1326	Bicknell ...	183.75	.....	2134	Linton	297.86	...
1328	Linton	865.63	.....	2151	Cannelburg.	69.95	...
1368	Bruceville..	620.25	.....	2152	New Goshen	119.75	...
1371	Chandler ...	274.00	.....	2196	Terre Haute	530.40	...
1383	Linton	567.13	.....	2245	W. Terre		
1394	W. Terre				Haute...	90.83	...
	Haute...	534.13	.....	2274	Clinton	471.50	...
1452	Evansville..	492.25	.....	2343	Boonville ..	228.38	10-00
1539	Universal ..	1,512.03	.....	2382	Shelburn ..	612.98	...
1555	Carlisle ...	365.65	.....	2410	Oakland		
1634	Vincennes..	1,272.12	.....		City	313.55	...
1636	Terre Haute	708.50	.....	2411	Bicknell ...	825.13	...
1646	Clinton	360.75	.....	2412	Hymera ...	153.75	...
1658	Winslow ...	496.41	.....	2422	Clinton	993.25	...
1676	Linton	433.50	.....	2423	Vicksburg..	475.25	...
1698	Bicknell ...	821.93	.....	2427	Paxton	606.60	...
1702	W. Terre			2431	Coalmont ..	304.35	...
	Haute...	527.25	.....	2446	Clinton	722.50	...
1713	Dugger ...	679.75	.....	2475	Shelburn ..	252.75	...
1742	Linton	28.25	.....	2521	Wheatland.	460.26	...
1743	Jasonville..	597.49	4.00	2522	W. Terre		
1755	Boonville ..	362.61	.....		Haute...	774.52	...
1839	Clinton	239.82	.....	2544	Shelburn ..	251.50	...
1895	Linton	681.87	.....	2549	Coal Bluff..	815.70	...
1901	Terre Haute	91.00	.....	2550	Boonville ..	170.50	...
1919	Jasonville..	549.25	.....	2598	Farmers-		
1967	Edwards-				burg	145.25	...
	port	121.50	.....	2607	Newburg ..	208.47	...
1984	Covington...	56.75	.....	2632	Terre Haute	457.00	...
2011	Clinton	1,182.25	.....	2646	Terre Haute	199.37	...
2024	Jasonville ..	861.40	.....	2648	Paris, Ill...	883.50	...
2061	Clinton	862.50	.....	2758	Shelburn,		
					Ind.	429.76	...

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
777	Ft. Branch.	321.00	18.50	3426	Staunton ..	67.75	.....
892	Dugger	17.25	.....	3468	Brazil	8.00	.....
971	Brazil	89.75	.....	3485	Boonville ..	20.45	.....
976	Staunton ..	167.25	.....	3492	Brazil	15.00	.....
989	Linton	30.25	.....	3517	Clinton	15.25	.....
991	Jasonville ..	29.25	.....	3552	W. Terre		
009	Brazil	95.00	.....		Haute ...	31.25	.....
041	Blanford ...	815.25	.....	3553	Blanford ..	10.00	.....
070	Brazil	101.50	.....	3566	Jasonville .	6.50	.....
097	Terre Haute	460.75	.....	3567	Petersburg.	8.01	.....
159	Cannelburg.	46.00	.....	3572	Clinton ...	8.25	.....
211	Shelburn ..	80.63	.....	3578	Washington	15.25	.....
261	Montgom-			3584	Terre Haute	5.00	.....
	ery	23.00	.....	3589	Seelyville ..	9.00	.....
331	Boonville ..	30.75	.....	3604	Brazil	10.00	.....
363	Winslow ...	21.75	.....	3614	Dugger ...	4.00	.....
383	Petersburg.	28.50	.....	3624	Oakland		
384	Farmers-				City	6.00	.....
	burg	20.25	.....		Total....	\$65,009.87	\$ 325.45

DISTRICT NO. 12.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1	Braidwood,			67	Breese	701.75	.....
	Ill.....\$	121.25	.....	78	Breese	695.25	.....
2	Farmington.	489.40	.....	86	Millstadt ..	102.00	.....
3	Sandoval ..	3.00	.....	88	Eldorado ..	714.00	.....
4	Harrisburg.	435.45	.....	91	Johnston		
11	Coal City..	701.00	.....		City	1,017.25	.....
12	Logan	1,111.25	\$ 53.84	94	Moweaqua..	362.50	.....
22	Pontiac	183.75	.....	99	Belleville ..	1,144.50	.....
30	Lovington..	622.25	.....	100	Mapleton ..	158.50	.....
41	Catlin	223.00	.....	101	Pana	829.25	.....
43	Spring			106	Canton	744.00	.....
	Valley ...	1,773.75	.....	107	Sunfield ...	159.75	.....
52	Centralia ..	1,760.75	.....	109	Assumption.	388.00	36.75
58	Kewanee ..	60.00	.....	122	Pocahontas.	427.00	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
125	Mt. Olive...	1,848.00	244.50	473	LaSalle	951.00	...
146	Divernon ..	1,562.25	.....	474	Belleville ..	541.25	...
165	Willisville..	1,015.50	.....	478	Duquoin ...	1,600.00	...
167	Witt	698.00	.....	492	Springfield.	814.75	...
179	Sparland ..	110.25	.....	493	Nokomis ...	1,496.75	...
221	Peoria	538.70	.....	494	Springfield.	713.25	...
224	Lincoln ...	584.50	.....	503	Westville ..	2,284.75	304
232	Christopher.	2,215.25	.....	511	Tilden	439.50	...
238	Belleville ..	1,270.00	.....	517	Tovey	1,243.50	...
240	Marseilles..	202.00	.....	518	Marion	94.75	...
247	Minonk ...	349.25	.....	522	Pekin	186.50	...
264	Collinsville.	1,236.00	.....	528	Springfield.	455.25	...
275	Fairview ..	105.50	2.25	563	Peoria	268.25	...
291	Toluca	1,741.00	.....	565	Equality ...	285.87	...
297	New Baden.	1,431.25	.....	572	Dubois	127.00	...
303	Orient	2,271.50	.....	575	Pinckney-		
304	Belleville ..	1,003.75	35.50		ville	675.00	...
305	Rentchler ..	269.50	.....	578	Benton, Ill..	1,608.40	...
317	Springfield.	571.75	.....	598	Lincoln	476.15	...
322	Danville ...	296.25	.....	600	Cantrall, ...	335.75	...
329	West			605	Murphys-		
	Frankfort	1,312.00	.....		boro	575.75	...
331	Springfield.	377.12	.....	611	Sparta	638.50	1:
341	Lenzburg ..	322.50	3.25	618	Peru	416.50	...
361	Niantic	130.00	.....	620	LaSalle ...	437.50	...
362	Coal Valley.	207.50	.....	621	Sandoval ..	955.25	...
366	Cutler	277.15	.....	633	Athens	501.25	...
368	Cuba	1,118.25	.....	644	Hillsboro .	825.75	...
388	Clifford	1,388.75	.....	646	Taylorville.	5.00	...
409	Duquoin ...	1,483.25	18.00	649	Peru	662.75	...
413	Springfield.	959.25	.....	650	Edwards ..	429.25	1:
419	Craig	265.50	.....	651	Rutland	202.50	...
420	Grayson ...	799.15	.....	655	Herrin	1,754.75	...
438	Equality ...	211.50	.....	658	Percy	940.75	...
448	Springfield.	860.00	.....	659	Sparta	850.75	...
467	Farmington	270.50	.....	661	Hanna City.	385.25	...
468	Fairbury ...	171.87	.50	663	Coulterville.	426.73	...

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
668	Worden ...	928.00	.....	754	Riverton ...	1,462.25	15.00
672	Petersburg.	111.25	.....	755	Staunton ..	4,156.50	.....
675	Glasford ...	444.50	.....	757	Elkville	1,037.75	.....
683	Murphys-			758	Ledford	558.75	181.68
	boro	356.50	4.00	765	Breese	548.00	.....
685	Collinsville.	1,461.25	.....	766	Energy	980.75	.....
686	Glen Carbon	1,089.00	.....	781	Decatur ...	652.75	.....
687	Freeburg ..	815.25	.....	782	Belleville ..	327.00	.....
691	Troy	846.50	.....	784	Marissa ...	1,000.75	.....
694	Girard	942.25	.....	789	Frankfort		
696	Galatia	235.75	.....		Heights..	2,244.00	33.93
698	Pittsburg ..	254.25	.....	792	Norris	483.50	.....
702	Carlinsville..	535.00	.....	794	Eldorado ..	1,019.25	.....
705	O'Fallon ...	1,284.50	220.00	798	Harrisburg.	676.75	.....
706	Caseyville..	192.75	.....	800	Streator ...	464.50	.....
707	Peoria	531.50	.....	815	Lincoln	794.50	.....
710	Pana .....	.25	.....	820	Edwards-		
711	Johnston				ville	464.25	47.50
	City	657.25	.....	821	Oakwood ..	269.25	.....
712	Edinburg ..	47.00	.....	822	Pana	674.50	24.50
714	Fiatt	132.75	.....	826	Collinsville.	492.50	.....
715	Odin	763.50	.....	843	Muddy	940.75	.....
720	Staunton ..	1,845.50	.....	848	Collinsville.	1,192.50	.....
721	Pana	907.50	.....	850	Dawson ...	351.50	.....
726	Wenona ...	833.25	.....	859	Belleville ..	731.50	.....
728	Mt. Olive...	805.50	.....	860	St. David..	1,070.00	.....
730	Gillespie ...	2,043.75	.....	892	Kingston		
731	Springfield.	1,209.50	.....		Mines ...	156.59	.....
732	Peoria	649.25	.....	893	Canton	1,073.25	.....
734	Peoria	923.75	44.50	895	Roanoke ...	628.75	.....
736	Dalzell	1,312.50	.....	912	O'Fallon ...	409.00	.....
737	Millstadt ..	76.50	.....	923	Herrin	132.25	.....
743	Lebanon ...	110.50	.....	929	Oglesby ...	1,038.25	.....
745	Pawnee	858.75	.....	931	Spring		
748	Torino	495.75	.....		Valley ...	3.50	.....
753	Blooming-			944	Herrin	1,135.00	.....
	ton	495.25	.....	946	Farmington.	506.00	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
948	Danville ...	831.00	.....	1391	Thayer	1,620.65	.....
959	W. Frank-			1397	Centralia ..	1,381.00	1,300.50
	fort	2,083.50	.....	1401	Matherville.	341.50	.....
980	Coffeen	520.40	.....	1421	Buckner ...	1,976.75	.....
986	Herrin	1,251.75	.....	1426	Johnston		
992	Zeigler	2,555.75	.....		City	538.00	.....
997	Springfield.	507.75	.....	1440	Taylor		
999	Springfield.	958.25	.....		Springs ..	398.75	.....
1000	Herrin	729.50	10.00	1449	Wasson	1,035.25	.....
1011	Colfax	101.00	.....	1458	Duquoin ...	1,833.00	.....
1040	Harrisburg.	605.25	.....	1470	Benton	1,087.75	.....
1051	Ladd	1,515.25	.....	1471	Springfield.	407.75	.....
1053	Ellisville ...	416.90	14.25	1475	Panama ...	1,713.50	.....
1055	Cambria ...	632.25	.....	1484	Nokomis ...	1,735.25	.....
1059	Carrier			1491	Herrin	424.00	.....
	Mills	758.25	.....	1523	Cedar Point	1,030.50	.....
1090	New Athens	419.00	.....	1606	Carrier		
1103	Westville .	1,151.50	.....		Mills	566.25	.....
1104	Sherrard ...	145.50	.....	1624	Seneca	92.50	.....
1108	Standard ..	376.25	.....	1632	Springfield.	350.75	.....
1115	Springfield.	653.00	.....	1677	Eldorado ...	957.50	.....
1117	Marion	665.50	.....	1722	Oglesby ...	303.50	.....
1144	Colp	1,462.50	.....	1769	Equality ...	33.50	.....
1146	Carterville..	631.25	150.00	1776	Herrin	729.34	.....
1151	Rend	1,219.25	.....	1782	Royalton ..	1,549.75	.....
1193	Brereton ...	646.75	.....	1795	Herrin	921.50	.....
1202	Tilden	367.65	.....	1797	Belleville ..	774.25	.....
1207	Tamaroa ...	347.25	.....	1800	Peoria	898.50	.....
1213	Farmington.	407.50	45.25	1802	Maryville ..	1,834.25	.....
1228	Dewmaine..	1,203.55	.....	1806	Coulterville.	471.00	61.00
1237	Sesser	1,455.75	22.50	1807	Kincaid	1,614.00	.....
1239	Johnston			1865	Eldorado ...	984.75	.....
	City	1,148.25	.....	1880	Marion	1,862.50	42.50
1248	Herrin	1,371.25	.....	1893	Witt	1,841.50	.....
1285	Mascoutah..	961.50	.....	1908	Auburn	549.25	19.00
1356	Georgetown.	2,913.25	.....	1910	Harrisburg.	1,416.50	.....
1380	Marion	598.75	.....	1927	Farmington.	695.50	.....

L.U	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1941	Whiteash ..	720.25	.....	2619	Beckemeyer	850.25	.....
1944	Westville ..	1,608.00	.....	2621	Herrin	651.25	.....
1948	Pekin	491.00	.....	2622	Decatur ...	703.00	.....
1959	Benton	795.50	.....	2650	Harrisburg.	602.50	.....
1971	W. Frank-			2654	Auburn	1,058.00	.....
	fort	880.00	.....	2656	Livingston..	2,007.75	14.00
1986	Norris	497.00	43.50	2657	W. Frank-		
2109	Nashville ..	185.50	.....		fort	1,082.50	.....
2129	Marion	764.75	.....	2676	Danville ...	142.00	.....
2133	DeSoto	122.50	.....	2678	Johnston		
2158	Tower Hill.	196.00	.....		City	670.25	.....
2215	Johnston			2679	Hillsboro ..	1,138.25	.....
	City	1,639.25	.....	2703	Edgemont		
2219	Gillespie ...	2,167.25	.....		Station ..	626.99	.....
2307	Granville ..	1,898.00	.....	2704	Marion	234.00	.....
2368	Murphys-			2705	Stonington.	1,107.25	86.50
	boro	844.95	.....	2706	S. Wilming-		
2376	Christopher.	1,544.00	.....		ton	1,546.50	13.00
2384	Matherville.	505.50	2.50	2707	Benld	2,128.50	.....
2385	Springfield.	665.75	.....	2708	Belleville ..	1,725.50	.....
2403	Springfield.	697.57	.....	2709	Norris City.	353.25	.....
2404	Virden	1,520.25	.....	2710	Whiteash ..	451.75	.....
2418	Bush	331.25	.....	2711	Cherry	1,550.00	8.50
2425	Virden	517.25	.....	2837	Carrier		
2441	Springfield.	1,064.50	.....		Mills	918.00	.....
2467	Danville ...	197.75	.....	2840	Middle		
2468	Christopher.	1,517.00	.....		Grove ...	548.00	15.50
2469	Herrin	642.75	.....	2897	Girard	100.75	.....
2479	Fairmount..	60.00	.....	3160	Sesser	141.75	.....
2513	Taylorville.	1,141.25	28.00	3192	Johnston		
2514	Belleville ..	1,158.25	.....		City	30.50	.....
2515	Dorrisville..	1,490.50	.....	3221	Pittsburg ..	47.25	.....
2534	Fairmount..	51.50	.....	3222	Danville ...	68.00	.....
2553	Springfield.	1,323.25	.....	3313	Harrisburg.	13.10	.....
2555	Bush	686.00	.....	3317	Tallula	17.40	.....
2556	Carterville.	773.75	.....	3353	Carrier		
2562	Springfield.	112.75	.....		Mills	10.00	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
3447	Raleigh ...	61.75	.....	8617	Spring		
3451	Grape				Valley ...	1,684.00	.....
	Creek ...	18.00	.....		W. Nesbit, Secy.,		
3459	Nilwood ...	43.00	.....		Dist. 12, special		
3465	DeSoto	52.50	.....		\$2 assess.		\$154,950.00
3542	Marion	11.50	.....			
3554	Bissell	12.50	.....		Totals...	\$237,716.83	\$158,125.45
3586	Mascoutah..	34.75	.....			

DISTRICT NO. 13.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
10	Valley			662	Lovilia	191.11	.....
	Junction,			671	Seevers	289.50	.....
	Iowa\$	451.74	.....	692	Fredric	448.64	.....
47	Eddyville ..	597.71	.....	709	Madrid	759.12	.....
55	Des Moines	672.61	.....	775	Cincinnati..	1,120.21	.....
56	Colfax	977.75	.....	783	Mendota,		
97	Oskaloosa..	43.25	.....		Mo.	75.64	.....
152	Ottumwa ..	221.25	.....	790	Whiteburg,		
154	Newton	76.00	.....		Iowa	838.25	.....
172	Foster	401.00	.....	793	Albia	764.00	.....
178	Beacon	21.00	.....	799	Lucas	36.25	.....
201	Brazil	532.88	.....	812	Exline	629.24	.....
206	Seymour ...	724.22	.....	840	Madrid	563.12	.....
239	Clarkdale ..	197.75	.....	845	Centerville.	494.07	.....
242	Avery	557.76	.....	851	Des Moines.	371.25	.....
318	Des Moines.	1,140.87	.....	855	Lehigh	139.50	.....
372	Rathbun ...	774.00	.....	869	Boone	1,352.25	.....
384	Des Moines.	580.14	.....	875	Numa	763.50	.....
387	Jerome	425.99	.....	903	Laddsdale..	93.50	.....
392	Ft. Dodge...	88.61	.....	916	Hiteman...	874.39	.....
407	Albia	317.75	.....	958	Unionville,		
426	Evans	75.00	.....		Mo.	85.50	.....
534	Knoxville ..	9.50	.....	981	Everist, Ia.	399.87	.....
550	Tipperary..	1,188.24	.....	1039	Fraser	31.75	.....
553	Centerville	2,118.63	.....	1042	Lovilia	212.58	.....
634	Mystic	2,316.89	.....	1047	Des Moines.	531.76	\$ 62.01

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1063	Centerville.	1,078.35	.....	2433	Ogden	326.00	.....
1110	Dawson	36.00	.....	2460	Madrid	484.90	.....
1121	Hocking ...	920.00	.....	2470	Ankeny	656.75	.....
1140	Des Moines.	180.75	.....	2482	Hamilton ..	769.25	.....
1169	Bear Creek.	595.00	.....	2485	Valley		
1178	Buxton	16.75	.....		Junction.	487.00	.....
1265	Otley	8.00	.....	2496	Des Moines.	57.25	.....
1318	Eddyville ..	60.75	.....	2511	Enterprise..	563.75	.....
1504	Melcher ...	1,057.97	.....	2652	Centerville.	134.49	.....
1573	Des Moines.	1,060.88	.....	2830	Ward	585.89	.....
1603	Des Moines.	370.50	.....	2876	Melbourne,		
1616	Coal City...	97.00	.....		Mo.	53.50	.....
1655	Knoxville ..	461.30	.....	2988	Plano, Ia...	105.25	.....
1761	Woodward..	710.15	.....	3039	Bidwell	709.01	.....
1799	Buxton	2,208.00	.....	3281	Russell	35.50	.....
1854	Cainesville,			3571	Ft. Dodge..	6.75	.....
	Mo.	365.14	.....	3593	Lovilia	5.75	.....
1873	Centerville,				John Gay, Sec.,		
	Iowa	656.67	.....		Dist. 13, spec.		
1907	Ankeny	685.50	.....		\$2 assess.		31,040.00
1933	Chariton ...	1,265.90	.....			
1958	Knoxville ..	593.15	.....		Totals....	\$43,227.20	\$31,102.01
2035	Spring Hill.	242.86	.....			

DISTRICT NO. 14.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
33	Mulberry,			133	Mulberry ..	44.75	.....
	Kans. ...\$	509.15	.....	135	Frontenac..	834.50	.....
40	Mulberry ..	388.75	.....	161	Pittsburg ..	162.10	.....
53	Girard	154.25	.....	164	Arcadia ...	64.65	.....
57	E. Mineral.	239.40	.....	210	Weir	794.00	.....
59	Liberal, Mo.	170.00	.....	219	Pittsburg ..	179.75	.....
70	Frontenac,			267	Mulberry ..	279.25	.....
	Kans.	204.50	.....	273	Columbus ..	202.25	.....
85	Columbus ..	100.75	.....	283	Pittsburg ..	209.25	.....
87	Mulberry ..	497.00	.....	310	Cherokee ..	87.80	.....
127	Pittsburg ..	316.00	\$28.00	393	Pittsburg ..	162.25	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
406	Radley	115.25	.....	1149	Gross	248.75	.....
411	Arma	182.50	.....	1171	Pittsburg ..	155.25	.....
414	Gross	400.25	.....	1194	Mulberry ..	476.75	.....
434	W. Mineral.	121.25	.....	1212	Croweburg.	302.95	.....
445	Arcadia ...	290.50	.....	1224	Rich Hill,		
447	Arcadia ...	201.00	.....		Mo.	194.12	.....
498	Scammon ..	488.38	.....	1283	Girard,		
533	Pittsburg ..	237.00	.....		Kans. ...	645.00	.....
544	Scranton ..	190.28	7.00	1429	Pittsburg ..	41.00	.....
551	Oskaloosa,			1466	Pittsburg ..	65.00	.....
	Mo.	48.40	.....	1580	Arcadia ...	50.25	.....
559	Arcadia,			1607	Girard	813.25	.....
	Kans. ...	99.25	.....	1701	Osage City.	44.00	.....
588	Mulberry ..	478.50	.....	1765	Stone City.	192.43	.....
589	Mulberry ..	96.25	.....	1790	Pittsburg ..	415.50	.....
597	Scammon ..	559.25	25.00	1820	Roseland ...	329.25	.....
723	Croweburg.	574.75	108.00	1821	Arma	779.50	.....
735	Pittsburg..	435.14	.....	1870	Minden-		
768	Arma	371.25	.....		mines,		
836	Pittsburg ..	28.00	.....		Mo.	657.50	16.25
857	Cherokee ..	52.50	.....	1896	Croweburg,		
902	Rich Hill,				Kans. ...	460.75	.....
	Mo.	248.85	.....	1922	Croweburg.	488.75	.....
951	Arcadia,			1963	Mineral	241.25	.....
	Kans. ...	120.75	.....	1990	Mulberry ..	274.00	40.00
960	Mulberry ..	380.80	.....	1991	Frontenac ..	352.74	.....
1009	Osage City.	267.37	.....	2212	Franklin ..	785.50	.....
1038	Minden-			2289	Cherokee ..	86.75	.....
	mines,			2302	Mulberry ..	22.50	.....
	Mo.	99.00	.....	2330	Mulberry ..	450.35	.....
1048	W. Mineral,			2333	Arcadia ...	152.00	.....
	Kans. ...	70.75	.....	2359	Frontenac ..	496.80	.....
1064	Mulberry ..	265.25	.....	2377	Burlingame.	166.00	.....
1074	Burlingame.	117.50	.....	2392	Minden-		
1088	Cherokee ..	218.00	.....		mines,		
1093	Pittsburg..	196.50	.....		Mo.	122.75	.....
1094	Scammon .	325.50	.....	2455	Franklin,		
					Kans. ...	685.00	1.50

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
198	Pittsburg ..	276.75	.....	3106	Roseland ..	277.77	.....
502	Liberal,			3107	Pittsburg .	94.60	.....
	Mo.	56.00	.....	3108	Pittsburg .	194.00	.....
2524	Cherokee,			3123	Pittsburg .	123.75	.....
	Kans. ...	131.00	.....	3130	Oskaloosa,		
2620	Pittsburg ..	468.75	.....		Mo.	151.50	.....
2624	Girard	604.50	.....	3152	Hume	47.25	.....
2635	Pittsburg ..	426.20	.....	3153	Liberal ...	148.75	.....
2637	Cherokee ..	207.75	.....	3154	Pittsburg,		
2714	Pittsburg..	9.50	.....		Kans. ...	174.00	.....
2743	Ringo	924.80	.....	3322	Liberal,		
2755	Carona	115.90	.....		Mo.	16.75	.....
2771	Radley	308.75	.....	3452	Mulberry,		
2798	Girard	523.28	.....		Kans. ...	7.50	.....
2852	Pittsburg ..	317.00	.....	3453	Arcadia ..	8.75	.....
2858	Franklin ...	579.45	.....	3513	Rich Hill,		
2864	Scammon ..	234.25	.....		Mo.	16.75	.....
2867	Mulberry ..	461.20	.....	3524	Mulberry,		
3017	Frontenac ..	51.25	.....		Kans. ...	8.00	.....
3019	Mulberry ..	215.00	.....	3563	Mulberry .	1.50	.....
3042	Frontenac ..	240.00	.....	3565	Arcadia ..	12.50	.....
3059	Frontenac ..	352.75	.....	3602	Minden,		
3060	Pittsburg ..	546.75	.....		mines,		
3062	Mulberry ..	57.75	.....		Mo.	7.50	.....
3063	Pleasanton.	10.00	.....	Thos. H a r v e y,			
3064	Liberal,			Secy., Dist. 14,			
	Mo.	291.50	.....	spec. \$2 assess.	.....	22,238.00	
3101	Girard,						
	Kans. ...	303.75	.....	Total ..	\$32,075.66	\$22,463.75	

DISTRICT NO. 15.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
84	Superior,			363	Williams-		
	Colo. ...\$	66.00	.....		burg ...	243.75	.....
186	Rockvale ..	405.75	.....	423	Toltec	43.50	.....
259	Berwind ..	173.60	.....	834	Firestone .	66.25	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asses
876	Oakview ..	349.75	.....	3018	Ojo	131.00	.
1082	Denver ...	5.50	.....	3020	Oak Creek.	146.45	..
1388	Lafayette .	44.00	.....	3022	Florence ..	16.00	..
1662	Colorado			3023	McGregor .	30.50	..
	Springs..	127.75	.....	3024	Tioga	169.00	..
1668	Louisville .	442.25	.....	3025	Shumway .	266.63	..
1772	Palisade ..	88.75	.....	3028	Pool	11.00	..
1878	Delagua ..	819.00	.....	3030	Mt. Harris.	178.60	..
1884	Hastings ..	226.63	.....	3033	Rouse	120.25	..
1894	Oak Creek.	159.25	.....	3034	Starkville .	356.50	..
1920	Gray Creek	92.75	.....	3035	Rapson ...	280.50	..
2060	Aguilar ...	368.75	.....	3038	Walsenburg	13.50	..
2170	Colorado			3040	Sopris	115.00	..
	Springs .	81.00	.....	3043	Bear River	39.60	..
2189	Pyrolite ..	144.50	.....	3044	Tollerburg.	360.00	..
2224	Gibson,			3045	Bear River	42.60	..
	N. M. ...	64.50	.....	3048	Sopris	381.75	..
2395	Bowen,			3051	Mt. Harris.	11.25	..
	Colo. ...	71.40	.....	3052	Primero ..	23.75	..
2409	Coal Creek	201.50	.....	3053	Tioga	78.50	..
2483	Gorham ..	268.75	.....	3094	Trinidad ..	8.00	..
2546	Canon City	425.75	.....	3095	Bowen	179.25	..
2662	Heaton,			3098	Solar	97.03	..
	N. M. ...	78.25	.....	3102	Toltec	189.50	..
2663	Gibson	60.50	.....	3104	Walsenburg	17.50	..
2753	Frederick,			3105	Ravenwood.	249.00	..
	Colo. ...	392.00	.....	3109	Erie	260.00	.
2850	Canon City	193.75	.....	3110	Ludlow ...	226.58	.
2868	Morley ...	260.25	.....	3124	Strong ...	198.50	.
2885	Oak Creek.	105.15	.....	3125	Bear River	70.85	.
3001	Maitland ..	90.00	.....	3216	Gallup,		
3003	Denver ...	10.25	.....		N. M. ...	39.25	.
3006	Oak Creek.	51.25	.....	3227	Madrid ...	83.25	.
3008	Walsenburg	80.25	.....	3256	Crested		
3010	Segundo ..	23.75	.....		Butte,		
3014	Strong	90.00	.....		Colo. ...	246.50	.
3016	Trinidad ..	9.00	.....			

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
3332	Ludlow ...	9.00	.....	3464	Delcarbon,		
3338	Gallup,				Colo. ...	20.00	.....
	N. M.	96.50	.....	3518	Rugby	14.50	.....
3351	Rapson,			3575	Pictou	4.25	.....
	Colo. ...	5.75	.....			
3393	Aguilar ...	58.75	.....		Total ...	\$11,243.87	.....
3439	Helper,						
	Utah ...	22.50	.....			

DISTRICT NO. 16.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1097	Beryl, W.			2851	Midland ..	363.25	.....
	Va.,\$	518.75	.....	3334	Davis, W.		
2027	Vale Sum-				Va.	53.50	.....
	mit, Md..	216.75	.....	3335	Frostburg,		
2471	Mt. Savage	369.25	.....		Md.	114.50	.....
2478	Bayard, W.			3336	Benbush ..	50.75	.....
	Va.	123.88	.....	3337	Pierce, W.		
2523	Barton, Md.	584.50	.....		Va.	55.25	.....
2819	Frostburg .	1,164.00	.....			
2835	Lonacon-						
	ing, Md..	971.00	.....		Total ...	\$ 4,585.38	.....

DISTRICT NO. 17.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
143	Kimberly,			636	Handley ..	160.75	.....
	W. Va. ...\$	96.00	\$ 8.50	676	Chelyan ..	95.75	.....
209	Eagle	143.00	.....	677	Hugheston.	326.50	.....
262	Blair	181.75	19.53	704	Hiorra	101.88	.....
263	Livingston.	165.25	.....	722	Standard .	251.75	.....
285	Montgomery	52.25	.....	750	Kayford ..	322.50	.....
307	Independ-			760	Laing	134.74	.....
	ence	122.20	.....	763	Howesville	56.00	.....
320	Newburg .	78.50	.....	841	Tunnelton.	283.63	.....
404	Mammoth .	445.50	.....	887	Flemington.	334.75	166.00
530	Simpson ..	158.90	.....	936	Wake Forest	72.75	.....
531	Carbondale.	372.26	.....	974	Milburn ...	218.75	.....
546	Hernshaw .	457.00	.....	1007	Eagle	264.50	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Ass
1037	Carbondale.	303.75	2.20	1931	Donwood ..	124.00	
1057	Garrison ..	135.50	.....	1932	Boomer ...	186.25	
1101	Seiferst ...	54.25	.....	1950	Montgomery	105.00	
1166	Jochin	121.25	.....	1952	Blooming		
1179	Olcott	93.00	.....		Rose ...	158.35	
1209	Hansford .	185.00	.....	1977	Eagle	168.78	
1227	Montgomery	53.50	.....	1982	Ivaton	96.50	
1255	Hartford ..	283.00	.....	1989	Wakeforest	96.00	
1267	Burnwell ..	498.88	.....	1993	Independ-		
1276	Boomer ...	321.75	.....		ence	68.51	
1292	Cannelton .	940.50	.....	2014	Raymond		
1314	Olcott	308.50	.....		City	298.50	
1335	Poca	365.25	.....	2015	Plymouth .	292.75	
1374	Hartford ..	88.25	.....	2018	Harewood .	219.25	
1425	Ohley	84.63	.....	2022	Rosemont .	204.75	
1448	Longacre .	194.75	.....	2032	Powellton .	342.25	
1469	Aunten ...	400.50	.....	2038	Coalbury ..	282.50	
1480	Flemington	52.75	.....	2063	Grafton ...	142.00	
1499	Sterling ..	228.75	.....	2115	Donwood ..	18.75	
1633	Ronda	224.00	.....	2115	West Co-		
1661	Sharon ...	316.50	35.50		lumbia ..	127.50	
1678	Hartford ..	150.75	.....	2120	Black		
1674	Marfork ..	80.00	.....		Betsey ..	215.00	
1697	Tunnelton .	94.00	.....	2140	Gallagher .	254.25	
1708	Montgomery	48.50	.....	2161	Simpson ..	30.50	
1741	Leewood ..	88.56	.....	2172	Marting ..	362.75	
1752	Warrior ..	98.95	.....	2173	Hiorra	56.50	
1764	Gallagher	86.75	.....	2175	Lewiston ..	105.75	
1791	Olcott .	115.95	.....	2197	Monarch ..	123.25	
1808	Klk Ridge	307.00	.....	2204	Blaine	1,026.75	
1818	Dry Branch	85.68	.....	2221	Leewood ..	38.50	
1846	Whittaker .	117.00	.....	2234	Ivaton	160.13	
1861	Rentree	915.87	.....	2236	Winifrede .	851.00	
1869	Longacre .	438.95	.....	2291	Ivaton	31.50	
1914	Poca .	144.87	.....	2311	Flemington.	41.50	
1918	Kimberly	49.91	.....	2344	Nabot ...	51.00	
1925	Blakeley .	199.75	.....			

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
2347	Putney ...	591.35	.....	2981	Winifrede .	15.00	.....
2348	Vaughan ..	41.50	.....	2999	Grafton ..	1,422.50	.....
2356	Crown Hill	289.75	.....	3029	Cedar Grove	43.75	.....
2429	Big Chim-			3046	Sovereign .	128.25	.....
	ney	62.20	.....	3049	Blair	133.00	.....
2445	Carbon ...	48.25	.....	3096	Flemington	131.38	.....
2488	Decota ...	185.00	.....	3132	Chesapeake	81.26	.....
2493	Whitesville.	247.02	.....	3133	Blakeley ..	70.25	.....
2508	East Bank.	96.25	.....	3134	Ward	155.25	.....
2537	Kayford ..	503.50	.....	3171	Clifton ...	39.00	.....
2542	High Coal.	147.75	.....	3173	Tad	50.25	.....
2570	Lanham ..	316.44	30.00	3184	Tunnelton .	30.25	.....
2573	Dorothy ..	820.00	.....	3218	Ottawa ...	57.00	.....
2575	Jarrolds			3219	Tunnelton.	23.75	.....
	Valley ..	121.50	.....	3288	Independ-		
2586	Mahan	236.88	93.00		ence	22.25	.....
2609	Wevaco ...	193.50	.....	3300	Greenview.	22.50	.....
2639	Cranberry.	12.00	.....	3301	Clothier ..	7.50	.....
2681	Ward	775.25	.....	3303	Gilmer	51.65	.....
2849	Tombsburg .	130.25	.....	3304	Tunnelton .	30.00	.....
2882	Wevaco ...	65.75	.....	3352	Howesville	26.00	.....
2887	Blair	176.75	.....	3420	Mason	8.75	.....
2900	Cannelton .	925.62	.....	3449	Riverside .	11.50	.....
2901	Ramage ..	211.25	.....	3456	Flemington	42.50	.....
2902	Peytona ..	123.87	.....	3471	Quincy ...	32.50	.....
2903	Eskdale ...	461.75	.....	3472	Riverview .	11.00	.....
2904	Dry Branch	187.50	.....	3505	Shrewsbury	14.50	.....
2907	Cedar Grove	122.75	3.00	3508	Olcott	5.00	.....
2911	Wevaco ...	266.63	.....	3511	Miami	6.50	.....
2915	Boomer ...	202.75	.....	3532	Rosemont .	19.00	.....
2916	Boomer ...	147.75	.....	3558	Boomer ...	10.00	.....
2917	Giles	104.76	.....	3559	Altman ...	7.50	.....
2924	Quick	95.00	.....	3587	Mahan ...	4.75	.....
2933	Clothier ..	189.75	.....	3588	Coal Bloom	7.00	.....
2935	Clothier ..	110.00	.....	3639	Blair	4.25	.....
2961	Warrior ..	283.75	.....	3660	Ohley	9.00	.....

L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	A
Cards deposited in District Office	1.25	.....	F. Mooney, Secy., Dist. 17, spec. \$2 assess. ....	.....	—
			Totals...	\$29,817.39	—

Note—Per capita tax from local unions in District No. 29 for April, May, June and July, amounting to \$2,319.16, transferred to No. 17.

DISTRICT NO. 18.

L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	A
29 Bankhead, Alberta, Canada . \$	377.25	.....	2163 Blairmore .	479.00	
102 Taber	433.50	.....	2227 Coleman ..	642.62	
431 Bellevue ..	764.37	.....	2314 Fernie, B. C.	943.00	
574 Lethbridge.	1,129.00	.....	2334 Michel	802.50	
1054 Brule	244.00	.....	2615 Oliphant, Alta. ...	45.50	
1058 Hillcrest ..	701.86	.....	2633 Coleman ..	624.25	
1087 Nordegg ..	650.50	.....	2655 Mountain Park ...	165.00	
1126 Diamond City	307.95	.....	2877 Corbin, B. C.	109.25	
1185 Lethbridge.	31.25	.....	2949 Coalspur, Alta. ...	56.50	
1189 Coalhurst .	605.75	.....	3170 Pocahontas.	81.02	
1263 Frank	448.00	.....	3249 Lovett	38.75	
1387 Canmore ..	465.00	.....	3576 Aerial	23.25	
1559 Drumheller.	47.00	.....			—
1562 Wayne ...	198.00	.....	Totals ..	\$11,030.57	
1746 Drumheller.	616.50	.....		

DISTRICT NO. 19.

L.U. Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U. Location.	Tax.	A
119 Newcomb, Ky. .... \$	.50	.....	587 Pineville, Ky.	51.65	
130 Wallsend .	17.50	.....	890 Soddy, Tenn. ...	1,387.75	
157 Wooldridge, Tenn. ...	90.00	.....	945 Arjay, Ky..	164.00	
253 Jellico	121.25	.....	1264 Harrison ..	104.00	

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
108	Pittsburg .	12.50	.....	3190	Ages	65.50	.....
127	Davisburg.	47.75	.....	3191	Kitts	77.50	.....
152	Cary	115.51	.....	3193	Fork Ridge,		
157	Elys	30.75	.....		Tenn.	13.25	.....
1572	Coalmont,			3200	Middlesboro,		
	Tenn.	231.25	.....		Ky.	68.75	.....
2673	Tracy City.	339.75	.....	3201	Gravity ...	25.40	.....
2687	Meldrum,			3228	LaFollette,		
	Ky.	47.50	.....		Tenn.	58.00	.....
2884	Briceville,			3230	Newcomb .	63.00	.....
	Tenn.	154.50	.....	3241	Blanche, Ky.	48.00	.....
2914	Gravity ...	42.75	.....	3251	Kettle		
2925	Gravity ...	101.35	.....		Island ..	55.25	.....
2929	Logmont ..	38.25	.....	3252	Peabody,		
2983	Chenoe, Ky.	50.00	.....		Tenn.	56.50	.....
2984	Bennett,			3262	Eagan	57.50	.....
	Tenn.	36.75	.....	3263	Pruden ...	69.50	.....
2992	Williams-			3264	Caryville ..	25.25	.....
	burg ...	37.65	.....	3295	Morley ...	42.75	.....
3015	Straight			3297	Shamrock,		
	Creek, Ky.	87.50	.....		Ky.	35.25	.....
3017	Tinsley ...	43.50	.....	3319	Kentenia ..	20.50	.....
3011	Hollings-			3323	Balkan ...	74.50	.....
	worth ..	31.75	.....	3340	Varilla ...	26.63	.....
3012	Manring,			3341	Colmar ...	26.00	.....
	Tenn.	90.00	.....	3342	Arjay	3.00	.....
3014	Coal Creek	111.75	.....	3344	Jellico,		
3015	Bryson ...	73.00	.....		Tenn.	85.25	.....
3016	Kensee, Ky.	54.50	.....	3345	Chaska ...	59.25	.....
3017	Rim	43.75	.....	3347	Gatliff, Ky.	58.75	.....
3019	Shamrock .	37.50	.....	3348	Packard ..	33.75	.....
30176	Hartranft,			3371	Ingram ...	20.13	.....
	Tenn.	24.60	.....	3377	Wallins		
30186	Fork Ridge	81.00	.....		Creek ..	33.25	.....
30187	Westbourne	26.00	.....	3378	Hosman ..	19.50	.....
30188	Duff	125.25	.....	3381	Wilton	43.75	.....
30189	Harlan, Ky.	53.50	.....	3387	Red Ash...	16.25	.....
				3389	Tinsley ...	10.75	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
3390	Bell Jellico	28.00	.....	3498	Williams-		
3392	Meldrum ..	9.45	.....		burg ...	5.75	.....
3396	Clairfield,			3501	Elk Valley,		
	Tenn. ...	19.00	.....		Tenn. ..	51.50	.....
3397	Pleasant			3509	Tatesville .	5.00	.....
	View, Ky.	39.63	.....	3525	Rockhold .	12.00	.....
3398	Burchfield.	3.25	.....	3528	Miracle ...	3.00	.....
3399	Poor Fork.	28.50	.....	3581	Hulen, Ky..	8.25	.....
3423	Wallins			3585	Caryville,		
	Creek ...	8.75	.....		Tenn. ...	3.75	.....
3446	Williams-			3591	Turley	17.75	.....
	burg ...	9.25	.....	3594	Anthras ..	13.00	.....
3463	Cupp, Tenn.	72.75	.....	3597	Shamrock,		
3469	Varilla, Ky.	18.50	.....		Ky.	5.63	.....
3481	Jellico,			3609	Cupp, Tenn	10.75	.....
	Tenn. ...	17.25	.....	3615	Pruden ...	28.25	.....
3486	Grays, Ky..	14.75	.....	3642	Caryville ..	16.00	.....
3487	Wasioto ..	9.00	.....	3643	Caryville ..	10.50	.....
3491	Anchor ...	20.75	.....	3651	Kitts, Ky..	14.50	.....
3496	White Star	4.50	.....		Cards deposited		
3497	Polleyton .	3.50	.....		in District ...	1.00	.....
					Totals....	\$5,912.63	.....

DISTRICT NO. 20.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
823	Coal City,			3234	Blocton ...	167.50	.....
	Ala.....\$	52.50	.....	3235	Hargrove .	51.25	.....
952	Carbon Hill	352.00	.....	3236	Birmingham	12.00	.....
1182	Piper	421.25	.....	3237	Wylam ...	159.25	.....
1424	Warrior ..	55.75	.....	3238	Pratt City .	318.00	.....
1525	Birmingham	100.00	\$ 80.00	3239	Maylene ..	11.25	.....
1734	Altoona ...	110.00	.....	3240	Maylene ..	55.00	.....
3223	Besmer ...	126.00	.....	3245	W. Blocton	149.00	.....
3224	Straven ...	48.00	.....	3246	Adger	90.50	.....
3225	Maylene ..	48.50	.....	3255	Birmingham	75.00	.....
3226	Straven ...	18.25	.....	3266	Sayre	178.75	.....
3283	W. Blocton	138.65	.....	3267	Cardiff ...	80.45	.....

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
diff ...	216.25	.....	3356	Morris ...	45.00	.....
ningham	48.75	.....	3357	Trafford ..	2.50	.....
okside .	193.50	.....	3359	Quinton ...	25.25	.....
sburg .	72.00	.....	3360	Quinton ...	7.50	.....
son ...	68.00	.....	3361	Adamsville.	25.50	.....
hton ..	57.00	.....	3364	Quinton ...	22.25	.....
vel ...	246.50	.....	3373	Brookwood.	166.25	.....
e Ellen.	57.52	.....	3374	Kellerman..	112.75	.....
e Ellen.	52.00	.....	3375	Oakman ..	145.25	.....
nsey ..	147.00	.....	3376	Oakman ..	32.75	.....
msville.	18.75	.....	3380	Morris	20.00	.....
ublic ..	181.75	.....	3388	Wylam ...	62.00	.....
on	63.75	.....	3395	Gamble		
rrior ..	14.50	.....		Mines...	20.00	.....
berly..	274.00	.....	3409	New Castle	18.00	.....
nde ..	122.25	.....	3410	Natural		
castle.	3.50	.....		Bridge...	40.50	.....
on Hill	88.00	.....	3411	Jasper	54.75	.....
sas ...	45.25	.....	3412	Oakman ..	28.00	.....
ire ...	138.25	.....	3413	Bankhead .	26.85	.....
a	201.15	.....	3414	Oakman ..	52.90	.....
oset ..	30.00	.....	3415	Corona ...	57.75	.....
ga	21.25	.....	3416	Patton	175.25	.....
Star..	8.00	.....	3417	Nauvoo ...	70.50	.....
s	76.25	.....	3428	Empire ...	29.75	.....
spect ..	43.75	.....	3429	Corona ...	107.55	.....
en	155.00	.....	3430	Underwood.	10.00	.....
lova ..	40.00	.....	3431	Quinton ...	38.75	.....
oit	31.00	.....	3455	Trafford ..	14.25	.....
erica ..	48.00	.....	3476	Lynn	8.00	.....
ish ...	161.00	.....	3515	Brilliant ..	99.90	.....
nley ..	194.25	.....			
er	79.75	.....			
rrior ..	151.25	.....			
				Totals...	\$7,687.72	\$80.00

DISTRICT NO. 21.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
17	Alderson, Okla.....\$	142.50	.....	1127	Wilburton.	819.62	...
31	Craig	29.00	.....	1130	Hackett, Ark.....	271.95	....
197	Henryetta.	517.00	.....	1131	Coalton, Okla.....	128.90	....
241	Coal Hill, Ark.....	119.90	.....	1164	Savanna ..	165.12	....
340	Midland ..	478.98	.....	1170	McCurtain.	805.25	....
374	Greenwood.	119.44	.....	1176	Haileyville.	360.00	....
398	Red Oak, Okla.....	119.00	.....	1191	Coalgate, Okla.....	186.95	.....
451	Coalgate ..	23.75	.....	1258	Alderson ..	236.97	.....
476	Midland, Ark.....	65.96	.....	1303	Savanna ..	439.80	.....
486	Poteau, Okla.....	6.00	.....	1306	Adamson ..	88.25	.....
514	Schulter ..	45.00	.....	1315	Ft. Smith, Ark.....	288.38	....
520	Schulter ..	85.25	.....	1366	Lehigh, Okla.....	974.75	....
543	Lehigh	50.50	.....	1419	Howe	78.88	....
560	Hartford, Ark.....	49.52	.....	1526	Hartford, Ark.....	524.23	....
586	Huntington	863.90	.....	1530	Hartford ..	220.75	....
613	Bates	96.25	.....	1556	Russelville.	818.31	....
719	Dewar, Okla.....	595.75	.....	1565	Midland ..	121.97	....
742	Williams ..	252.65	.....	1567	Hartford ..	150.00	....
746	Dow	522.64	.....	1720	Lehigh, Okla.....	145.50	....
751	Tulsa	240.50	.....	1777	Gowen	435.30	....
787	Bridgeport, Texas....	391.00	.....	1780	Krebs	231.00	....
894	Lyra	618.00	.....	1810	Jenny Lind, Ark.....	382.75	....
989	Henryetta, Okla.....	222.28	.....	1811	Phillips, Okla.....	406.25	....
1006	Carbon ...	218.05	.....	1814	Denning, Ark.....	219.10	....
1026	Coalgate ..	625.50	.....	1816	Alderson, Okla.....	610.50	....
1116	Paris, Ark.	379.50	.....			
1125	Hartshorne, Okla.....	420.75	.....			

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
High	832.90	.....	2415	Coalton,		
alton ...	69.75	.....		Okla.....	509.75	.....
reenwood,			2442	Henryetta..	280.48	.....
Ark.....	595.34	.....	2466	Bridgeport,		
ttsburg,				Texas....	98.00	.....
Okla.....	.75	.....	2492	Adamson,		
ilburton.	183.50	.....		Okla.....	170.75	.....
artford,			2494	Midland,		
Ark.....	119.53	.....		Ark.....	135.63	.....
itale,			2535	Strawn,		
Okla.....	70.50	.....		Texas....	852.14	.....
owe, Okla.	187.46	.....	2538	Thurber ..	1,365.50	.....
artman,			2557	Henryetta,		
Ark.....	166.63	.....		Okla.....	138.75	.....
ontana,			2566	Alix, Ark..	652.00	.....
Ark.....	1,329.50	.....	2567	Alix	57.64	.....
ow, Okla.	219.25	.....	2579	Schulter,		
ughes ...	87.00	.....		Okla.....	47.50	.....
artshorne.	882.25	\$42.00	2590	Haileyville.	188.00	.....
idland,			2608	North Mc-		
Ark.....	92.67	.....		Alester...	62.00	.....
tie, Okla	284.00	.....	2660	Bokoshe ..	425.13	.....
anco	22.25	.....	2748	Coalgate ..	161.74	.....
arbon ...	273.50	.....	2749	Wilburton..	671.00	.....
yant ...	535.84	.....	2763	Thurber,		
ilhoun ...	668.00	.....		Texas....	2,862.00	.....
derson ..	49.50	.....	2766	Greenwood,		
enryetta..	25.00	.....		Ark.....	9.00	.....
arbon ...	72.88	.....	2769	Hartford ..	.75	.....
owen	952.00	.....	2770	W. Hartford	250.75	.....
war	856.25	.....	2772	Greenwood.	149.88	.....
ilton	143.88	.....	2841	Huntington	741.49	.....
cAlester..	206.50	.....	2853	Newcastle,		
rebs	489.75	70.00		Texas ..	548.25	.....
enryetta..	344.25	.....	2856	Henryetta,		
ark, Ark	362.14	.....		Okla.....	127.00	.....
			2880	Bonanza,		
				Ark.....	254.30	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assess
2906	Adamson, Okla.....	326.00	.....	3209	Morris	11.00	...
2951	Bache	95.03	.....	3210	Tulsa	35.75	...
2955	Clarksville, Ark.....	174.75	.....	3310	Greenwood, Ark.....	15.25	...
2990	Henryetta, Okla.....	103.75	.....	3425	Craig, Okla	1.25	...
3007	Coalgate ..	128.88	.....	3475	Scranton, Ark.....	1.75	...
3021	Henryetta..	63.25	.....	E. F. Ross, Sec- retary District No. 21, special \$2 assessment.			
3047	Alderson ..	136.90	20.50				
3058	Coal Hill, Ark.....	107.30	.....			
3061	Henryetta, Okla.....	207.40	.....			
						Totals...	\$38,694.46 \$24,48

DISTRICT NO. 22.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assess
177	Frontier, Wyo.....\$	66.75	.....	2318	Cumberland	782.65	..
230	Monarch ..	773.65	.....	2328	Superior ..	1,038.18	..
356	Kemmerer.	77.50	.....	2331	Oakley	609.80	..
488	Sublet	543.50	\$57.00	2335	Hanna	1,707.47	..
905	Reliance ..	1,187.62	.....	2336	Diamond- ville.....	488.15	..
908	Rock Springs..	643.18	.....	2337	Cumberland	145.00	..
1307	Elkol	253.75	.....	2360	Frontier ..	709.60	..
1715	Carneyville.	137.50	.....	2361	Glencoe ...	481.50	..
2055	Acme	652.75	11.75	2365	Kooi	544.85	..
2174	Rock Springs..	1,050.25	.....	2516	Rock Springs .	408.10	..
2282	Rock Springs..	764.50	.....	2532	Cambria ..	1,060.00	..
2293	Rock Springs..	516.55	.....	2616	Superior ..	836.25	..
2309	Rock Springs..	421.86	.....	2630	Hudson ...	533.55	..
2312	Dietz	652.75	.....	2671	Gebo	683.77	..
				2700	Crosby	732.25	..
				2702	Gunn	458.00	..
				2742	Carneyville.	660.60	..
				2752	Sublet	651.85	..

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
anston .	148.20	.....		trict No. 22,		
erior ..	10.00	.....		special \$2 as-		
nt of				ment .....	.....	14,578.00
ocks.....	8.50	.....		Cards deposited		
Morgan,				in District	26.65	.....
ary Dis-						
				Total....	\$20,467.03	\$14,646.75

DISTRICT NO. 23.

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
uality,			1091	Waverly ..	173.78	.....
ly.....\$	139.75	.....	1124	Dekoven ..	748.88	4.00
and	92.54	.....	1136	Island	135.14	.....
aton ...	536.75	.....	1152	Baskett ...	319.10	.....
ech Creek	557.00	.....	1282	Dekoven ..	329.63	.....
rydon ..	17.25	.....	1289	Central City	352.50	.....
nderson.	24.33	.....	1309	Morganfield	111.00	.....
nmons ..	448.25	.....	1630	Luzerne ..	737.00	.....
llside ...	194.00	.....	1735	Midland ..	457.25	.....
ntral City	589.00	.....	1773	Uniontown.	75.91	.....
rcer ...	624.25	.....	1793	McHenry .	308.00	.....
owder ..	129.75	.....	1844	Spottsville.	47.00	.....
aver Dam	631.45	.....	1862	Mercer ...	307.79	.....
and	85.00	.....	2166	Hillside ...	186.63	.....
vidence.	45.50	.....	2214	Nortonville.	46.50	.....
aton ...	686.51	.....	2503	Beech Creek	236.25	.....
hols ,...	332.13	.....	2504	Martwick .	441.50	.....
akesboro.	439.50	.....	2600	Uniontown.	123.40	.....
llside ...	137.75	.....	2613	Graham ..	1,164.75	.....
wderly .	497.88	.....	2783	Nelson	462.25	.....
rganfield	106.40	\$5.00	2870	Drakesboro	307.25	.....
aton ...	488.50	.....	3013	Deaneffield.	31.75	.....
dissonville	25.75	.....	3180	Spottsville.	18.25	.....
Henry ..	675.25	.....	3404	Providence.	9.50	.....
rgis ...	12.13	.....	3440	Hillside ...	4.25	.....
ckport ..	345.25	.....	3441	Henderson.	23.50	.....
nderson.	152.61	.....	3514	Hawesville.	22.00	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
3534	Beaver Dam	19.25	.....		Secretary Dis-		
3544	Beech Creek	16.40	.....		trict No. 23,		
3583	Owensboro.	8.25	.....		special \$2 as-		
3590	Owensboro.	15.00	.....		essment ....	.....	9,400.0
H. H. Vincent,							
					Totals...	\$15,254.14	\$9,409.0

DISTRICT NO. 24.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
921	Owosso,			2664	Bay City..	440.50	.....
	Mich.....\$	15.50	.....	2808	Bay City..	689.25	.....
1018	St. Charles	738.50	.....	2822	Saginaw ..	376.50	.....
1203	Bay City..	472.25	.....	2945	St. Charles	39.00	.....
1444	Saginaw ..	256.75	.....	2946	Saginaw ..	38.75	.....
1574	Bay City..	584.50	.....	3298	Saginaw ..	18.25	.....
1620	Bay City..	539.75	.....	3448	Jackson ...	14.75	.....
1690	Saginaw ..	336.75	.....	3530	Bay City..	17.75	.....
2304	Unionville.	392.75	.....	3531	St. Charles	45.25	.....
2366	Flint	150.00	.....	3605	Saginaw ..	9.00	.....
2414	Saginaw ..	480.38	.....			
2564	Saginaw ..	430.25	.....		Totals...	\$6,509.76	.....
2636	W. Bay City	423.38	.....			

DISTRICT NO. 25.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
65	Bevier, Mo.\$	1,037.50	.....	956	Ardmore ..	1,666.70	.....
171	Lexington..	3,649.65	.....	1032	Macon	307.65	.....
258	Bucklin ...	104.13	.....	1041	Elliott	1.40	.....
286	Higginsville	791.06	.....	1067	Dover ....	.75	.....
298	Richmond..	2,774.00	.....	1073	Deepwater.	283.39	.....
377	Higginsville	162.46	.....	1089	Waverly ..	446.55	\$54.
380	Missouri			1135	Huntsville..	873.25	.....
	City.....	213.92	.....	1226	Novinger .	667.80	.....
749	Higbee ...	924.50	.....	1231	Wellington.	274.15	.....
919	Bevier	988.82	.....	1400	Corder	389.50	24.
947	Orrick	364.25	.....	1442	Novinger ..	1,238.43	.....
954	Higbee ...	459.68	.....	1472	Napoleon .	45.18	.....

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1 Leavenworth, Kas.....	745.39	36.00	2669 Bowen	154.73	.....
7 Lexington, Mo.....	939.75	.....	2686 Kirksville .	978.61	.....
8 Leavenworth, Kas.....	601.24	.....	2695 Trenton ...	134.75	.....
4 Richmond .	181.88	.....	2855 Kirksville .	104.51	.....
5 Brookfield..	195.71	28.43	2862 Napoleon .	34.00	.....
8 Camden ...	138.20	30.00	3450 Wellington.	39.65	.....
2 Novinger ..	179.92	.....	Geo. Hepple, Sec-			
3 Marceline..	859.04	.....	retary District			
0 Stahl	29.75	1.50	No. 25, special			
4 Windsor ..	88.68	.....	\$2 assessment.	.....	15,744.00	
			Totals...	\$23,070.53	\$15,918.40	

DISTRICT NO. 26.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
	469 Springhill, N. S., Canada..	\$15.00	.....
	Total....	\$15.00!

DISTRICT NO. 27.

Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
1 Belt, Mont.\$	344.25	.....	1771 Red Lodge.	2,380.50	.....
3 Lehigh	875.00	.....	2020 Sand Coulee	1,396.25	4.50	
3 Bearcreek..	544.75	.....	2301 Stockett ..	825.45	.....
5 Klein	1,119.60	.....	2628 Chimney			
1 Fromberg .	18.25	.....	Rock....	4.50	.....
1 Bridger ...	1.23	.....	2659 Washoe ...	597.00	.....
5 Carpenter			2860 Musselshell.	35.50	22.00	
Creek...	463.00	.....	2866 Roundup ..	921.50	.....
7 Bearcreek..	238.25	\$49.00	2875 Fromberg .	31.75	.....
9 Bearcreek..	538.25	.....	3478 Roundup ..	7.75	.....
3 Bearcreek..	226.00	.....	3574 Klein	117.00	.....

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asses
3598	Burlington, N. D....	36.50	.....		special \$2 as- sessment .....	.....	7,
Robert Condon, Secretary Dis- trict No. 27,							
					Totals...	\$10,844.05	\$7,

· DISTRICT NO. 28.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asses
872	S. Wellington, B. C., Canada...\$	362.75	.....	2388	Ladysmith.	151.50	.
2299	Cumberland	120.00	.....	2824	Nanaimo ..	15.00	.
					Totals...	\$649.25	.

DISTRICT NO. 29.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Asses
37	Elmo, W. Va...\$	77.25	.....	2016	Wickham .	284.00	.
150	Glen Jean.	2.00	.....	2039	Dubree ...	24.75	.
252	Terry	45.75	.....	2046	Concho ...	152.75	.
302	Wright ...	101.77	.....	2205	Sprague ..	84.50	.
312	Jodie	305.25	.....	2321	Sullivan ..	27.75	.
321	Lansing ...	48.89	.....	2325	Warden ...	92.00	.
348	Nuttallburg	41.50	.....	2357	Harvey ...	67.50	.
654	Scarbro ...	112.25	.....	2639	Cranberry..	82.24	.
693	Ansted	598.05	.....	2645	Ft. Defiance	43.00	.
701	Royal	1.75	.....	2651	Prudence ..	74.25	.
847	Stone Cliff.	38.75	.....	2670	Eccles	203.75	.
1222	Mt. Hope..	27.87	.....	2839	Fayetteville	547.47	.
1454	Ansted	72.52	.....	2865	Thayer ...	80.50	.
1522	Gatewood..	44.00	.....	2894	Marvel ...	171.25	.
1749	Rush Run..	10.00	.....	2898	Fayetteville	75.40	.
1770	Elverton ..	39.75	.....	2939	Stanaford..	7.75	.
1788	Wyndal ...	64.59	.....	2941	Page	608.75	.
1899	Gamoca ...	34.25	.....	2942	Carlisle ...	142.50	.
1935	Lansing ..	87.50	.....	2944	Fire Creek.	1.50	.
1938	Grandview.	89.38	.....	2953	Edmond ..	65.50	.
2009	Gatewood .	75.75	.....	2957	Oak Hill ..	33.00	.
				2958	Sanger ...	35.50	.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.	L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
2964	Winona ...	14.50	.....	3243	Glen White	52.50	.....
2966	Export ...	6.25	.....	3247	Raleigh ...	108.25	.....
2968	Minden ...	304.25	.....	3248	Blue Jay..	18.25	.....
2969	Harvey ...	80.50	.....	3253	Cliff Top..	31.90	.....
2972	Layland ..	213.25	.....	3254	Summerlee.	69.00	.....
2973	Mt. Hope..	117.99	.....	3282	Oswald ...	29.00	.....
2974	Bachman ..	4.25	.....	3283	Pax	85.00	.....
2980	Pemberton.	53.00	.....	3435	Lawton ...	57.25	.....
2982	Thayer ...	71.00	.....	3460	Lochgelly .	44.50	.....
3082	Lansing ..	114.26	.....	3474	Winona ...	10.50	.....
3117	Dunloop ..	44.25	.....	3502	Nuttallburg	14.75	.....
3172	Mt. Hope..	123.25	.....	3503	Winona ...	9.63	.....
3183	Derryhale..	11.00	.....	3504	Boone	8.00	.....
3194	Scarbro ...	101.75	.....	3545	Hawksnest.	2.00	.....
3196	Red Star ..	66.25	.....	3549	Laurel		
3197	Sun	178.75	.....		Creek....	18.50	.....
3198	McDonald..	18.00	.....	3560	Slabfork ..	41.75	.....
3203	Glen Jean..	54.42	.....	3612	Export ...	5.00	.....
3204	Edmond ..	16.26	.....	Cards deposited			
3205	Tamroy ...	83.00	.....	in district office		17.50	.....
3207	Affinity ...	33.00	.....	Totals...		\$7,395.39	.....
3212	Stanaford..	57.00	.....	Note: Per capita tax for the months of March, April, May, June and July from local unions in this district amounting to \$2,319.16 was transferred to District No. 17.			
3213	Skelton ...	43.75	.....			
3217	Fire Creek.	20.00	.....			
3220	Cirtsville ..	95.50	.....			
3242	Lanark ...	22.25	.....			

INDIVIDUAL LOCAL UNION.

L.U.	Location.	Tax.	Assessm't.
828	Indianapolis,		
	Ind.....\$	86.53	.....

MISCELLANEOUS INCOME.

1916.

Dec.	2	L. U. 2247, District 6, returned check made good.....	\$ 64.00
"	2	Alexander Kilpatrick, return on loan.....	25.00
"	4	L. U. 388, District 12, returned check made good.....	119.00
"	4	Indiana National Bank, interest on 2 per cent. time deposit	109.28
"	5	John A. Lamb, secretary, protested check made good.....	56.06
"	5	R. F. Robinson, expense money returned.....	35.00
"	8	L. U. 2147, District 5, Jas. T. McCluskey, returned check made good	87.50
"	11	Local Union 1720, District 21, returned check made good..	13.00
"	19	Alexander Kilpatrick, return on loan.....	25.00
"	23	H. P. Ruloff, secretary, returned check made good.....	8.50
"	26	Local Union 2872, District 6, returned check made good....	3.00
"	26	John McLennan, payment on money advanced by Interna- tional Representative charge strike affairs in District 15	20.15
"	30	Walter Nesbit, balance in treasury Local Union No. 3, Dis- trict 12	81.30
"	30	Overpayments returned in stamps during December.....	1.61

1917.

Jan.	2	Indiana National Bank, interest on 2 per cent. time deposit	158.46
"	3	Alexander Kilpatrick, return on loan	25.00
"	6	Jas. Cornish, secretary L. U. 1632, District 12, returned check made good	26.50
"	8	Chas. Cantral, secretary L. U. 1098, District 5, returned check made good	29.75
"	8	E. L. Doyle, sale of Ludlow pamphlets.....	23.56
"	12	O. L. Lord, secretary L. U. 2838, District 9, returned check made good	5.37
"	19	Neal J. Ferry, expense money returned.....	40.00
"	24	Jas. Morgan, secretary District 22, bound volume of Jour- nal	2.50
"	25	John R. Galyran, secretary L. U. 17, District 21, check made good	25.60
"	31	Overpayments returned in stamps during January.....	1.30
Feb.	1	Local Union 2059, District 6, returned check made good....	65.00
"	3	Indiana National Bank, interest on 2 per cent. time deposit	175.34
"	5	Local Union 3059, District 14, delinquent fine.....	4.00

1917.

Feb.	9	Local Union 777, District 5, balance in treasury.....	\$ 22.00
"	14	Local Union 151, District 1, returned check made good...	99.25
"	16	Local Union 1904, District 29, balance in treasury.....	18.43
"	19	John Ramsay, payment on money loaned by District 15 office	25.00
"	19	Louis Zancanelli, overpaid expense money returned.....	11.00
"	20	Local Union 2159, District 6, protested check made good..	73.90
"	20	John R. Lawson, overpaid expense money returned.....	1.00
"	23	Local Union 3016, District 15, balance in treasury.....	19.75
"	23	Indianapolis Engraving Company, refund on account of error in billing	58.00
"	26	Local Union 3123, District 14, delinquent fine.....	2.00
"	28	Wm. Green, mgr., to correct Australian money order error	5.00
"	28	Overpayments returned in stamps during February.....	2.90
Mar.	2	Indiana National Bank, interest on 2 per cent. time deposit	153.43
"	3	John Ramsay, payment on money loaned by District 15 office	25.00
"	6	Walter Nesbit, balance in treasury of Local Union 931, District 12	2.00
"	7	Central Bank, Coshocton, Ohio, interest on time deposit ending March 2, 1917.....	150.00
"	12	Jos. Allister, secretary L. U. 70, District 14, returned check made good	14.00
"	15	Local Union 470, District 12, balance in treasury.....	28.76
"	16	Adam Wilkinson, expense money returned.....	6.50
"	19	John Ramsay, payment on money loaned by District 15 office	25.00
"	20	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Company, reimbursed for errors in overcharge on paper for Journals.....	2,945.69
"	21	Geo. J. Mayer & Company, sale of old seals.....	29.20
"	24	Local Union 1097, Individual, returned check made good...	8.75
"	26	Robt. G. Bolton, balance in treasury L. U. 1408, District 29	2.00
"	30	Noble Ault, balance in treasury L. U. 2448, District 6....	11.87
"	31	Overpayments returned in stamps during March.....	.85
Apr.	3	Local Union 1483, District 1, returned check made good..	4.00
"	3	Local Union 521, District 2, returned check made good....	125.50
"	3	Local Union 1307, District 22, delinquent fine.....	4.50
"	3	Indiana National Bank, interest on 2 per cent. time deposit	162.59
"	4	John Ramsay, payment on loan made by District 15 office..	10.00

1917.

Apr. 10	Wm. F. Johnson Lumber Company, refund on overcharge..\$	1.78
" 12	Local Union 758, District 12, returned check made good..	51.10
" 30	Overpayments returned in stamps during April.....	.40
May 3	Indiana National Bank, interest on 2 per cent. time deposit	169.86
" 12	Hugh Wood, secretary L. U. 1808, District 17, returned check made good	25.00
" 18	E. T. Fitzgibbons, expense money returned.....	35.00
" 22	Local Union 1437, District 6, returned check made good...	3.00
" 24	Local Union 1348, District 6, delinquent fine.....	2.00
" 24	Thos. M. Gann, balance in treasury L. U. 1253, District 19	21.85
" 31	Overpayments returned in stamps during May.....	.85
June 2	Indiana National Bank, interest on deposit for May.....	169.86
" 9	Returned check made good, Local Union 1765, District 14..	19.25
" 16	Returned check made good, Local Union 2317, District 21..	21.00
" 20	Corrected check returned Local Union 2159, District 5....	72.50
" 30	Overpayments returned in stamps during June.....	4.09
July 3	Balance due National office from branch office, District 23..	2.00
" 6	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., reimbursed in full for errors in overcharge on paper for Journals, accepted by Miners' Committee	4,631.45
" 7	Indiana National Bank, interest on deposit, November 10, 1916; July 6, 1917.....	2,950.05
" 16	Balance in treasury, Local Union 2518, District 21.....	12.50
" 16	Ed. R. Smith, refund on express charged May 9.....	1.90
" 18	E. T. Fitzgibbons, part payment on overcharged expenses..	18.00
" 24	Horace N. Hawkins, attorney, refund of cost in strike cases, Las Animas, Colorado	143.22
" 26	Robert Harlin, expense money returned.....	.08
" 28	John T. Dempsey, return on loan.....	49.24
" 30	Fred Mooney, return of loan made District 17.....	1,000.00
" 31	Overpayments returned by stamps during July.....	2.50
Aug. 2	Wm. Hargest, return of loan to F. P. Hanaway.....	50.00
" 3	Delinquent fine, Local Union 252, District 17.....	2.50
" 3	E. T. Fitzgibbons, expense money returned.....	17.00
" 6	Returned check made good, Local Union 2204, District 17..	86.75
" 6	Returned check made good, Local Union 253, District 19...	3.00
" 6	Returned check made good, Local Union 945, District 19...	27.25

1917.

Aug.	8	Returned check made good, Local Union 88, District 12....	2.50
"	8	Returned check made good, Local Union 2473, District 11..	16.50
"	11	Balance in treasury, Local Union 2595, District 6.....	6.70
"	14	Wm. Short, secretary District 10, overpaid traveling auditor's expenses	41.00
"	15	Returned check made good, Local Union 2774, District 2...	10.00
"	17	Returned checks made good, Local Union 1229, District 1...	116.62
"	17	Returned check made good, Local Union 1794, District 5...	1.00
"	17	Geo. Baker, overpaid expense money.....	.10
"	18	John L. Britton, return on loan.....	5.00
"	22	Delinquent fine, Local Union 2397, District 5.....	2.00
"	24	Returned check made good, Local Union 2768, District 6..	121.80
"	24	Returned check made good, Local Union 1048, District 14.	5.75
"	25	Balance in treasury, Local Union 2614, District 25.....	2.00
"	27	Jas. F. Moran, refund on amount sent Jas. Moran to settle with Mrs. Hoffmire.....	50.00
"	28	Check made good, Local Union 3328, District 20.....	14.25
"	28	Geo. Hargrove, sale of office furniture, Madisonville, Ky..	14.00
"	28	Check made good, Local Union 3033, District 15.....	43.50
"	30	Balance in treasury, Local Union 2789, District 16.....	23.00
"	31	Overpayments returned in stamps during August.....	2.95
Sept.	1	Horace N. Hawkins, refund of costs paid in strike cases...	50.62
"	4	John L. Britton, payment on loan.....	5.00
"	4	Central Bank, Coshocton, Ohio, interest on time deposit...	150.00
"	7	Indiana National Bank, interest on 3 per cent. time deposit.	516.70
"	7	Wm. Sullivan, returned check made good.....	6.00
"	10	Check made good, Local Union 413, District 12.....	5.00
"	13	John Wilson, expense money returned.....	4.34
"	17	E. T. Fitzgibbons, payment on account overdrawn.....	15.00
"	18	John L. Britton, return of loan.....	5.00
"	24	L. E. Shelton, balance of treasury, Local Union 1847, District 25	1.80
"	25	Returned check made good, Local Union 3020, District 15..	37.00
"	28	Geo. Hargrove, balance returned from strike fund.....	46.51
"	29	Overpayment returned in stamps during September.....	.70
Oct.	2	Balance fund for relief men deported from Gallup, N. M..	9.05
"	4	Returned check made good, Local Union 2881, District 5....	37.50

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1917.

Oct.	4	Returned check made good, Local Union 3130, District 5...	\$101.85
"	4	Jno. L. Britton, return of loan.....	5.00
"	5	Balance in treasury, Local Union 1892, District 5.....	42.03
"	6	Leo Miorelli, expense money returned.....	.05
"	10	Geo. Hargrove, balance on hand advanced for Hopkins County Court Auditors.....	54.50
"	12	Returned check made good, Local Union 2638, District 2...	19.50
"	18	John L. Britton, return of loan.....	5.00
"	19	Returned check made good, Local Union 1478, District 2...	17.75
"	22	Returned check made good, Local Union 3197, District 29..	23.37
"	23	Ed. R. Smith, postage refund on returned binders.....	.45
"	23	Check made good, Local Union 3076, District 1.....	12.50
"	26	Local Union 2321, District 29, delinquent fines.....	2.00
"	31	Overpayment returned in stamps during October.....	3.00
Nov.	1	Check made good, Local Union 2602, District 9.....	67.50
"	3	Check made good, Local Union 2152, District 11.....	23.33
"	3	John L. Britton, return of loan.....	5.00
"	7	Stephen Herink, overpayment on expense account.....	9.00
"	8	Check made good, Local Union 3139, District 5.....	194.35
"	9	Check made good, Local Union 579, District 9.....	38.25
"	16	Joe Parris, money order unaccounted for.....	1.50
"	16	Geo. Audi, money order unaccounted for.....	1.00
"	17	John L. Britton, return of loan.....	5.00
"	27	Returned check made good, Local Union 2146, District 21..	4.75
"	30	Returned check made good, Local Union 296, District 6....	52.50
"	30	Overpayment returned in stamps during November.....	2.30
Total			\$16,934.00

LUDLOW MEMORIAL FUND.

1917.

June	20	Local Union 553, District 13.....	\$37.50
"	20	J. M. Webb, Knoxville, Tenn.....	.50
"	21	Local Union 22, District 12.....	3.00
"	21	Local Union 859, District 12.....	13.20
"	21	Local Union 1893, District 12.....	26.00
"	21	Local Union 956, District 25.....	25.00

1917.

June	21	Local Union 1124, District 23.....	\$15.00
"	21	Local Union 3048, District 15.....	25.00
"	22	Local Union 686, District 12.....	20.00
"	22	Local Union 726, District 12.....	13.50
"	22	Local Union 742, District 21.....	4.75
"	22	Local Union 297, District 12.....	23.00
"	22	Local Union 8617, District 12.....	26.75
"	23	Local Union 1210, District 6.....	10.00
"	23	Local Union 626, District 2.....	5.00
"	23	Local Union 1515, District 2.....	5.00
"	23	Local Union 1062, District 9.....	5.00
"	23	Local Union 100, District 12.....	2.85
"	23	Local Union 122, District 12.....	6.85
"	23	Local Union 563, District 12.....	5.00
"	23	Local Union 1458, District 12.....	31.30
"	23	Local Union 1800, District 12.....	15.00
"	23	Local Union 1865, District 12.....	25.00
"	23	Local Union 1958, District 13.....	10.00
"	23	Local Union 55, District 18.....	25.00
"	23	Local Union 2312, District 22.....	10.00
"	25	Local Union 176, District 2.....	5.00
"	25	Local Union 1295, District 2.....	10.00
"	25	Local Union 2098, District 2.....	14.35
"	25	Local Union 2295, District 2.....	10.00
"	25	Local Union 2722, District 2.....	20.00
"	25	Local Union 3078, District 2.....	5.45
"	25	Local Union 3091, District 2.....	3.30
"	25	Local Union 71, District 6.....	10.00
"	25	Local Union 656, District 11.....	2.40
"	25	Local Union 2431, District 11.....	6.00
"	25	Local Union 732, District 12.....	15.00
"	25	Local Union 2798, District 14.....	8.05
"	25	Local Union 3132, District 17.....	2.15
"	25	Local Union 1567, District 21.....	3.00
"	25	Local Union 254, District 11.....	3.00
"	26	Local Union 971, District 6.....	10.00
"	26	Local Union 1418, District 6.....	5.00

1917.

June	26	Local Union 1486, District 6.....	\$10.00
"	26	Local Union 884, District 11.....	25.00
"	26	Local Union 2423, District 11.....	7.35
"	26	Local Union 1285, District 12.....	15.00
"	26	Local Union 2708, District 12.....	28.80
"	26	Local Union 318, District 13.....	19.10
"	26	Local Union 6662, District 13.....	3.60
"	26	Local Union 1530, District 21.....	3.50
"	27	Local Union 2105, District 5.....	5.00
"	27	Local Union 803, District 7.....	20.00
"	27	Local Union 1095, District 11.....	2.65
"	27	Local Union 1530, District 11.....	25.00
"	27	Local Union 1755, District 11.....	5.90
"	27	Local Union 1984, District 11.....	1.00
"	27	Local Union 1301, District 12.....	25.80
"	27	Local Union 799, District 13.....	12.00
"	27	Local Union 1047, District 13.....	10.00
"	27	Local Union 1765, District 14.....	3.50
"	27	Local Union 3095, District 15.....	15.00
"	27	Local Union 2900, District 17.....	12.25
"	27	Local Union 919, District 25.....	17.50
"	27	Local Union 1070, District 27.....	1.50
"	27	Local Union 893, District 14.....	4.00
"	28	Local Union 1025, District 1.....	5.00
"	28	Local Union 8126, District 2.....	5.00
"	28	Local Union 1812, District 5.....	5.00
"	28	Local Union 1384, District 9.....	50.00
"	28	Local Union 1517, District 9.....	25.00
"	28	Local Union 942, District 11.....	4.60
"	28	Local Union 2343, District 11.....	3.85
"	28	Local Union 503, District 12.....	10.00
"	28	Local Union 206, District 13.....	2.00
"	28	Local Union 916, District 13.....	17.00
"	28	Local Union 210, District 14.....	12.95
"	28	Local Union 2038, District 17.....	10.00
"	28	Local Union 1735, District 23.....	5.00
"	28	Local Union 1231, District 25.....	10.00

1917.

June	29	Local Union	3075, District	2.....	\$3.7
"	29	Local Union	1198, District	5.....	10.0
"	29	Local Union	49, District	6.....	2.5
"	29	Local Union	116, District	6.....	20.0
"	29	Local Union	416, District	6.....	5.0
"	29	Local Union	2674, District	6.....	5.3
"	29	Local Union	160, District	9.....	10.0
"	29	Local Union	264, District	12.....	20.0
"	29	Local Union	1504, District	12.....	15.0
"	29	Local Union	1780, District	12.....	4.6
"	29	Local Union	903, District	13.....	5.0
"	29	Local Union	498, District	14.....	7.9
"	29	Local Union	1074, District	14.....	5.0
"	29	Local Union	1808, District	17.....	6.0
"	29	Local Union	2904, District	17.....	2.2
"	29	Local Union	2327, District	21.....	8.5
"	29	Local Union	2282, District	22.....	12.2
"	29	Local Union	2669, District	25.....	5.0
"	29	Local Union	749, District	25.....	15.7
"	30	Local Union	1798, District	2.....	14.0
"	30	Local Union	2246, District	2.....	5.0
"	30	Local Union	1145, District	5.....	25.0
"	30	Local Union	1648, District	5.....	10.0
"	30	Local Union	397, District	6.....	5.5
"	30	Local Union	1536, District	7.....	10.0
"	30	Local Union	2611, District	9.....	5.0
"	30	Local Union	2479, District	12.....	5.0
"	30	Local Union	2542, District	17.....	2.4
"	30	Local Union	2972, District	17.....	5.0
"	30	Local Union	2600, District	23.....	2.0
July	2	Local Union	2269, District	10.....	4.7
"	2	Local Union	2583, District	10.....	15.0
"	2	Local Union	2512, District	10.....	20.0
"	2	Local Union	165, District	12.....	5.0
"	2	Local Union	959, District	12.....	25.0
"	2	Local Union	601, District	2.....	10.7
"	2	Local Union	526, District	1.....	20.0

1917.

July	2	Local Union	596, District	2.....
"	2	Local Union	1464, District	9.....
"	2	Local Union	124, District	9.....
"	2	Local Union	95, District	2.....
"	2	Local Union	140, District	2.....
"	2	Local Union	2244, District	5.....
"	2	Local Union	202, District	6.....
"	2	Local Union	471, District	6.....
"	2	Local Union	978, District	6.....
"	2	Local Union	1840, District	6.....
"	2	Local Union	2123, District	6.....
"	2	Local Union	768, District	8.....
"	2	Local Union	381, District	11.....
"	2	Local Union	267, District	14.....
"	2	Local Union	1963, District	14.....
"	2	Local Union	2771, District	14.....
"	2	Local Union	3102, District	15.....
"	2	Local Union	2808, District	24.....
"	2	Local Union	1771, District	27.....
"	2	Local Union	2752, District	22.....
"	2	Local Union	3105, District	15.....
"	2	Local Union	746, District	21.....
"	2	Local Union	2532, District	22.....
"	2	Local Union	75, District	11.....
"	2	Local Union	1065, District	11.....
"	2	Local Union	1816, District	21.....
"	3	Local Union	861, District	2.....
"	3	Local Union	108, District	5.....
"	3	Local Union	2728, District	5.....
"	3	Local Union	358, District	6.....
"	3	Local Union	625, District	6.....
"	3	Local Union	586, District	21.....
"	3	Local Union	876, District	15.....
"	3	Local Union	905, District	22.....
"	3	Local Union	694, District	12.....
"	3	Local Union	2652, District	13.....
"	3	Local Union	692, District	13.....

1917.

July	5	Local Union 929, District 12.....	\$17.00
"	5	Local Union 2133, District 12.....	5.00
"	5	Local Union 671, District 13.....	5.00
"	5	Local Union 145, District 2.....	5.00
"	5	Local Union 512, District 1.....	4.35
"	5	Local Union 1134, District 2.....	10.00
"	5	Local Union 1571, District 7.....	11.30
"	5	Local Union 1887, District 6.....	20.00
"	5	Local Union 369, District 6.....	8.50
"	5	Local Union 2735, District 6.....	10.30
"	5	Local Union 2879, District 6.....	9.00
"	5	Local Union 2333, District 14.....	2.55
"	5	Local Union 2359, District 14.....	8.00
"	5	Local Union 2060, District 15.....	25.00
"	5	Local Union 2110, District 21.....	5.00
"	5	Local Union 2535, District 21.....	14.70
"	5	Local Union 2695, District 25.....	2.00
"	5	Local Union 1224, District 14.....	3.75
"	5	Local Union 27, District 14.....	5.00
"	5	Local Union 2976, District 11.....	10.00
"	6	Local Union 2403, District 12.....	10.70
"	6	Local Union 263, District 17.....	5.00
"	6	Local Union 1090, District 12.....	7.00
"	6	Local Union 375, District 2.....	22.50
"	6	Local Union 1728, District 9.....	5.00
"	6	Local Union 5, District 6.....	6.75
"	6	Local Union 2459, District 6.....	6.00
"	6	Local Union 1366, District 21.....	14.90
"	6	Local Union 1368, District 11.....	15.00
"	7	Local Union 2373, District 10.....	12.20
"	7	Local Union 1448, District 7.....	3.80
"	7	Local Union 728, District 12.....	13.35
"	7	Local Union 1717, District 10.....	15.00
"	7	Local Union 2257, District 10.....	21.00
"	7	Local Union 2871, District 10.....	11.95
"	7	Local Union 2853, District 10.....	10.00
"	7	Local Union 755, District 12.....	70.55

1917.

July	7	District 12, Walter Nesbit.....	\$500
"	7	Local Union 146, District 12.....	2'
"	7	Local Union 2999, District 17.....	119
"	7	Local Union 957, District 1.....	1
"	7	Local Union 1647, District 5.....	1
"	7	Local Union 2851, District 16.....	10
"	7	Local Union 2528, District 6.....	10
"	7	Local Union 1075, District 6.....	1
"	9	Local Union 420, District 12.....	19
"	9	Local Union 851, District 13.....	1
"	9	Local Union 1169, District 13.....	10
"	9	Local Union 1573, District 13.....	1'
"	9	Local Union 753, District 12.....	10
"	9	Local Union 2676, District 12.....	1
"	9	Local Union 372, District 13.....	19
"	9	Local Union 1292, District 17.....	19
"	9	Local Union 1721, District 9.....	1
"	9	Local Union 2156, District 6.....	1
"	9	Local Union 3034, District 15.....	2
"	9	Local Union 3007, District 21.....	10
"	9	Local Union 1327, District 19.....	1
"	9	Berthram B. Beshoar	10
"	9	Local Union 185, District 15.....	1
"	10	Local Union 2587, District 17.....	1
"	10	Frank J. Indoff	1
"	10	Local Union 2100, District 6.....	1
"	10	Local Union 2449, District 6.....	1
"	10	Local Union 1943, District 5.....	1
"	10	Local Union 1018, District 24.....	1
"	10	Local Union 1130, District 21.....	1
"	11	Local Union 2717, District 10.....	1
"	11	Local Union 793, District 13.....	2
"	11	Local Union 1380, District 12.....	1
"	11	Local Union 1880, District 12.....	3
"	11	Local Union 830, District 2.....	1
"	11	Local Union 1537, District 9.....	1
"	11	Local Union 1730, District 5.....	1

1917.

July	11	Local Union 1184, District 6.....	\$5.00
"	11	Local Union 3154, District 14.....	3.65
"	11	Local Union 2337, District 22.....	1.90
"	12	Local Union 1722, District 12.....	5.30
"	12	Local Union 685, District 12.....	5.00
"	12	Local Union 362, District 12.....	6.45
"	12	Local Union 840, District 13.....	19.20
"	12	Local Union 1551, District 9.....	2.00
"	12	Local Union 1545, District 1.....	12.50
"	12	Local Union 2242, District 5.....	10.00
"	12	Local Union 324, District 6.....	15.00
"	12	Local Union 624, District 6.....	1.00
"	12	Local Union 788, District 6.....	10.00
"	12	Local Union 885, District 6.....	4.70
"	12	Local Union 1576, District 6.....	11.55
"	12	Local Union 2159, District 6.....	13.50
"	12	Local Union 2185, District 6.....	5.00
"	12	Local Union 2027, District 16.....	8.50
"	12	Local Union 1566, District 6.....	5.00
"	12	Local Union 1022, District 11.....	2.55
"	12	Local Union 3019, District 14.....	5.00
"	12	Local Union 2492, District 21.....	3.10
"	13	Local Union 691, District 12.....	14.55
"	13	Local Union 3039, District 13.....	10.75
"	13	Local Union 2413, District 10.....	26.25
"	13	Local Union 474, District 12.....	10.00
"	13	Local Union 454, District 1.....	3.00
"	13	Local Union 2809, District 2.....	5.00
"	13	Local Union 2444, District 1.....	2.00
"	13	Local Union 1157, District 1.....	20.50
"	13	Local Union 1594, District 2.....	10.00
"	13	Local Union 1801, District 6.....	4.00
"	13	Local Union 2194, District 6.....	4.55
"	13	Local Union 2195, District 6.....	7.10
"	13	Local Union 2300, District 6.....	4.55
"	13	Local Union 2873, District 6.....	.60
"	13	Local Union 2982, District 6.....	1.05

1917.

July	13	Local Union	648, District	6.....	\$12.50
"	13	Local Union	985, District	6.....	5.00
"	13	Local Union	2121, District	6.....	18.00
"	13	Local Union	2835, District	16.....	21.00
"	13	Local Union	1194, District	14.....	15.00
"	13	Local Union	1585, District	27.....	10.00
"	13	Local Union	2301, District	27.....	13.05
"	13	Local Union	3035, District	15.....	15.00
"	14	Local Union	958, District	13.....	1.25
"	14	Local Union	2935, District	17.....	4.00
"	14	Local Union	1105, District	9.....	10.00
"	14	Local Union	668, District	12.....	15.50
"	14	Local Union	133, District	14.....	1.35
"	14	Local Union	3040, District	15.....	57.35
"	14	Local Union	2772, District	21.....	5.00
"	14	Local Union	335, District	6.....	1.80
"	14	Local Union	394, District	6.....	14.30
"	14	Local Union	1297, District	6.....	10.90
"	14	Local Union	2073, District	6.....	3.25
"	14	Local Union	2594, District	6.....	2.05
"	16	Local Union	392, District	13.....	1.45
"	16	Local Union	916, District	13.....	.25
"	16	Local Union	1799, District	13.....	35.10
"	16	Local Union	898, District	1.....	7.30
"	16	Local Union	2774, District	2.....	34.35
"	16	Local Union	1077, District	6.....	22.70
"	16	Local Union	1205, District	6.....	11.15
"	16	Local Union	1696, District	6.....	9.85
"	16	Local Union	2137, District	6.....	.80
"	16	Local Union	2150, District	6.....	15.00
"	16	Local Union	81, District	6.....	25.00
"	16	Local Union	592, District	6.....	15.30
"	16	Local Union	2471, District	16.....	27.85
"	16	Local Union	3018, District	15.....	10.00
"	16	Local Union	374, District	21.....	2.50
"	16	Local Union	1419, District	21.....	2.00
"	16	Local Union	355, District	11.....	5.00

1917.

July 16	Local Union 2748, District 21.....	\$2.50
" 17	Local Union 2682, District 10.....	10.00
" 17	Local Union 722, District 17.....	5.00
" 17	Local Union 1656, District 1.....	15.00
" 17	Local Union 595, District 5.....	8.25
" 17	Local Union 430, District 6.....	16.35
" 17	Local Union 2421, District 6.....	1.35
" 17	Local Union 625, District 11.....	11.25
" 17	Local Union 3125, District 15.....	1.60
" 18	Local Union 1042, District 13.....	4.40
" 18	Local Union 2046, District 17.....	2.30
" 18	Local Union 1252, District 6.....	10.00
" 18	Hugh Green, Coshocton, Ohio.....	5.00
" 18	Lewis Maroni, Roswell, Ohio.....	1.80
" 18	Local Union 161, District 14.....	3.60
" 18	Local Union 1131, District 21.....	2.50
" 19	Local Union 493, District 12.....	24.20
" 19	Local Union 2634, District 10.....	33.70
" 19	Local Union 506, District 9.....	5.00
" 19	Local Union 3057, District 5.....	8.85
" 20	Local Union 822, District 12.....	15.40
" 20	Local Union 201, District 13.....	7.50
" 20	Local Union 636, District 17.....	3.40
" 20	Local Union 2015, District 17.....	6.70
" 20	Local Union 2898, District 17.....	6.00
" 20	Local Union 766, District 12.....	21.00
" 20	Local Union 1514, District 9.....	6.50
" 20	Local Union 3141, District 5.....	15.96
" 20	Local Union 121, District 6.....	8.75
" 20	Local Union 1888, District 6.....	1.15
" 20	Local Union 2260, District 6.....	9.00
" 20	Local Union 2635, District 14.....	7.15
" 20	Local Union 2483, District 15.....	5.00
" 20	Local Union 2053, District 21.....	29.60
" 20	Local Union 2700, District 22.....	20.40
" 20	Local Union 1021, District 23.....	2.50
" 20	Local Union 1555, District 11.....	7.00

1917.

July	20	Local Union	259,	District	15.....	\$14.25
"	21	Local Union	2362,	District	10.....	18.00
"	21	Local Union	494,	District	12.....	11.95
"	21	Local Union	1632,	District	12.....	5.95
"	21	Local Union	2278,	District	5.....	26.15
"	21	Local Union	3136,	District	5.....	10.00
"	23	Local Union	275,	District	12.....	1.80
"	23	Local Union	736,	District	12.....	21.00
"	23	Local Union	986,	District	12.....	20.05
"	23	Local Union	56,	District	13.....	5.00
"	23	Local Union	1058,	District	18.....	10.00
"	23	Local Union	309,	District	7.....	10.00
"	23	Local Union	1455,	District	9.....	5.00
"	23	Local Union	1382,	District	5.....	11.25
"	23	Local Union	1238,	District	6.....	7.50
"	23	Local Union	1864,	District	21.....	4.15
"	23	Local Union	370,	District	27.....	5.60
"	23	Local Union	1574,	District	24.....	10.00
"	24	Local Union	2368,	District	12.....	13.10
"	24	Local Union	1806,	District	12.....	10.00
"	24	Local Union	291,	District	12.....	27.80
"	24	Local Union	2128,	District	5.....	5.00
"	24	Local Union	1753,	District	6.....	13.85
"	24	Local Union	2546,	District	15.....	53.85
"	25	Local Union	715,	District	12.....	15.00
"	25	Local Union	1479,	District	9.....	20.25
"	25	Local Union	2167,	District	6.....	10.00
"	25	Local Union	2702,	District	22.....	15.20
"	25	Local Union	3061,	District	21.....	5.00
"	26	Local Union	2705,	District	12.....	19.50
"	26	Local Union	730,	District	12.....	33.00
"	27	Local Union	1179,	District	17.....	1.00
"	27	Local Union	2400,	District	6.....	10.00
"	27	Local Union	383,	District	6.....	9.70
"	27	Local Union	2276,	District	6.....	5.00
"	27	Local Union	59,	District	14.....	2.65
"	28	Local Union	781,	District	12.....	10.00

July	28	Local Union 1052, District 1	\$20.00
"	28	Local Union 1617, District 1	35.00
"	28	Local Union 3024, District 15	64.00
"	28	Local Union 1715, District 22	5.00
"	28	Local Union 376, District 5	14.50
"	28	Local Union 1206, District 6	1.05
"	30	Local Union 1890, District 10	2.50
"	30	Local Union 101, District 12	14.85
"	30	Local Union 238, District 12	5.00
"	30	Local Union 2510, District 10	10.00
"	30	Local Union 1803, District 6	5.60
"	30	Local Union 1435, District 6	25.90
"	30	Wm. Hargest	70.00
"	30	Local Union 525, District 11	6.40
"	31	Local Union 2369, District 10	10.00
Aug -	1	Local Union 1767, District 9	1.80
"	1	Local Union 2427, District 11	10.60
"	1	Local Union 406, District 14	2.10
"	1	Local Union 764, District 11	5.00
"	1	Local Union 719, District 21	10.00
"	1	Local Union 1589, District 5	3.90
"	2	Local Union 3143, District 5	20.00
"	3	Local Union 1509, District 9	10.00
"	3	Local Union 79, District 5	15.00
"	3	Local Union 2874, District 5	5.00
"	3	Local Union 1019, District 11	5.00
"	4	Local Union 1057, District 17	2.40
"	4	Local Union 758, District 12	10.60
"	4	Local Union 1556, District 21	13.25
"	6	Local Union 714, District 12	2.20
"	6	Fred Heldt	.50
"	6	Local Union 305, District 12	3.45
"	6	Local Union 2065, District 5	7.90
"	6	Local Union 1820, District 14	6.05
"	6	Local Union 1525, District 20	2.00
"	6	Local Union 3064, District 14	4.15
"	7	Local Union 2514, District 12	18.90

1917.

Aug.	9	Local Union 588, District 14.....	\$
"	10	Local Union 1087, District 18.....	1
"	10	Local Union 1662, District 15.....	4
"	13	Local Union 2657, District 12.....	1
"	13	Local Union 2706, District 12.....	2
"	13	Local Union 991, District 6.....	
"	13	Local Union 1990, District 14.....	
"	13	Local Union 2867, District 14.....	
"	13	Local Union 2564, District 24.....	
"	15	Local Union 2404, District 12.....	2
"	15	Local Union 815, District 12.....	1
"	15	Local Union 1526, District 21.....	1
"	15	Local Union 2136, District 6.....	
"	15	Local Union 2737, District 6.....	
"	15	Local Union 417, District 6.....	
"	15	Local Union 459, District 6.....	
"	16	Local Union 2376, District 12.....	2
"	16	Local Union 1442, District 25.....	2
"	17	Local Union 605, District 12.....	
"	17	Local Union 385, District 6.....	
"	17	Local Union 2084, District 21.....	
"	17	Local Union 2371, District 21.....	
"	18	Local Union 2362, District 10.....	
"	18	Local Union 3048, District 15.....	1
"	18	Local Union 1636, District 11.....	1
"	20	Local Union 2233, District 2.....	2
"	20	Local Union 2289, District 14.....	
"	20	Local Union 2516, District 22.....	
"	20	Local Union 40, District 14.....	
"	22	Local Union 389, District 6.....	1
"	22	Local Union 3092, District 6.....	
"	23	Local Union 1863, District 10.....	
"	23	Local Union 2830, District 13.....	
"	23	Local Union 1414, District 1.....	
"	23	Local Union 3030, District 15.....	2
"	25	Local Union 2425, District 12.....	1
"	27	Local Union 101, District 12.....	1

1917.

Aug.	27	Local Union 3393, District 15.....	\$ 9.50
"	27	Local Union 2365, District 22.....	15.70
"	27	Local Union 2742, District 22.....	9.00
"	28	Local Union 2763, District 21.....	48.00
"	30	Local Union 1206, District 6.....	1.15
"	31	Local Union 2632, District 11.....	9.00
Sept.	1	Local Union 3256, District 15.....	7.00
"	4	Local Union 1820, District 14.....	.35
"	4	Local Union 2212, District 14.....	13.80
"	4	Local Union 514, District 21.....	1.70
"	5	Local Union 1045, District 11.....	8.50
"	6	Local Union 1782, District 12.....	55.00
"	7	Local Union 1814, District 21.....	8.00
"	7	Local Union 2858, District 14.....	8.50
"	13	Local Union 2485, District 13.....	8.30
"	14	Miss Allie Stricklin, Eldorado, Ill., First Christian Church.	2.32
"	17	Local Union 1878, District 15.....	108.75
"	21	Local Union 390, District 11.....	4.65
"	25	Local Union 721, District 12.....	13.00
"	25	Local Union 2111, District 21.....	6.70
"	28	Local Union 3042, District 14.....	4.60
"	29	Local Union 16, District 25.....	12.10
Oct.	17	Local Union 101, District 12.....	.15
"	29	Local Union 1110, District 13.....	5.00
Nov.	2	Local Union 3108, District 14.....	5.00
"	3	Local Union 21, District 11.....	13.15
Total.....			\$6,037.53

STRIKE DONATION—DISTRICT NO. 1.

(1917.)

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
439	Ed. Chapman	Mildred, Pa.	\$ 25.00
454	J. H. Hill	Luzerne, Pa.	5.00
519	D. Powell	Scranton, Pa.	10.00
526	Wm. Loble	Scranton, Pa.	100.00
844	J. W. Loun	Carbondale, Pa.	50.00

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amo
898	Jos. Weiss	Nanticoke, Pa.	2
1010	W. Longanna	Olyphant, Pa.	1
1174	Hugh Okane	Plymouth, Pa.	5
1221	G. J. Wality	Dorranceton, Pa.	2
1407	Stanley Ravinski	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	5
1487	John Dillon	Pittston, Pa.	1
1617	Wm. Cox	Scranton, Pa.	5
1691	P. F. O'Hara	Olyphant, Pa.	2
	J. M. Mack, Secy.....	Scranton, Pa.	1,00

DISTRICT NO. 2.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amo
18	Geo. H. Vaux	Philipsburg, Pa.	\$ 5
64	J. S. Swanson	Hollsopple, Pa.	2
89	Peter Cook	Starford, Pa.	1
95	S. R. Satterfield	Defiance, Pa.	1
144	Chas. R. Stewart	Spangler, Pa.	2
145	W. S. Edmonson	Hopewell, Pa.	1
176	Ira W. Watts	Winburne, Pa.	1
395	R. Campbell	DeLancey, Pa.	10
523	Geo. Lundberg.....	Dubois, Pa.	2
541	Frank Raslavsky	Helvetia, Pa.	5
601	S. Barto	Clymer, Pa.	5
609	D. J. Curran	Morrisdale, Pa.	10
616	Pat. McDermott	Hastings, Pa.	20
801	J. M. Wilson	Munson, Pa.	1
819	H. M. Allen	New Bethlehem, Pa.	2
831	J. Baird	Ernest, Pa.	1
837	J. O. Lendguest	New Bethlehem, Pa.	2
842	John Kilsoll	Patton, Pa.	10
865	John Kumaird	Arnot, Pa.	
935	C. W. Leas	Cassandra, Pa.	2
1031	Silas Hauck	Robertsdale, Pa.	10
1056	Jas. Harlin	Gallitzin, Pa.	2
1134	P. Lund	Grass Flat, Pa.	2
1269	Ed. Lonergan	Elmora, Pa.	2
1295	H. Bryson	Glen Campbell, Pa.	2

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
1370	Stanley Jankiewicz	Morris Run, Pa.	200.00
1386	Chas. Wolff	Nanty Glo, Pa.	25.00
1402	F. J. Shank	Coalport, Pa.	25.00
1441	Sam Brocklehurst	Tyler, Pa.	50.00
1515	Muir Frew	Dixonville, Pa.	10.00
1569	Dom Mauto	Frostburg, Pa.	15.00
1731	C. R. Eskbaugh.....	Sligo, Pa.	5.00
1736	F. P. Dolan.....	Rossiter, Pa.	20.00
1798	L. McArmch	Ramsaytown, Pa.	10.00
1857	F. Hollan	Fallen Timber, Pa.	5.00
1871	Mike Kasbko	Clarence, Pa.	50.00
1924	Jas. Sowko	Bitumen, Pa.	10.00
1992	C. M. Chirdon.....	Amsby, Pa.	25.00
1995	B. Jas. Reilly.....	Dudley, Pa.	25.00
2008	Millard Hanson	St. Benedict, Pa.	50.00
2030	Jno. A. Harrison.....	Byrnesdale, Pa.	5.00
2044	C. J. Carlson.....	Dagus Mines, Pa.	10.00
2179	John Andrews	Lilly, Pa.	25.00
2233	Thos. Prudboe	Beaverdale, Pa.	25.00
2246	W. Waylo	Barnesboro, Pa.	25.00
248	Len Jackson	Portage, Pa.	10.00
279	C. H. Shaver.....	Elbon, Pa.	10.00
297	Thos. Campisano	Brockwayville, Pa.	25.00
370	McKinley Adamson	Marion Center, Pa.	10.00
430	B. H. Roger.....	Rochester Mills, Pa.	2.00
501	Wm. Atherton	Conifer, Pa.	25.00
722	T. McNally	Dubois, Pa.	20.00
774	F. Austin	Myersdale, Pa.	10.00
778	A. Laison	Listie, Pa.	10.00
809	Geo. Walker	Osceola Mills, Pa.	10.00
886	Henry Parrish	Johnstown, Pa.	10.00
900	Geo. Cowan	Puritan, Pa.	25.00
971	A. S. Edwards.....	Dudley, Pa.	50.00
977	Wm. Gallagher	Parkers Landing, Pa.	16.50
983	W. H. Nielken.....	Garrett, Pa.	50.00
998	John Flamm	Berlin, Pa.	10.00

DISTRICT NO. 5.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	A1
79	T. H. Naylor.....	Webster, Pa.	\$
408	Oscar Gildemann	Monongahela, Pa.	
864	Emil Dufoen	Sturgeon, Pa.	
1165	Jos. Haslinsky	Ellsworth, Pa.	
1208	Geo. Adams	Slovan, Pa.	
1589	David Jonon	McDonald, Pa.	
1648	J. P. Browder.....	Carrick, Pa.	
1948	Francis P. Lamb.....	Pittsburgh, Pa.	
1973	Wm. Hallam	Bulger, Pa.	
2026	John Doronsky	Westland, Pa.	
2049	J. W. Andrews.....	Midway, Pa.	
2244	Aug. Belgie	Courtney, Pa.	
2267	W. Estock	Large, Pa.	
2273	John Schneider	Smithton, Pa.	
2424	Wm. Therlwall	Finleyville, Pa.	
2506	Robt. Elliott	Scott Haven, Pa.	
2545	Frank Shower	Fredericktown, Pa.	
2563	Frank Fisher	Cuddy, Pa.	
2881	Alex. Krieg	Avella, Pa.	
2950	Alf. Goundry	Cliftonville, W. Va.	
2962	Richard Parsons	Evans City, Pa.	
3057	C. L. Rice.....	Apollo, Pa.	
3113	H. D. Welsh.....	Leechburg, Pa.	
3116	John Friel	Leechburg, Pa.	
3121	J. T. Brown.....	Saltsburg, Pa.	
3136	M. R. Norvak	Superior, Pa.	
3140	Peter Ludivis	Vandergrift, Pa.	
3141	R. Fenk	Avonmore, Pa.	
3146	Wm. McDonald	Leechburg, Pa.	
3147	J. A. Saver.....	Apollo, Pa.	
3257	Stephen Poplly	Wynon, Pa.	
3368	Martin Laurine	Yukon, Pa.	

DISTRICT NO. 6.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	A1
5	Terence Sweeney	New Philadelphia, Ohio	\$
13	Geo. E. Schied.....	Bridgeport, Ohio	

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
49	Melsin Spencer	Jobs, Ohio	50.00
63	E. Compton	Cambridge, Ohio	25.00
71	Carl Ryan	Martins Ferry, Ohio	100.00
81	Henry A. Dew.....	Congo, Ohio	38.00
93	Mack Showalter	Shadyside, Ohio	10.00
116	T. C. Williams.....	Warnock, Ohio	20.00
121	S. O. Davis.....	Buffalo, Ohio	25.00
142	F. R. Ecenberger.....	Mineral City, Ohio	5.00
162	Thos. Williams	Doanville, Ohio	25.00
183	G. W. Litten.....	Hopedale, Ohio	10.00
193	Robt. Emery	Neffs, Ohio	50.00
245	W. L. Roberts.....	Barton, Ohio	10.00
270	Andy Kiss	New Plymouth, Ohio	20.00
314	Z. Ginter	Fairpoint, Ohio	50.00
327	Ed. Campbell	Buchtel, Ohio	25.00
335	S. J. Barr.....	Wellston, Ohio	10.00
358	G. H. Gardner.....	Chauncey, Ohio	50.00
359	Wm. Border	Somerdale, Ohio	10.00
365	J. E. Fierce.....	Glouster, Ohio	100.00
379	Hugh Green	Coshocton, Ohio	20.00
383	Alex. Allison	Robins, Ohio	50.00
385	Chas. C. Winkler.....	Wainwright, Ohio	49.50
394	J. J. Edwards.....	Murray, Ohio	25.00
397	Geo. Hoge	Tiltonville, Ohio	25.00
425	Thos. Pietro	Flushing, Ohio	21.00
430	Peter Mollozgar	Bellaire, Ohio	100.00
436	David Christian	Longstreth, Ohio	12.00
479	Mike Henry	Byesville, Ohio	1.00
515	Jesse Cox	Conesville, Ohio	15.00
566	Wm. Moulton	Crooksville, Ohio	50.00
573	W. H. Wilson	Nelsonville, Ohio	50.00
580	Fred Stroth	Coalton, Ohio	20.00
619	Howard Riddle	Herrick, Ohio	25.00
624	A. S. Cook.....	Caldwell, Ohio	50.00
628	Geo. Henderson	Coshocton, Ohio	10.00
652	Floyd Williams	Klee, Ohio	5.00
689	Andy Rensi	Parlett, Ohio	10.00

	Secretary.	Location.	Amount
7	Ed. Fristoe	New Lexington, Ohio	10.00
7	Jacob White	Stewartsville, Ohio	10.00
35	Henry Stege	Buchtel, Ohio	25.00
91	F. E. Johnson	Nelsonville, Ohio	15.00
132	Frank Phares	Shawnee, Ohio	15.00
164	R. M. McCray	Crooksville, Ohio	10.00
1971	F. A. Nunley	Yorkville, Ohio	25.00
1973	Wm. J. Lamb, Jr.	Jackson, Ohio	10.00
1983	Wm. Riddle	Nelsonville, Ohio	10.00
1991	Ralph Korn's	New Philadelphia, Ohio	20.00
11075	John Martin	Pomeroy, Ohio	15.00
11077	Wm. Kennedy	Bellaire, Ohio	50.00
11083	Ralph Sutton	Pedro, Ohio	22.00
11107	Thos. Brown	Barnhill, Ohio	5.00
11163	E. E. Jones	Middleport, Ohio	25.00
11172	J. R. McColough	Buchtel, Ohio	10.00
11206	A. B. McNance	Nelsonville, Ohio	12.00
11216	J. H. Chadwell	Brilliant, Ohio	5.00
11220	C. F. Penrod	Crooksville, Ohio	10.00
11235	C. M. Hackathorn	Bergholz, Ohio	25.00
11252	Dan Callahan	New Straitsville, Ohio	25.00
11262	Jno. K. Stamps	Wellston, Ohio	10.00
11275	Geo. Hebriggie	Cannelville, Ohio	100.00
11286	Ross C. Spence	Stewartsville, Ohio	25.00
11297	Wm. Morgan	Piney Fork, Ohio	25.00
11299	John Reynolds	Wheeling, W. Va.	50.00
11323	Moses Mossop	Dalton, Ohio	10.00
11334	John Wyckoff	Athens, Ohio	100.00
11342	B. L. Donahue	Bannock, Ohio	10.00
11378	Enoch Woalton	Lore City, Ohio	5.00
11404	James Henderson	Mineral City, Ohio	15.00
11415	J. C. Milligan	McLuney, Ohio	5.00
11418	Glenn Brown	New Philadelphia, Ohio	50.00
11474	W. M. McCall	Nelsonville, Ohio	25.00
11486	James Forgie	Lore City, Ohio	64.00
11496	Geo. Fleck	Midvale, Ohio	50.00
11566	Elmer Lewis	Ironton, Ohio	50.00

LU.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
576	Harley Johnson	Byesville, Ohio	25.00
578	H. L. Drumm.....	Rush Run, Ohio	100.00
90	Martin Morrow	Salineville, Ohio	30.00
79	Robert Greenhalgh	Lansing, Ohio	100.00
16	Alfred McConnell	Moundsville, W. Va.	100.00
12	Marion Peterson	Martins Ferry, Ohio	25.00
8	Charles Rogers	Robins, Ohio	100.00
0	Wm. McGath	Byesville, Ohio	5.00
3	G. W. Eubanks.....	Byesville, Ohio	25.00
5	A. J. Syz.....	Nelsonville, Ohio	10.00
7	D. C. Jones.....	Bergholz, Ohio	50.00
0	E. G. Milliron.....	Ohio	4.00
5	Robt. Marshall .....	.....	50.00
7	Walter Olchesky	Adena, Ohio	100.00
8	Joe Kiss	Rayland, Ohio	25.00
9	James Naydl	Dillonvale, Ohio	50.00
3	Ora Hartly .....	.....	10.00
0	Frank Ryder .....	.....	25.00
10	Robt. Buckles	Ohio	50.00
23	Ralph Selby	Buffalo, Ohio	100.00
27	Wm. Stephenson	New Straitsville, Ohio	2.50
59	Matt Kren	Bridgeport, Ohio	75.00
67	Eg. Householder	Dover, Ohio	25.00
186	A. J. Gould.....	Canaanville, Ohio	100.00
88	Geo. Neilson	Corning, Ohio	25.00
94	J. E. Dunlap.....	Hemlock, Ohio	25.00
47	Richard Belch	Wolf Run, Ohio	10.00
60	J. H. House.....	Ohio	25.00
52	R. W. Wallace.....	Ohio	77.50
76	C. H. Smith.....	.....	25.00
13	Gordon Tolliver	Nelsonville, Ohio	10.00
79	Clyde Rodacker	Dalton, Ohio	25.00
30	Wm. Hanenstein	Dalton, Ohio	30.00
33	Wm. Fennell, Jr.....	Wellston, Ohio	5.00
21	M. L. Withee.....	Middleport, Ohio	15.00
19	Frank Bender	Pleasant City, Ohio	30.00
50	Eber Bass	Middleport, Ohio	50.00

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Am
2459	Jas. S. Meredith.....	New Philadelphia, Ohio	
2461	Robt. Young	Roswell, Ohio	
2526	Albert Ratajezak	Steel, Ohio	1
2528	J. D. McMiller.....	Roseville, Ohio	
2530	Samuel Walters	San Toy, Ohio	
2558	Robt. Stock	Lisbon, Ohio	
2559	Jno. Clary	Longstreth, Ohio	
2580	John Bell	Mineral City, Ohio	
2593	John Shutway	Flushing, Ohio	
2594	Pete Patton	Jackson, Ohio	
2617	S. W. Barber.....	Nelsonville, Ohio	
2640	Chas. Donahoe	Ironton, Ohio	
2642	G. M. Oliver.....	Buffalo, Ohio	10
2688	John Smarkol	Martins Ferry, Ohio	
2723	Geo. McDougall	Mineral City, Ohio	
2807	Jos. F. Hamilton.....	Leetonia, Ohio	
2810	Edw. P. Mahle.....	Wellston, Ohio	
2872	Herbert J. Reese.....	Shawnee, Ohio	
2879	F. J. Martin.....	Pleasant City, Ohio	
2967	Chas. L. Evans.....	Doanville, Ohio	
3158	Ernest Ankran	Lore City, Ohio	
3177	Chester Bartoe	Nelsonville, Ohio	
3360	J. J. Boger.....	Powhatan, Ohio	
3370	Frank Riley	Nelsonville, Ohio	1
3434	Robert Welsh	Tiltonville, Ohio	
3434	Robert Welsh	Tiltonville, Ohio	1
3444	D. O. Dougherty.....	Sherrodsville, Ohio	

DISTRICT NO. 7.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amc
185	Fred Bauch	Sugar Loaf, Pa.	\$
1505	W. S. Evans.....	Harwood Mines, Pa.	5
1519	George Loputko	Freeland, Pa.	2
1571	A. Morann	Tamaqua, Pa.	10
1572	E. G. Williams.....	Lansford, Pa.	10
3292	Vasily Potachney	McAdoo, Pa.	2

DISTRICT NO. 8.

Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
Henry Kilmer	Clay City, Ind.	\$ 10.00
John Lynch	Brazil, Ind.	50.00
Robert Haughes	Cardonia, Ind.	5.00
J. M. Hester.....	Patricksburg, Ind.	40.00

DISTRICT NO. 9.

Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
W. Kramer	Excelsior, Pa.	\$ 50.00
George Brubaker	Trevorton, Pa.	50.00
Edw. Keinn	Shamokin, Pa.	50.00
W. Imenuel	Morea, Pa.	50.00
W. W. Heintzlemann.....	Tower City, Pa.	25.00
Peter Leaby	Mahanoy City, Pa.	100.00
Ed. Shott	New Boston, Pa.	100.00
J. Kane	Shenandoah, Pa.	10.00
Thomas Williams	Girardville, Pa.	10.00
J. Lockwood	Lost Creek, Pa.	20.00
J. J. Kelly.....	Lost Creek, Pa.	20.00
J. Scheverck	Ashland, Pa.	50.00
J. F. Schaeffer.....	St. Clair, Pa.	25.00
J. L. Large.....	Tuscarora, Pa.	10.00
J. C. Shadd.....	Williamstown, Pa.	100.00
J. Schrape	Reineton, Pa.	25.00
J. Kootner	Pine Grove, Pa.	25.00
George Derr	Tremont, Pa.	50.00
John Mayer, Jr.....	Locust Dale, Pa.	50.00
B. Kelley.....	Lost Creek, Pa.	5.00
Charles Simmons	Shenandoah, Pa.	25.00
James Morrow	Wade, Pa.	25.00
William Watslof	Wilburton, Pa.	5.00
J. Houghney.....	Silver Creek, Pa.	25.00
John Pulaski	Mt. Carmel, Pa.	5.00
J. M. Peck.....	Shenandoah, Pa.	25.00
ster Saukus.....	Frackville, Pa.	5.00
9—Jas. J. McAndrews, Secy..	Shamokin, Pa.	1,000.00

DISTRICT NO. 10.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amc
227	Adam Boardman	Roslyn, Wash.	\$ 2
934	John S. Johnson.....	Carbonado, Wash.	20
1044	N. A. Perrin.....	Cumberland, Wash.	2
1717	R. Horsley	Tono, Wash.	2
1853	George Steele	Durham, Wash.	2
1853	George Steele	Durham, Wash.	2
1863	M. F. Oppe.....	Chehalis, Wash.	2
1890	John Murry	Cumberland, Wash.	1
1890	John Murry	Cumberland, Wash.	5
1911	J. D. Richardson	Palmer, Wash.	2
1994	James Widdel	Bayre, Wash.	5
2157	Ciril Ermenc	Taylor, Wash.	2
2257	J. W. Bartoluzzi.....	Black Diamond, Wash.	25
2264	A. E. Brooks.....	Franklin, Wash.	2
2362	Ed. Sipila	Newcastle, Wash.	10
2369	Estell Cary	Mendota, Wash.	2
2373	Jask Jaff	Burnett, Wash.	10
2413	John Morgan	Issaquah, Wash.	2
2510	Thomas Walmsley	Roslyn, Wash.	7
2512	H. J. Burge.....	Cle Elum, Wash.	10
2583	G. Lempersley	Roslyn, Wash.	8
2634	Frank Purse	Wilkeson, Wash.	10
2717	Robert Blakely	Cumberland, Wash.	1
2717	Robert Blakely	Cumberland, Wash.	1
2869	Vernon G. Wells.....	Spiketon, Wash.	10
2871	Ed. Matthews	Ronald, Wash.	
2963	J. McCauley	Melmont, Wash.	
3179	K. A. Bruum.....	Fairfax, Wash.	
3458	John Adams	Renton, Wash.	

DISTRICT NO. 11.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Am
21	George Black	Princeton, Ind.	\$
23	William Houston	Terre Haute, Ind.	
46	William M. Minnis.....	Petersburg, Ind.	1
74	T. J. Foley.....	Clinton, Ind.	

LU.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
114	Leroy Rhinehart	Elberfeld, Ind.	75.00
117	Charles N. Compton.....	Terre Haute, Ind.	25.00
134	Martin May	Clinton, Ind.	10.00
141	Ed. Edwards	Dugger, Ind.	15.00
184	Easrey Auten	Jasonville, Ind.	10.00
195	W. Mitchell	Sullivan, Ind.	287.00
214	William Krampe	Brazil, Ind.	10.00
217	A. C. Wilkie.....	Boonville, Ind.	10.00
248	Squire J. Carithers.....	Terre Haute, Ind.	25.00
399	B. F. Byers.....	.....	25.00
463	O. R. Knight.....	Jasonville, Ind.	50.00
582	Isaiah Spau	Augusta, Ind.	65.00
647	D. R. Starett.....	West Terre Haute, Ind.....	10.00
656	Roscoe Moore	Jasonville, Ind.	25.00
670	James Stephen	Terre Haute, Ind.	15.00
713	K. L. Whitman.....	Winslow, Ind.	25.00
752	Ernest Prudence	Newburg, Ind.	25.00
764	Moses Dossett	Glezen, Ind.	100.00
770	James H. Usrey.....	Linton, Ind.	50.00
1065	Adolph Becker	Evansville, Ind.	25.00
1095	Joe Messersmith	Francisco, Ind.	71.00
1111	D. A. Vess.....	Shelburn, Ind.	25.00
1187	M. S. Barnes.....	Rosedale, Ind.	10.00
1277	John Liptset	Sullivan, Ind.	10.00
1368	Harry C. Friley.....	Bruceville, Ind.	50.00
1371	Melvin Whitaker	Chandler, Ind.	20.00
1328	Frank S. Krischak.....	Linton, Ind.	100.00
1394	Joe Smith	West Terre Haute, Ind.	10.00
1539	John Ambre	Universal, Ind.	250.00
1555	H. B. Liston.....	Carlisle, Ind.	25.00
1634	Thomas Winning	Vincennes, Ind.	100.00
1658	Charles A. Poehlein.....	Winslow, Ind.	50.00
1676	James Justus	Linton, Ind.	50.00
1698	Thomas Kinney	Bicknell, Ind.	25.00
1713	S. C. Hunter.....	Dugger, Ind.	50.00
1743	John Orr	Jasonville, Ind.	35.00
1755	Charles Baughn	Boonville, Ind.	25.00

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Ar
1895	Homer Pierson	Linton, Ind.	
1984	Lucky Abernathy	Covington, Ind.	
2062	C. Ed. Wall.....	Sullivan, Ind.	
2134	George W. Kirk.....	Linton, Ind.	
2196	William Greaves	Terre Haute, Ind.	
2245	Fred Beckman	West Terre Haute, Ind.	
2343	C. F. Stansberry.....	Boonville, Ind.	
2422	Orville Hamilton	Clinton, Ind.	
2423	Isaac Norwood	Vicksburg, Ind.	
2431	G. D. Griffith.....	Coalmont, Ind.	
2446	John Thomas	Rosedale, Ind.	
2475	M. Raffle	Shelburn, Ind.	
2549	H. N. McNiel.....	Fontanet, Ind.	
2550	Samuel L. Lawrence.....	Boonville, Ind.	
2607	B. H. Powell.....	Newburg, Ind.	
2971	Allen F. Payne.....	Brazil, Ind.	
2976	C. E. Gillespie.....	Staunton, Ind.	
2989	B. F. Wright.....	Linton, Ind.	
3041	Thomas Kehoe	Blanford, Ind.	
3097	Harry Lentz	Terre Haute, Ind.	
3261	R. A. Allen.....	Montgomery, Ind.	
	Albert Strange	Edwardsport, Ind.	
	Charles McKillip	Clinton, Ind.	
	Harold Miller	Clay City, Ind.	

DISTRICT NO. 12.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Ar
2	Neil Thompson	Farmington, Ill.	\$
11	H. R. Wilker.....	Coal City, Ill.	
30	William Clough	Lovington, Ill.	
41	Charles Bishop	Catlin, Ill.	
78	Joseph F. Cross.....	Breese, Ill.	
91	Harry Wilson	Johnston City, Ill.	
99	Reinhold Schoenebeck	Belleville, Ill.	
106	Joseph Stokes	Canton, Ill.	
109	William Smallwood	Assumption, Ill.	
125	Mike Milenky	Mt. Olive, Ill.	

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
146	Henry Cuthbert	Divernon, Ill.	200.00
224	Harry Bangert	Lincoln, Ill.	50.00
238	Daniel Pollock	Belleville, Ill.	50.00
264	Joseph Schultz	Collinsville, Ill.	100.00
297	Herman Meinkoth	New Baden, Ill.	50.00
305	James Harris	Rentchler, Ill.	50.00
362	Edward A. Nightingale.....	Coal Valley, Ill.	13.00
388	J. A. Prosper.....	Clifford, Ill.	200.00
467	John Malbon	Farmington, Ill.	25.00
468	R. O. McAllister.....	Fairbury, Ill.	10.00
474	Edw. Erlinger	Belleville, Ill.	10.00
492	John Boehmer	Springfield, Ill.	100.00
517	William F. Spears.....	Tovey, Ill.	257.00
517	William F. Spears.....	Tovey, Ill.	252.50
518	Melvin Kern	Marion, Ill.	10.00
565	Z. S. Clifford.....	Equality, Ill.	15.00
598	Charles E. Barrow.....	Lincoln, Ill.	25.00
605	Jake Wilson	Murphysboro, Ill.	48.00
620	Peter Grubich	LaSalle, Ill.	15.00
644	Jacob Benzele	Hillsboro, Ill.	25.00
651	George Troy	Rutland, Ill.	10.00
655	Robert Norris	Herrin, Ill.	100.00
663	T. J. McManenny.....	Coulterville, Ill.	25.00
668	Ed. Biom	Worden, Ill.	25.00
685	James Silva	Collinsville, Ill.	25.00
686	Dan W. Slinger.....	Glen Carbon, Ill.	50.00
687	Robert Browning	Freesburg, Ill.	50.00
691	N. H. Goalby.....	Troy, Ill.	75.00
694	Alfred Walters	Girard, Ill.	100.00
720	Leo Safka	Staunton, Ill.	152.00
728	John DeWerff	Mt. Olive, Ill.	25.00
730	John Templeton	Gillespie, Ill.	300.00
732	Fred Rautenbera	Peoria, Ill.	25.00
734	Fred Albers	Peoria, Ill.	5.00
753	Samuel Walker	Bloomington, Ill.	2.00
755	A. C. Schneider.....	Staunton, Ill.	500.00
781	Emil Reinhold	Decatur, Ill.	25.00

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L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amo
782	Reuben Ralph	Belleville, Ill.	1
800	Andrew Hudashka	Streator, Ill.	1
816	James J. Deane	Lincoln, Ill.	2
820	L. J. Foreman	Edwardsville, Ill.	2
822	N. B. Atkins	Pana, Ill.	3
848	James Flannery	Collinsville, Ill.	20
859	Walter Sheets	Belleville, Ill.	14
898	Frank Hosking	Canton, Ill.	21
923	James Dunehoo	Herrin, Ill.	14
944	H. T. Compton	Herrin, Ill.	54
948	Glen Woods	Danville, Ill.	34
959	R. Howe	West Frankfort, Ill.	17
959	R. Howe	West Frankfort, Ill. ....	.
980	Walter Tomlinson	Coffeen, Ill.	2
1011	Jack Doyle	Colfax, Ill.	2
1090	Hy. Reuss	New Athens, Ill.	2
1103	Fernand Bernard	Westville, Ill.	2
1117	S. W. Hedger	Marion, Ill.	2
1202	Jerry Browning	Tilden, Ill.	2
1228	Allen Mayberry	Dewmaine, Ill.	10
1239	A. A. Pearce	Johnston City, Ill.	5
1397	D. C. Morris	Centralia, Ill.	5
1421	William M. Welshbeno	Buckner, Ill.	17
1440	Mike Bednar	Taylor Springs, Ill.	10
1458	H. H. Schickedanz	DuQuoin, Ill.	24
1677	Thomas Sisk	Eldorado, Ill.	14
1806	Charles Stokes	Coulterville, Ill. ....	.
1880	James Penley	Marion, Ill.	1.
1893	Frank H. Beasley, Jr.	Witt, Ill.	1
1927	G. Rimington	Farmington, Ill.	
1948	Joe Drago	Pekin, Ill.	
1971	Oscar Hall	West Frankfort, Ill.	
2129	E. C. Radford	Marion, Ill.	
2368	Frank Reeves	Ill.	
2376	E. H. Owlett	Ill.	1
2467	J. O. Stine	Danville, Ill.	
2556	Henry Skelcher	Carterville, Ill.	

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
2619	John Lennox	Beckemeyer, Ill.	72.25
2621	John W. Walker.....	Herrin, Ill.	50.00
2622	George Cook	Decatur, Ill.	10.00
2676	John Flannery	Danville, Ill.	10.00
2703	Floyd Williamson	East St. Louis, Ill.....	62.00
2708	John Mason	Belleville, Ill.	25.00
2709	Z. T. Porter.....	Norris City, Ill.	50.00
2840	J. T. Bushnell.....	Middle Grove, Ill.	15.00
3222	W. A. Holman.....	Danville, Ill.	10.00
3447	G. E. Ritter.....	Raleigh, Ill.	5.00
District 12—Walter Nesbit, Secy....			Springfield, Ill. 500.00

DISTRICT NO. 13.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
10	George Cooper	Valley Junction, Iowa	\$ 5.00
47	James G. Steele.....	Eddyville, Iowa	25.00
56	William Leanord	Colfax, Iowa	100.00
152	John G. Whitham.....	Ottumwa, Iowa	25.00
154	William W. Brown.....	Newton, Iowa	5.00
172	James O. Cain.....	Foster, Iowa	5.00
201	Frank Brunson	Brazil, Iowa	15.00
372	G. H. Klobucher.....	Rathburn, Iowa	50.00
384	H. S. Amer.....	Des Moines, Iowa	25.00
392	Andrew Swanson	Ft. Dodge, Iowa	10.00
553	Bert Dooley	Centerville, Iowa	100.00
634	J. R. Smith.....	Mystic, Iowa	25.00
662	William Johnson	Lovilia, Iowa	10.00
671	Lewis Edwards	Seevers, Iowa	25.00
709	J. L. Smith.....	Madrid, Iowa	50.00
793	Alex Collins	Albia, Iowa	100.00
812	William Hendershot	Exline, Iowa	10.00
851	George F. Sillett.....	Des Moines, Iowa	20.00
855	William Taylor	Lehigh, Iowa	10.00
869	George Kirkwood	Boone, Iowa	100.00
875	W. F. Sexton.....	Nunia, Iowa	10.00
916	Alf. Hjort	Hiteman, Iowa	25.00
958	B. M. Paul.....	Unionville, Mo.	10.00

981	Robert Stokes	Everist, Iowa	25.00
1042	W. A. Rickett	Lovilia, Iowa	25.00
1047	James Longden	Des Moines, Iowa	100.00
1063	Ben Baker	Centerville, Iowa	2.50
1121	Charles Robinson	Hocking, Iowa	50.00
1169	J. W. Adey	Bear Creek, Iowa	25.00
1504	Martin Wood	Melcher, Iowa	75.00
1573	George Fletcher	Des Moines, Iowa	32.90
1603	Ben H. Porter	Des Moines, Iowa	10.00
1616	T. A. Kirby	Coal City, Iowa	10.00
1799	William King	Buxton, Iowa	200.00
1907	John Samuelson	Des Moines, Iowa	100.00
1933	A. Cross	Chariton, Iowa	25.00
2460	Conrad Samuelson	Madrid, Iowa	25.00
2482	Earnest Courtney	Hamilton, Iowa	25.00
2482	Theodore Bourland	Ward, Iowa	10.00
2988	George Philly	Plano, Iowa	10.00
3039	Claud Crandall	Bidwell, Iowa	10.00
District 13—John Gay, Secy			Albia, Iowa 15,000.00

DISTRICT NO. 14.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
133	Pat Richie	Mulberry, Kans.	\$ 2.50
210	A. Gladieux	Weir, Kans.	50.00
219	Orval J. Lacore	Pittsburg, Kans.	40.00
414	W. Hamoker	Gross, Kans.	40.00
434	Frank Crosby	West Mineral, Kans.	10.00
498	Dan O. Donnell	Scammon, Kans.	25.00
551	A. W. Brown	Oskaloosa, Mo.	5.00
559	Carl McClure	Arcadia, Kans.	5.00
902	Arley F. Smith	Rich Hill, Mo.	5.00
951	H. W. Shoddy	Arcadia, Kans	10.00
1093	William Scott	Pittsburg, Kans.	25.00
1194	James E. Gilbert	Mulberry, Kans.	15.00
1224	W. A. West	Rich Hill, Mo.	4.00
1283	William Fowler	Girard, Kans.	10.00
1765	John Finley	Stone City, Kans.	10.00

U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
63	Pat McCafferty	Mineral, Kans.	30.00
33	K. J. Hill.....	Arcadia, Kans.	10.00
19	M. J. French.....	Mulberry, Kans.	10.00
42	John Derby	Frontenac, Kans.	42.50
01	Arch McCallum	Girard, Kans.	63.70
07	William Prince	Pittsburg, Kans.	10.00
03	C. A. Venable.....	Liberal, Mo.	25.00

DISTRICT NO. 15.

.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
5	John Cologna	Richvale, Colo.	\$ 25.00
9	J. C. Packer.....	Berwind, Colo.	25.00
2	George Clark	Palisade, Colo.	10.00
3	Charles Leveque	Delagua, Colo.	100.00
9	John Nicola	Gray Creek, Colo.	10.00
0	G. H. Wilson.....	Aquilar, Colo.	10.00
0	O. B. Settle.....	Colorado Springs, Colo.	5.00
5	John Bennett	Bowen, Colo.	10.00
9	Robert D. Owens.....	Coal Creek, Colo.	100.00
3	James Patterson	Gorham, Colo.	25.00
0	John Lynch	Canon City, Colo.	25.00
0	John Lynch	Canon City, Colo.	30.00
1	Ben B. Turner.....	Maitland, Colo.	9.00
3	Walter Coats	Oak Creek, Colo.	25.00
3	Dan Lucero	Walsenburg, Colo.	35.00
3	Joe Olquine	Ojo, Colo.	14.60
0	John Hudack	Oak Creek, Colo.	50.00
1	John Howman	Starkville, Colo.	15.00
5	George Hustado	Rapson, Colo.	10.00
0	Joe Yeaack	Sopris, Colo.	25.00
5	J. J. Mulichill.....	Bear River, Colo.	15.00
3	H. C. Stewart	Sopris, Colo.	10.00
3	W. F. Tombling.....	Tioga, Colo.	25.00
5	Charles Salsburg	Bowen, Colo.	50.00
05	Frank Schuster	Ravenwood, Colo.	13.95
0	John Holleanie	Ludlow, Colo.	12.10
6	Thomas Ottiwell	Gallup, N. M.	15.00

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
3125	Tony Manone	Mt. Harris, Colo.	10.00
3227	Gus Mayer	Madrid, N. M.	60.00
3256	O. F. Nigro.....	Crested Butte, Colo.	100.00
3393	H. Fawcett	Aquilar, Colo.	50.00

DISTRICT NO. 16.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
2471	Joseph Stayder	Mt. Savage, Md.	\$ 50.00
2478	W. K. Kuhn.....	Bayard, W. Va.	10.00
2819	Daniel Evans	Frostburg, Md.	200.00
2835	Richard H. McGann.....	Lonaconing, Md.	50.00
2851	Pat O'Rourke	Midland, Md.	15.00
3335	John Miur	Shaft, Md.	50.00

DISTRICT NO. 17.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
262	S. H. Tramell.....	Blair, W. Va.	\$ 19.50
263	G. W. McCoy.....	Livingstone, W. Va.....	20.00
285	Thomas Elkink	Montgomery, W. Va.....	10.00
531	R. S. Monday.....	Carbondale, W. Va.	50.00
546	William Griffith	Hernshaw, W. Va.	25.00
636	J. H. Broadnox.....	Handley, W. Va.	10.00
676	C. C. Folden.....	Chelyan, W. Va.	15.00
677	L. J. Apperson.....	Hughestown, W. Va.	25.00
750	J. M. Lovejoy.....	Kayford, W. Va.	25.00
760	H. F. Mann.....	Laing, W. Va.	15.00
887	Mike Bulvony	Flemington, W. Va.	10.00
974	S. W. Farmer.....	Milburn, W. Va.	100.00
1037	G. A. Cooper.....	Carbondale, W. Va.	50.00
1101	Harrison Grundy	Seifert, W. Va.	17.50
1166	R. K. Koontz.....	Jochin, W. Va.	10.00
1292	H. H. Skaggs.....	Cannelton, W. Va.....	20.00
1335	R. E. Santrock.....	Poca, W. Va.	20.08
1335	R. E. Santrock.....	Poca, W. Va.	25.00
1448	Richard Bainbridge	Longacre, W. Va.	20.00
1469	J. H. Robertson.....	Austin, W. Va.	100.00
1661	S. Halt	Sharon, W. Va.	25.00

	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
8	James Allen	Montgomery, W. Va.	5.00
8	Hugh Wood	Elk Ridge, W. Va.	50.00
8	H. T. Wilson	Dry Branch, W. Va.	25.00
6	John Moore	Whittaker, W. Va.	10.00
1	R. H. Moore	Bentree, W. Va.	25.00
5	O. A. Dunbar	Blakeley, W. Va.	50.00
	Sam Toney	Blooming Rose, W. Va.	25.00
1	G. T. Ligon	Donwood, W. Va.	25.00
7	D. S. Saunders	Eagle, W. Va.	5.00
8	A. J. Dunlap	Ivaton, W. Va.	70.00
1	W. A. Harmon	Plymouth, W. Va.	25.00
	D. J. Kelly	Rosemont, W. Va.	25.00
	Charles Scott	Powellton, W. Va.	20.00
	Lincoln Holstein	Coalbury, W. Va.	50.00
	Ben Day	Blaine, W. Va.	50.00
	Tim Connors	Ivaton, W. Va.	10.00
1	J. H. Burnside	Winifred, W. Va.	50.00
7	J. R. Halstead	Putney, W. Va.	40.00
8	T. Johnson	Big Chimney, W. Va.	10.00
8	George Carr	Whiteville, W. Va.	10.00
3	C. Oatridge	Dorothy, W. Va.	10.00
6	W. A. Stull	Mahan, W. Va.	10.00
7	Fred Martin	Blair, W. Va.	25.00
0	Everett Ward	Cannelton, W. Va.	50.00
1	A. K. Webb	Ramage, W. Va.	15.00
3	A. L. Estep	Eskdale, W. Va.	25.00
7	J. E. Garretson	Cedar Grove, W. Va.	20.00
1	Herbert Kinder	Wevaco, W. Va.	40.00
1	G. R. Kinder	Quick, W. Va.	25.00
8	F. B. Finnicum	Clothier, W. Va.	50.00
8	Ernest Smoot	Clothier, W. Va.	25.00
	Bud Smith	Warrior, W. Va.	10.00
1	Fred Kester	Winona, W. Va.	20.00
8	W. H. Nolton	Minden, W. Va.	50.00
8	Nicholas Flontck	Grafton, W. Va.	100.00
8	J. W. E. Anderson	Cedar Grove, W. Va.	10.00
8	Robert Ball	Chesapeake, W. Va.	10.00

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
3172	W. E. Atkinson.....	Mt. Hope, W. Va.	10.00
3196	Jackson Y. Rhodes.....	Red Star, W. Va.	10.00
3197	G. J. Payne.....	Sun, W. Va.	16.00
3207	J. C. Montgomery.....	Affinity, W. Va.	10.00
3213	Charles Baird	Skelton, W. Va.	25.00
3220	W. C. Romine.....	Herberton, W. Va.	20.00
3242	Ward Ewing	Lanark, W. Va.....	5.00
3254	J. A. McBrayer.....	Summerlee, W. Va.	20.00
3282	Homer Lewis	Oswald, W. Va.	5.00
3283	Elias Humphrey	Pax, W. Va.	25.00
3288	J. L. Fortney.....	Independence, W. Va.	10.00
	D. B. Hawkins.....	Cliff Top, W. Va.	10.00

DISTRICT NO. 18.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
574	Charles Peacock	Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada...	\$ 50.00
1087	James Bewsher	Nordegg, Alberta, Canada	50.00
3170	C. Terris	Pocahontas, Alberta, Canada...	100.00
3249	J. M. Maxwell.....	Lovett, Alberta, Canada	18.50

DISTRICT NO. 19.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
890	Fred Smith	Soddy, Tenn.	\$ 100.00
2997	J. E. Carter.....	Tinsley, Ky.	15.00

DISTRICT NO. 20.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
3266	T. M. Moore.....	Sayre, Ala.	\$ 10.00
3270	Louis Penenke	Brookside, Ala.	25.00
3339	J. M. Dutton.....	Townley, Ala.	20.00
3361	Sigund Swanson	Adamsville, Ala.	50.00

DISTRICT NO. 21.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
197	Jules Ricco	Henryetta, Okla.	\$ 20.00
374	Perry Boyd	Greenwood, Ark.	10.00

	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
10	Claude Carruth	Hartford, Ark.	20.00
3	O. A. Stokes.....	Bates, Ark.	10.00
2	Charles Acton	Williams, Okla.	100.00
6	William L. Anderson.....	Dow, Okla.	35.00
4	Henry Bernard	Lyra, Texas	50.00
3	Ralph Fryer	Coalgate, Okla.	75.00
7	S. M. Boydsfer.....	Wilburton, Okla.	50.00
1	Oscar Bagley	McCurtain, Okla.	200.00
1	E. J. Victor.....	Savanna, Okla.	25.00
1	C. R. Day.....	Adamson, Okla.	10.00
1	William Cowan	Lehigh, Okla.	50.00
1	L. A. Chevalier.....	Russellville, Ark.	20.00
1	Dewey Humpheville	Hartford, Ark.	10.00
1	G. O. Cook.....	Alderson, Okla.	100.00
1	Frank Brinkworth	Lehigh, Okla.	100.00
1	E. W. Abston.....	Montana, Ark.	1,000.00
1	Walter Stark	Hughes, Okla.	5.00
1	A. A. Hauley.....	Lutie, Okla.	50.00
1	John Stout .....	.....	50.00
7	Ed. Sayres	Dewar, Okla.	50.00
6	Ed. Sweeney	Milton, Okla.	25.00
7	H. E. Hirds.....	McAlester, Okla.	10.00
7	Joe Ritchel	Krebs, Okla.	25.00
1	M. Brown	Altus, Okla.	10.00
5	C. F. Burkholder.....	Coaltan, Okla.	45.00
2	James Fairley	Adamson, Okla.	25.00
3	H. Debush	Strawn, Texas	25.00
7	J. A. Brady.....	Alix, Ark.	5.00
0	Sam Gaston	Bokoske, Okla.	39.25
0	D. M. Griswold.....	Hartford, Ark.	25.00
3	W. L. Drake.....	Henryetta, Okla.	10.00
3	W. F. Bridges.....	Clonsilla, Okla.	25.00
1	James McRoberts	Henryetta, Okla.	50.00
1	Eph. Green	Henryetta, Okla.	25.00
1	J. H. Reneau.....	Henryetta, Okla.	5.00

DISTRICT NO. 22.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
488	William Cross	Sublet, Wyo.	\$ 25.00
905	Phil Steerholm	Reliance, Wyo.	100.00
908	Frank S. Ovey.....	Rock Springs, Wyo.	25.00
1715	Fred L. O'Connor	Carneyville, Wyo.	25.00
2055	L. T. Dazey.....	Acme, Wyo.	50.00
2282	W. Hopkins	Rock Springs, Wyo.	50.00
2309	A. V. Elias.....	Rock Springs, Wyo.	10.00
2312	L. F. Peters.....	Dietz, Wyo.	50.00
2328	Felix Conzatti	Superior, Wyo.	100.00
2331	C. F. Painted.....	Oakley, Wyo.	20.00
2335	Thos. Mellor	Hanna, Wyo.	20.00
2336	Daniel Armstrong	Diamondville, Wyo.	67.50
2337	William Rock	Cumberland, Wyo.	10.00
2360	John Copyak	Frontier, Wyo.	15.00
2532	Robert A. Robertson.....	Cambria, Wyo.	25.00
2616	Walter Short	Superior, Wyo.	100.00
2671	John Norton	Gebo, Wyo.	150.00
2700	E. Poretthauer	Crosby, Wyo.	100.00
2702	Walter Johnson	Gunn, Wyo.	15.00
2742	Joe Atkinson	Carneyville, Wyo.	50.00
2752	Mort Grantage	Sublet, Wyo.	10.00
District 22—James Morgan, Secy....			Cheyenne, Wyo. 5,000.00

DISTRICT NO. 23.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
72	H. B. Taylor.....	Island, Ky.	\$ 10.00
602	P. T. Thompson.....	Central City, Ky.	25.00
708	C. Sutton	Morganfield, Ky.	25.00
1735	E. B. Nolinger.....	Midland, Ky.	10.00
1773	Hurbert Higginson	Uniontown, Ky.	20.00

DISTRICT NO. 24.

L.U.	Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
1574	Ralph Dearden	Bay City, Mich.	\$ 50.00
2564	Harry Clements	Saginaw, Mich.	10.00
2664	William Carlin	Bay City, Mich.	10.00

Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
Thomas Cook	Bay City, Mich.	20.00
E. M. Carl.....	St. Charles, Mich.	10.00
E. Breese	Saginaw, Mich.	10.00
istrict 24—Fred Dando, Secy.....	Saginaw, Mich.	250.00

DISTRICT NO. 25.

Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
Howard Bennett	Higginsville, Mo.	\$ 25.00
C. J. Vickers.....	Richmond, Mo.	250.00
Emil Schmidt	Higginsville, Mo.	10.00
F. Doran	Missouri City, Mo.	25.00
Wayland Patterson	Higbee, Mo.	25.00
William T. Thomas.....	Bevier, Mo.	50.00
George Bell	Orrick, Mo.	15.00
A. E. Humphrey.....	Higbee, Mo.	10.00
C. V. Coulson.....	Huntsville, Mo.	50.00
Charles Butley	Novinger, Mo.	50.00
Webb Oliver	Moberly, Mo.	10.00
H. Coghill	Novinger, Mo.	100.00
Fritz Becker	Leavenworth, Kans.	25.00
Roe Conyers	Camden, Mo.	10.00
George Lee	Novinger, Mo.	25.00
F. W. Nies.....	Marceline, Mo.	25.00
Ed. Schneider	Kirksville, Mo.	100.00
R. M. Evans.....	Trenton, Mo.	5.00
W. L. Jackson.....	Kirksville, Mo.	10.00
istrict 25—George Hepple, Secy....	Moberly, Mo.	5,000.00

DISTRICT NO. 27.

Secretary.	Location.	Amount.
Baptist Pizzini	Belt, Mont.	\$ 10.00
W. S. Huffman.....	Bear Creek, Mont.	257.00
William Dempster	Bear Creek, Mont.	100.00
G. W. Turk.....	Red Lodge, Mont.	50.00
Moris Todd	Sand Coulee, Mont.	100.00
Pat Sweeney	Washoe, Mont.	165.00
Bert Price	Musselshell, Mont.	25.00
istrict 27—Robert Condon, Secy....	Billings, Mont.	3,000.00

252	J. W. Bivens.....	Terry, W. Va.	\$	6 - 0
302	W. K. Johnson.....	Wright, W. Va.		10 - 0
312	W. E. Skaggs.....	Jodie, W. Va.		25 - 0
693	A. J. Atkins.....	Ansted, W. Va.		10 - 0
1454	David T. Russell.....	Ansted, W. Va.		8 - 0
1522	M. C. Drumgoole.....	Gatewood, W. Va.		5 - 0
1935	H. D. Workman.....	Lansing, W. Va.		15 - 0
2670	John Kennedy	Eccles, W. Va.		2 - 6
2839	G. W. Lavinder.....	Kaymoor, W. Va.		50 - 0
2898	Leslie Davis	Fayetteville, W. Va.....		31 - 5
2942	Leo Chodil	Carlisle, W. Va.		30 - 0
2972	C. A. Boyd.....	Layland, W. Va.		25 - 0
2973	George A. Borders.....	Mt. Hope, W. Va.....		25 - 0
3082	S. S. Christian.....	Lansing, W. Va.		25 - 0
3212	R. Buensche	Stanaford, W. Va.		10 - 0
3503	Albert Comer	Winona, W. Va.		2 - 0

INDIVIDUALS.

John O'Neal	Trinidad, Colo.	\$	5 - 0
R. Krueger	Grafton, W. Va.....		2 - 5

\$60,800.44

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries and Expenses, Officers, Organizers and Employes,
December 1, 1916—December 1, 1917.

Name.	Expense		Expenses.	Salary..
	Amount Paid.	Money Returned.		
Adams, K. C.....	\$ 4,744.42	\$ 150.00	\$ 2,925.67	\$ 1,818.75
Adams, K. C., advanced.....	.....	.....	150.00	.....
Angelo, Jos.	3,399.26	.....	1,971.26	1,428.00
Applewhite, Alberta	1,691.80	.....	.....	1,691.80
Baker, Geo.	2,857.03	230.00	1,437.03	1,525.00
Baker, Geo., advanced.....	.....	.....	125.00	.....
Baker, Jno. A.....	2,674.21	.....	1,372.21	1,302.00
Ballantyne, Samuel	2,003.34	.....	1,040.84	962.50

Name.	Amount Paid.	Expense Money Returned.	Expenses.	Salary.
Barrett, Geo.	1,397.46	.....	729.96	667.50
Batley, Chas.	2,962.76	.....	1,456.76	1,506.00
Begalli, Steve	3,797.15	.....	2,369.15	1,428.00
Bertucci, Paul	2,272.01	.....	844.01	1,428.00
Bittner, Van	4,334.22	.....	2,710.72	1,423.50
Bittner, Van, advanced.....	.....	.....	200.00	.....
Blizzard, G. R.	2,872.53	.....	1,522.53	1,350.00
Bolton, Robt. G.	3,128.32	.....	1,700.32	1,428.00
Boner, C. C.	2,138.47	.....	710.47	1,428.00
Bosone, Jos.	3,473.78	.....	2,086.28	1,387.50
Bramlett, Lawrence	1,732.74	.....	770.24	962.50
Britton, John L.	3,128.20	.....	1,700.20	1,428.00
Brown, J. W.	3,537.88	.....	2,040.88	1,497.00
Burt, Robt.	3,478.27	.....	2,108.77	1,369.50
Callagy, Wm.	2,279.64	.....	851.64	1,428.00
Campbell, Z. T.	733.35	.....	299.85	433.50
Carol, Gazy	1,848.86	.....	1,127.36	721.50
Carr, Hannah	2,303.28	.....	744.60	1,558.68
Chambers, Ruth E.	1,558.68	.....	.....	1,558.68
Cinque, John	3,085.45	.....	1,733.95	1,351.50
Clemon, J. L.	1,596.06	.....	710.56	885.50
Cleundenin, Obe	1,044.65	.....	533.15	511.50
Cromer, Celesta	1,188.40	.....	54.56	1,133.84
Crook, Neal J.	3,284.95	.....	1,856.95	1,428.00
Cunion, Jos. W.	2,086.20	.....	1,355.70	730.50
Dajnowski, W. P.	2,146.43	.....	718.43	1,428.00
Dalrymple, Wm.	3,193.89	.....	1,713.89	1,480.00
Davis, D. W.	3,380.46	.....	1,952.46	1,428.00
Davis, Thos.	2,477.33	.....	952.33	1,525.00
Davis, Thos. R.	966.63	.....	299.13	667.50
.....	3,574.24	170.00	2,325.08	1,419.16
Dinnen, Wm.	447.73	.....	212.33	235.50
Donaldson, Wm., board mem..	2,407.27	.....	1,369.77	962.50
Donaldson, Wm., advanced...	.....	.....	75.00	.....
Donaldson, Wm., auditor.....	601.95	.....	291.95	310.00
Doyle, E. L.	304.60	.....	204.60	300.00

Name.	Amount Paid.	Expense Money Returned.	Expenses.	Sale
Drum, Francis	482.34	.....	170.34	31
Dwyer, Gus	635.02	.....	377.02	25
Dwyer, Lawrence	2,281.38	.....	1,287.88	99
Edmunds, G. H.....	2,912.05	25.00	1,567.55	1,36
Fairley, W. R.....	401.43	.....	230.43	17
Farrington, Frank	156.21	.....	116.21	4
Feeney, Wm.	3,957.26	.....	2,529.26	1,42
Ferns, Jas.	3,416.05	200.00	2,188.05	1.42
Ferry, Neal J.....	2,739.75	50.00	1,264.75	1,52
Fitzgibbons, Ed T.....	3,479.54	200.00	2,505.04	1,17
Foster, Robt.	3,582.35	175.00	2,333.85	1.42
Foster, Wm.	558.61	.....	288.61	27
Fowler, David	801.59	.....	426.59	37
Frampton, D. A.....	1,294.20	.....	731.70	56
Frield, Hugh D.....	3,539.09	.....	2,169.59	1,36
Frisk, Gus	624.25	.....	249.25	37
Gaffney, Robt. W.....	4,471.80	200.00	3,111.80	1,55
Gaffney, Robt. W., advanced..	.....	.....	10.00	....
Gann, Thos. M.....	1,991.94	.....	1,036.44	95
Gatens, P. F.....	3,068.21	.....	1,555.21	1,51
Gatherum, John	598.15	.....	232.15	36
Gatz, Frank	789.05	50.00	434.05	40
Geise, Henry	1,911.93	.....	483.93	1,42
Gilmore, J. R.....	2,790.15	.....	1,362.15	1,42
Gilmour, Robt.	2,928.34	50.00	1,453.34	1,52
Glenn, Theo. C.....	938.92	.....	.....	93
Gorman, P. J.....	544.87	.....	247.87	29
Graham, Mary	246.62	.....	.....	24
Green, Wm.	5,401.07	.....	2,032.32	3,36
Haddow, Harriet	239.20	.....	.....	23
Haddow, Marion	1,133.84	.....	.....	1,13
Haggerty, Thos.	723.15	.....	410.65	31
Hanaway, F. P.....	3,451.41	.....	2,023.41	1,42
Hargrove, Geo.	2,996.25	.....	1,568.25	1,42
Hargrove, Daisy C.....	312.48	.....	8.60	30
Harlin, Robt. H.....	4,648.20	.....	3,098.20	1,55

ame.	Amount Paid.	Expense Money Returned.	Expenses.	Salary.
ran, Bernard	1,607.79	.....	1,027.29	580.50
son, Wm. L.....	3,177.75	.....	1,730.25	1,447.50
, Frank J.....	5,878.90	.....	2,437.24	3,441.66
, Margaret	1,382.55	.....	216.03	1,166.52
, May E.....	1,133.84	.....	.....	1,133.84
ly, Frank	2,124.33	.....	1,406.33	618.00
ly, Frank, advanced....	.....	.....	100.00	.....
ickson, Emil	3,040.79	50.00	1,662.79	1,428.00
, Geo. W.....	915.27	.....	247.77	667.50
c, Stephen	608.25	.....	338.25	270.00
ay, Thos.	776.33	20.00	376.33	420.00
on, Wm.	3,134.17	.....	1,728.67	1,405.50
ls, Enoch	2,284.84	.....	870.34	1,414.50
s, Frank	3,543.54	100.00	2,274.04	1,369.50
ki, Stock	2,587.45	.. . . .	1,159.45	1,428.00
, David	3,345.52	.....	1,922.02	1,423.50
, John J.....	2,788.35	.....	1,340.85	1,447.50
Mother Mary... . .	3,486.59	.. . . .	2,136.59	1,350.00
Jas. E.....	2,213.39	.....	785.39	1,428.00
Sydney J.....	1,222.17	.....	585.17	537.00
Sydney J., advanced....	.....	.....	100.00	.....
mer, J. R.....	2,140.54	.....	1,212.54	928.00
, Harry	2,216.69	.....	788.69	1,428.00
ch, Steve	3,501.85	.....	2,082.85	1,419.00
rick, Alex. L.....	1,518.43	. . . . .	757.93	760.50
Thos. M.....	3,591.87	.....	2,163.87	1,428.00
'ski, Jos. J.	2,179.75	. . . . .	751.75	1,428.00
as, Alex.	926.88	.....	166.38	760.50
ski, Henry	2,061.60	.....	656.19	1,405.50
der, Geo. W.....	97.40	.....	25.40	72.00
n, John R.....	839.35	50.00	464.35	375.00
n, John R., advanced....	.....	.....	50.00	.....
A. G.	2,297.74	. . . . .	869.74	1,428.00
John L.....	3,826.30	.....	2,326.36	1,499.94
, Mike	3,232.05	.....	1,808.55	1,423.50
i, Felix	2,209.66	.. . . .	781.66	1,428.00

Name.	Paid.	Returned.	Expenses.	Balance.
Malone, James	1,805.96	.....	1,049.96	756.00
Marietta, Victor	2,497.90	.....	1,069.90	1,428.00
Messinger, Chas. E.....	86.65	.....	38.65	48.00
Miorelli, Leo	2,105.71	.....	677.71	1,428.00
Mitchell, John	103.60	.....	58.60	45.00
Mooney, James	786.00	.....	489.00	297.00
Moore, John	153.86	.....	88.86	65.00
Moran, Jas. F.....	4,230.40	.....	2,766.40	1,464.00
Morgan, John	1,208.32	.....	708.32	500.00
Morgan, T. G.....	783.55	.....	347.55	436.00
Mossop, John J,.....	1,417.35	.....	656.35	761.00
McGary, A. B.....	3,310.32	50.00	1,932.32	1,428.00
McGrath, M. J.....	1,984.34	.....	556.34	1,428.00
McLennan, John	3,560.97	.....	2,188.47	1,372.50
McNeil, L. M.....	578.30	.....	234.80	343.50
Nash, Martin A.....	2,693.15	.....	1,230.65	1,462.50
Nelson, Michael	2,994.69	.....	1,566.69	1,428.00
Neutzling, Albert	1,351.37	.....	610.37	741.00
O'Leary, John	2,861.74	.....	1,524.24	1,337.50
Patton, Jos.	755.40	.....	348.90	406.50
Paskell, Thos.	777.46	.....	357.46	420.00
Paulsen, Paul J.....	3,078.60	.....	1,616.10	1,462.50
Pelizarri, Armando	3,479.06	.....	2,051.06	1,428.00
Pippin, Warren	4,035.55	.....	2,607.55	1,428.00
Pollock, Robt.	3,197.44	.....	1,769.44	1,428.00
Prentice, Will M.....	3,252.86	41.00	1,865.86	1,428.00
Price, Marshall	845.10	.....	434.10	411.00
Puskar, Andrew	1,137.62	.....	591.62	546.00
Ramsay, John	3,586.03	75.00	2,233.03	1,428.00
Rees, David	3,222.10	.....	1,647.10	1,525.00
Rees, David, advanced.....	.....	.....	50.00	.....
Reno, Jennie	631.82	.....	.....	631.82
Robb, David	2,810.70	50.00	1,432.70	1,428.00
Robinson, R. F.....	4,056.65	200.00	2,828.65	1,428.00
Roman, Marco	3,270.21	.....	1,842.21	1,428.00

Name.	Amount Paid.	Expense Money Returned.	Expenses.	Salary.
Salvage, Mike	3,709.75	.....	2,286.25	1,423.50
Smith, T. J.	1,985.58	.....	1,019.58	966.00
Smith, W. O.	2,383.26	280.00	1,488.76	1,174.50
Sneed, Wm. J.	1,828.40	.....	923.90	904.50
Snyder, Ed.	722.80	.....	316.30	406.50
Sparling, Gus	1,092.99	.....	530.49	562.50
Springer, J. A.	668.96	.....	313.46	355.50
Stafford, Tony	1,239.35	.....	634.85	604.50
Steele, Andrew	1,959.75	.....	997.25	962.50
Stockton, Dorothy	787.22	.....	.....	787.22
Street, H. G.	876.29	.....	471.29	405.00
Telow, Percy	2,052.98	.....	1,121.48	931.50
Thomas, F. D.	2,719.35	.....	1,291.35	1,428.00
Thurston, Jeff	811.82	.....	393.32	418.50
Trimble, Ethel	1,133.84	.....	.....	1,133.84
Turnblazer, Wm.	3,257.78	.....	1,901.78	1,356.00
Van Horn, W. D.	2,969.92	.....	1,444.92	1,525.00
Walker, John H.	134.21	.....	94.21	40.00
Wallace, Martin	3,089.35	50.00	1,711.35	1,428.00
Walsh, Patrick F.	2,358.26	.....	930.26	1,428.00
Watkins, A. R.	2,994.85	.....	1,469.85	1,525.00
White, John P.	9,030.84	.....	2,947.53	6,083.31
White, R. D.	3,049.02	.....	1,621.02	1,428.00
Wilkinson, Adam	4,095.38	.....	2,632.88	1,462.50
Wilson, John	1,779.01	.....	645.17	1,133.84
Young, Wm.	820.65	.....	400.65	420.00
Zancanelli, Louis	1,717.00	.....	347.50	1,369.50
Zimmerman, J. M.	3,470.85	.....	1,945.85	1,525.00
Totals.....	\$377,662.86	\$2,466.00	\$193,563.25	\$186,565.61

SUPPLIES.

1916.

Dec. 8	Geo. J. Mayer Co., seals for November.....	\$ 35.45
" 8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., recording secretary minute books, loose leaves, constitutions.....	655.90

1916.			
Dec. 21	Thos. Yeats, secretary, overpayment on supplies returned, L. U. 1449-12		\$1.50
" 27	W. H. Draper, secretary, refund on ledger, L. U. 71-6.....		1.25
1917.			
Jan. 8	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for December.....		53.45
" 8	Whitehead-Hoag Co., watch fobs.....		47.20
" 8	W. T. Thomas, secretary, refund on supplies, L. U. 919-25...		3.50
" 10	Joliet Republican Printing Co., ledger binders, F. S. cash books, A B C loose leaf binders, indexes, manuals, orders on treasurer	1,491.55	
" 11	Earl Meek, secretary, refund on orders on treasurer, L. U. 368-12		1.00
" 17	W. R. Ingle, secretary, refund on supplies, L. U. 2201-21....		1.50
Feb. 9	Geo. J. Mayer Co., seals for January.....		49.90
" 9	Joliet Republican Printing Co., constitutions, loose leaf ledger sheets	305.00	
Mar. 7	Geo. J. Mayer Co., seals for February.....		34.15
" 7	Joliet Republican Printing Co., loose leaf ledger sheets, transfer card books, orders on treasurer.....	656.50	
" 12	Benj. Wilkens, secretary, refund on supplies, L. U. 1489-2..		7.50
" 14	Isaiah Beaton, secretary, refund on supplies L. U. 1366-21..		1.50
" 22	Chas. Polloni, secretary L. U. 629-8, refund on supplies.....		2.00
" 26	Harry Brown, refund on supplies, L. U. 483-1.....		8.00
Apr. 9	Geo. J. Mayer Co., seals for March.....		33.25
" 9	Joliet Republican Printing Co., due cards.....	168.50	
" 11	Walter Nesbit, secretary, District 12, financial secretary cash books, treasurer's cash books.....	27.15	
" 14	John Billy, secretary, L. U. 2999-17, refund on supplies.....		1.20
" 20	Harry Spears, secretary, L. U. 1476-7, refund on supplies...		1.25
" 24	John J. Beggs, secretary, L. U. 2494-21, refund on ledger leaves		1.50
May 8	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for April.....		38.05
" 8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., constitutions, charters and minute books	770.75	
" 10	Ed. Wray, secretary, L. U. 720-12, refund on ledger leaves..		3.00
" 17	Joliet Republican Printing Co., balance due on loose leaf ledger sheets	41.00	

1917.			
June	1	Ad. Nov. Company, gold-plated buttons.....	\$ 61.65
"	8	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for May.....	117.25
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Company, constitutions.....	136.50
"	19	Ad. Nov. Company, buttons.....	212.40
July	9	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for June.....	179.80
"	9	Joliet Republican Printing Co., F. S.-Treas. receipt books, orders on treasurer, letter files, constitutions.....	807.75
"	9	Eilert Dierks, gavels	150.00
"	14	Whitehead & Hoag Co., fobs.....	53.37
"	26	John M. Hester, Secretary, refund on supplies, L. U. 3182, Dist. 8	1.50
"	31	Ad. Nov. Company, buttons.....	220.98
Aug.	4	Fred Rantenberg, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 732, Dist. 12.....	2.50
"	7	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for July.....	178.05
"	7	Joliet Republican Printing Co., company statements, man- uals, Treasurer's cash book, charters, due cards, transfer card books	1,195.00
"	8	Ad. Nov. Company, buttons.....	41.45
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., sets of supplies for new locals	4,697.05
"	9	Angelo Corradini, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 1475, Dist. 12	3.00
"	13	Lucian Dort, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 43, Dist. 12	6.00
"	27	Chas. D. Williams, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 1656, Dist. 1	7.50
"	30	Jas. Silva, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 685, Dist. 12	2.50
Sept.	4	Louis Nichols, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 1607, Dist. 14	5.50
"	10	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for August.....	113.95
"	10	Ad. Nov. Company. buttons.....	254.52
"	10	Joliet Republican Printing Co., auditors' sheets, constitu- tions, manuals, orders on Treasurer, transfer cards....	688.50
"	10	Eilert Dierks, gavels.....	100.00
Oct.	3	J. H. Robertson, Secretary, refund on supplies, L. U. 1469, Dist. 17	1.50

1917.

Oct.	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., F. S.-Treas. receipts and Sec'y-Treas. receipt books.....	\$ 242.75
"	8	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for September.....	68.50
"	22	Foster Egner, refund on lost buttons.....	30.00
"	23	Stephen Hess, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 2545, Dist. 5	5.00
Nov.	3	Chas. Watkins, Secretary, refund on supplies to L. U. 1862, Dist. 23	1.00
"	8	Geo. J. Mayer & Co., seals for October.....	93.45
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., transfer card books, charts, F. S. cash books.....	928.50
"	15	J. D. Richardson, Secretary, refund on supplies, L. U. 1911, Dist. 10 .....	.50
"	15	Isaac Davis, Secretary, refund on supplies, L. U. 2682, Dist. 10	7.50
"	15	Adv. Novelty Company, buttons.....	14.11
"	17	Eilert Dierks, gavels.....	110.00
Total			\$15,182.03

OFFICE EXPENSES.

1916.

Dec.	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent for December.....	\$470.00
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service.....	5.00
"	1	Time cards.....	.50
"	2	Mrs. A. T. Rasmussen, treasurer, Marion County Society Prevention of Tuberculosis, Red Cross stamps.....	36.00
"	2	Ralph Finegold, newspapers	6.20
"	6	Shirley Pencil Co., pencils, pens, pins, clips, stenographer tablets	16.80
"	8	Underwood Typewriter Co., rent 1 machine, Nov. 4 to Dec. 4	3.00
"	8	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service for November.....	9.00
"	8	W. K. Stewart, envelopes and tablets.....	1.35
"	8	Wm. B. Burford, order books and folder.....	4.05
"	8	Niman Transfer Co., service for November.....	12.00
"	8	Indiana Paper Co., wrapping paper, cutter and twine.....	16.70
"	8	Hiller-Schwartz Co., files and erasers.....	25.00

1916.			
Dec.	8	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	\$8.00
"	11	Vonnegut Hardware Co., scissors.....	.95
"	11	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service for November.....	9.16
"	11	Wm. B. Burford, calendar pads.....	.70
"	12	Department Reports Co., subscription, Nov., 1916, to Feb., 1917	6.50
"	12	The Coal Trade Journal, 1 year's subscription.....	6.50
"	12	Chas. Auch, changing safe combination.....	1.00
"	23	Cornelius Printing Co., plain envelopes.....	2.35
"	27	Shirley Pencil Co., rubber bands.....	2.75
"	28	Sam Spencer, extra work.....	.70
1917.			
n.	2	Ralph Finegold, newspapers	6.28
"	2	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent for January.....	470.00
"	2	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service.....	5.00
"	2	Fulton Office Furniture Co., transfer files and guides.....	30.88
"	3	L. S. Ayres & Co., dust cloths and glasses.....	1.35
"	3	Time cards .....	.50
"	8	Sanborn Electric Co., desk lamps.....	7.00
"	8	Niman Transfer Co., service.....	4.50
"	8	Indiana Paper Co., wrapping paper and twine.....	7.62
"	8	Underwood Typewriter Co., rent machine, Dec. 4 to Jan. 4..	3.00
"	8	Wm. B. Burford, mailing tubes.....	6.00
"	8	American Multigraph Sales Co., indicator, cord and roller..	.17
"	8	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service for December.....	8.00
"	8	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	8.00
"	8	W. K. Stewart Co., gold seals, clips and manifold.....	2.50
"	9	Vonnegut Hardware Co., nails.....	.25
"	11	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service for December.....	5.65
"	15	Jas. A. Britton, old convention proceedings.....	1.25
"	15	Max Steinbach, old convention proceedings.....	.50
"	15	Sam Brocklehurst, old convention proceedings.....	.50
"	16	Thos. J. McDonnell, old convention proceedings.....	3.00
"	16	W. K. Stewart Co., erasers and fountain pens.....	15.00
"	16	A. G. Carlson, old convention proceedings.....	.25
"	17	J. W. Syrne, old convention proceedings.....	.25

1917.

Jan.	17	Frank Reeves, old convention proceedings.....	\$ 1.25
"	18	W. H. Miller, carpenter work and hardware used.....	12.10
"	23	Fulton Office Furniture Co., base for transfer cases and guides	6.50
"	23	John Lockwood, old convention proceedings.....	1.00
"	23	J. J. Jones, old convention proceedings.....	.25
"	23	Thos. H. Proctor, old convention proceedings.....	.25
"	24	New York Store, soap.....	.50
"	26	Elizabeth Mitchell, soap.....	.90
"	26	Arthur Blakely, old convention proceedings.....	.50
"	29	C. C. Boner, old convention proceedings.....	1.75
"	29	J. W. Wales, old convention proceedings.....	1.00
"	29	Shirley Pencil Co., rubber bands.....	16.00
"	30	O. F. Morris, old convention proceedings.....	.50
"	31	Alfred Walters, old convention proceedings.....	.50
Feb.	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent for February.....	470.00
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service.....	5.00
"	1	Ralph Finegold, newspapers	6.00
"	1	Time cards .....	.50
"	1	A. C. McInnis, old convention proceedings.....	.25
"	2	H. R. Walker, old convention proceedings.....	.75
"	3	John Malloy, old convention proceedings.....	.50
"	5	Wm. B. Burford, ruler.....	.30
"	9	Joliet Republican Printing Co., memo. sheets.....	11.95
"	9	Wm. B. Burford, binders and blotters.....	10.05
"	9	Indiana Paper Co., wrapping paper.....	10.36
"	9	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	16.00
"	9	Wm. F. Johnson Lumber Co., lumber for shelves.....	17.39
"	9	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service for January.....	10.00
"	9	O. R. Brown Paper Co., typewriting paper.....	2.50
"	9	Burroughs Adding Machine Co., ribbon.....	1.00
"	9	W. K. Stewart Co., binders, indexes, ledger sheets and ink-stand	11.80
"	9	Hiller-Schwartz Co., ink, paste, fasteners, clips, etc.....	48.90
"	9	Underwood Typewriter Co., two machines, express on one old machine, rent one machine Jan. 4 to Feb. 4.....	146.12
"	14	L. S. Ayres & Co., glass shelf and clock.....	1.54

1917.

Feb. 16	W. K. Stewart Co., 1 copy book holder.....	\$1.50
" 17	W. H. Miller, carpenter work and hardware furnished.....	24.75
" 20	W. H. Miller, balance due for carpenter work.....	5.80
" 26	S. S. Kresge Co., cupboard turns for supply room.....	1.30
Mar. 1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent for March.....	512.50
" 1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service.....	5.00
" 1	Ralph Finegold, newspapers	5.95
" 1	Fertig & Keever, black lettering doors.....	2.50
" 1	Time cards .....	.50
" 2	W. A. James, old convention proceedings.....	.50
" 2	Sam. Court, old convention proceedings.....	.25
" 2	Chas. Kolb, old convention proceedings.....	1.50
" 5	M. Morgan, old convention proceedings.....	1.75
" 7	Joliet Republican Printing Co., office receipt pads and second sheets	44.50
" 7	Joliet Republican Printing Co., envelopes.....	3.00
" 7	Hiller-Schwartz Co., file boxes, folders, guides, notebooks, etc.	31.17
" 7	W. K. Stewart, sealing wax and tape.....	.50
" 7	H. Lieber Co., framing photograph.....	1.75
" 7	Indiana Paper Co., twine.....	2.40
" 7	Wm. F. Johnson Lumber Co., lumber for shelves.....	27.11
" 7	Johnson-Woodbridge Co., glass for shelve doors.....	3.65
" 7	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service for February.....	6.50
" 7	Howard Carpet Cleaning Co., cleaning three rugs.....	6.00
" 7	Pettis Dry Goods Co., rug and linoleum for office.....	133.93
" 7	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., folding circulars.....	6.75
" 10	Ramsay Typewriter Exchange, repairing machines and typewriting oil	10.30
" 12	E. J. Gausepohl & Co., brief case.....	10.00
" 13	Pettis Dry Goods Co., dust cloths, soap and furniture polish.	1.75
" 13	Mrs. Matthews, cleaning office furniture.....	1.50
" 21	R. B. Scherer, typewriter knobs.....	1.00
" 27	L. S. Ayres, soap.....	.50
" 27	Shirley Pencil Co., 1 gross stenographer tablets.....	10.00
" 30	Edith Thompson, notary fee.....	.50
" 31	Time cards .....	.50

Apr.	3	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent for April.....	\$512.50
"	3	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service.....	5.00
"	3	Shirley Pencil Co., pencils.....	10.80
"	3	Ralph Pierson, newspapers.....	7.00
"	9	Joliet Republican Printing Co., deduction cards, mimeo letterheads, expense sheets	79.70
"	9	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service for March.....	7.50
"	9	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service Jan. 5 to March 28....	15.27
"	9	W. K. Stewart Co., labels, indexes and furniture polish.....	1.20
"	9	Mellett Printing Co., blank cards.....	8.75
"	9	O. R. Brown Paper Co., typewriter paper.....	30.00
"	9	H. Lieber Co., framing photograph.....	1.75
"	9	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	16.00
"	9	Indiana Paper Co., wrapping paper.....	6.15
"	9	Hiller-Schwartz Co., paper, fasteners, erasers, letter files...	3.90
"	10	Niman Transfer Co., service for March.....	8.54
"	18	W. F. Wilson, carpenter work and hardware furnished.....	16.11
"	24	Pettis Dry Goods Co., framing picture.....	1.14
"	26	L. S. Ayres & Co., soap.....	.35
"	27	Geo. W. Sparks, reimbursed for old convention proceedings.	.50
"	30	Hannah Carr, office supplies.....	3.05
May	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent for May.....	512.50
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service.....	5.00
"	1	Time cards .....	.50
"	1	Ralph Pierson, newspapers.....	6.35
"	2	Pettis Dry Goods Co., dust cloths.....	.60
"	3	Pettis Dry Goods Co., furniture oil.....	.50
"	4	J. R. Overstreet, carbon paper and coupons.....	27.00
"	8	American Multigraph Sales Co., friction spring.....	.15
"	8	Burroughs Adding Machine Co., part payment, attention to machine one year as per contract.....	5.00
"	8	Underwood Typewriter Co., machine.....	86.25
"	8	W. K. Stewart Co., binder, sheets, ledger, paper, filler.....	14.45
"	8	Hiller-Schwartz, gold seals, clips, pen holders.....	4.00
"	8	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	16.00
"	8	W. F. Johnson Lumber Co., lumber used for shelving.....	12.79

1917.

May	8	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service for April.....	\$7.00
"	8	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service for April.....	3.90
"	9	Celesta Cromer, office supplies.....	.73
"	9	Mrs. Snyder, cleaning office furniture.....	1.50
"	9	Fred Ellison, key.....	.35
"	9	Gregg Cleaner Co., cleaning rugs.....	12.53
"	11	Merchants Bldg. Co., ventilator glass.....	7.00
"	11	Vonnegut Hardware Co., nails.....	.25
"	15	Chas. Auch, locks and keys and fitting same.....	9.05
"	15	L. S. Ayres & Co., soap.....	.50
June	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent for June.....	512.50
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service, for May.....	6.00
"	1	Time cards .....	.50
"	2	Disbursing Clerk, P. O. Dept., Washington, D. C., Postal guide .....	.75
"	4	Ralph Pierson, newspapers.....	7.00
"	6	Merchants Bldg. Co., ventilator glass.....	10.50
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., mimeo sheets, second sheets, monthly reports, supply order books.....	158.50
"	8	H. Lieber Co., framing pictures.....	5.15
"	8	W. K. Stewart & Co., gold seals.....	.45
"	8	Niman Transfer Co., service April.....	4.00
"	8	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service May.....	5.85
"	8	Underwood Typewriter Co., adjusting machine.....	.50
"	8	Indiana Paper Co., wrapping paper.....	3.41
"	8	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service May.....	7.50
"	8	Remington Typewriter Co., ribbon coupons and erasers....	31.00
"	8	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	32.00
"	8	Hiller & Schwartz Co., transfer cases, guides, files, O. K. fasteners, etc.	32.44
"	8	Department Reports Co., subscription.....	6.50
"	12	W. H. Tipman, typewriter oil.....	1.00
"	12	L. S. Ayres & Co., scissors.....	.40
"	16	Shirley Pencil Co., pen holders and pens.....	4.50
"	18	Vonnegut Hardware Co., nails.....	.25
"	23	L. S. McWhorter, repairing desk.....	2.50
"	25	Edith Thompson, notary fee.....	.25

June 27	L. S. Ayres & Co., soap.....	\$0.54
" 29	R. L. Polk & Co., city directory.....	10.00
" 30	Huder's Drug Store, benzine.....	.10
" 30	Fred Adams, moving file cases.....	.50
July 2	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent July.....	512.50
" 2	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service, June.....	6.00
" 2	Time cards .....	.50
" 2	Pettis Dry Goods Co., dust cloths.....	.50
" 2	Ralph Pierson, newspapers.....	6.90
" 3	Elizabeth Mitchell, soap.....	.50
" 6	Adolph Rosenzweig, repairing desk lock and making key....	1.00
" 9	Joliet Republican Printing Company, envelopes, letter heads, binders, index division sheets.....	81.50
" 9	Indiana Paper Co., wrapping paper.....	11.90
" 9	Niman Transfer Co., service June.....	.70
" 9	Coal & Coke Operator, subscription May, 1918.....	1.00
" 9	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service June.....	4.20
" 9	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	32.00
" 9	W. K. Stewart & Co., ledger filler, H. R. cards, labels.....	6.35
" 9	Hiller-Schwartz Co., ruler, clips, pins, dater.....	2.10
" 9	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service June.....	9.00
" 9	Wm. B. Burford, mailing tubes.....	6.00
" 9	H. Lieber Co., framing photo.....	2.00
" 14	Cornelius Printing Co., steel files for statistician's room....	495.60
" 14	Adolph Rosenzweig, changing safe combination.....	1.00
" 26	Vonnegut Hardware Co., nails.....	.50
" 27	The New York Times, 46 copies of the Annalist and binder, one year's subscription New York Times, New York Times current History—for statistical department.....	18.85
" 31	Sanborn Electric Co., two fans.....	20.00
Aug. 1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent August.....	512.50
" 1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service July.....	6.00
" 1	Time cards .....	.50
" 2	Ralph Pierson, newspapers	6.90
" 6	Fletcher Noe, repairing clock.....	.75
" 7	Underwood Typewriter Co., rubber feet and screws, packing machine for shipment from Kansas City.....	1.32

1917.

Aug.	7	Indianapolis News, back copies of News for Statistician's office	\$6.62
"	7	Wall Street Journal, one year's subscription, Statistician's office	12.00
"	7	Wm. Burford, mailing tubes.....	6.00
"	7	Merchants Bldg. Co., glass shelf and brackets.....	1.25
"	7	Indiana Paper Company, wrapping paper.....	10.34
"	7	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service July.....	3.25
"	7	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service July.....	8.50
"	7	Hiller-Schwartz Co., paste, blotters, clips and pencils.....	14.55
"	7	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	48.00
"	7	Chas. Bretzman, photo of traveling auditors.....	3.00
"	8	Cornelius Printing Co., binding 20 issues of Journal for Statistician's office	2.20
"	16	L. S. McWhorter, repairing table.....	.50
"	18	R. B. Sherer, rubber rings for typewriter.....	.35
"	20	Edith Thompson, notary fee.....	.25
"	21	L. S. McWhorter, repairing desk.....	.75
"	23	L. S. Ayres & Co., binding, glue and strips.....	.40
"	24	Elizabeth Mitchell, soap	1.05
"	28	Pettis Dry Goods Co., dust cloths.....	.70
Sept.	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent September.....	512.50
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service August.....	9.60
"	1	Time cards .....	.50
"	1	Ralph Pierson, newspapers.....	7.45
"	10	Joliet Republican Printing Co., re-binding income books, general office receipts.....	140.15
"	10	H. Lieber & Co., framing photo.....	5.00
"	10	Indiana Paper Company, wrapping paper.....	7.87
"	10	Gregg Garment Cleaners, cleaning rugs.....	5.00
"	10	Wm. B. Burford, mailing tubes.....	6.00
"	10	Hiller-Schwartz Co., cushions, fountain pen, transfer cases, etc.	31.40
"	10	O. R. Brown Co., typewriter paper.....	2.50
"	10	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service August.....	9.50
"	10	Burroughs Adding Machine Co., ribbon for adding machines	6.25
"	10	Department Reports Co., subscription August 1917-November 1917	6.50

1917.

Sept.	10	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service August.....	\$3.44
"	10	W. K. Stewart Co., pins and ink well.....	2.65
"	10	Underwood Typewriter Co., adjusting machine and parts for same .....	.82
"	10	Ballweg & Company, shipping boxes.....	32.00
"	10	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., folding circulars.....	7.85
"	10	Fulton Office Furniture Co., file case.....	44.80
"	10	Western Union Telegraph Co., messenger service.....	.30
"	10	Mellett Printing Co., blank sheets.....	7.00
"	10	Sielken & Faulstich, file cards.....	9.25
"	12	Huder Drug Store, benzene .....	.20
"	18	W. K. Stewart Co., ledger.....	1.20
"	20	Merchants National Bank, rent for safe deposit box.....	10.00
"	25	Vonnegut Hardware Co., nails.....	.50
"	27	W. K. Stewart Co., gold seals.....	.80
"	28	Underwood Typewriter Co., balance due for packing machine	1.18
Oct.	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent October.....	512.50
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service September.....	9.60
"	1	Time cards .....	.50
"	1	Ralph Pierson, newspapers.....	6.90
"	3	Geo. Munsel, two electric light bulbs.....	.50
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., organizers' report blanks and second sheets	36.75
"	8	W. K. Stewart & Co., file cabinet, tablets, desk pad, com- pressor, etc.	32.01
"	8	Wm. B. Burford, ledger binder.....	.75
"	8	Hiller-Schwartz Co., penholders, dater, chair pads, clips, etc.	6.90
"	8	Niman Transfer Co., service September.....	21.75
"	8	Fulton Office Furniture Co., jumbo files and folder.....	2.90
"	8	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service September.....	6.00
"	8	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	16.00
"	8	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service September.....	4.29
"	8	Indiana Paper Co., twine.....	3.48
"	8	Journal of Commerce & Commercial Bulletin, subscription one year, July, 1917, to July, 1918.....	12.00
"	8	The Washington Post, subscription one week.....	.25
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., one binder.....	5.40

1917.

Oct.	8	Illinois State Journal, subscription one year, September, 1917, to September, 1918.....	\$5.00
"	8	Coal Trade Journal, two copies of annual, "The Coal Trade"	4.00
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., messenger service September	.20
"	8	Cornelius Printing Co., binding three volumes U. M. W. A. Journal for Statistician's office.....	16.50
"	11	Shirley Pencil Company, note books.....	.50
"	17	Elizabeth Mitchell, soap.....	1.20
"	27	Bullinger's Postal & Shippers Guide, one copy.....	3.00
Nov.	1	Time cards .....	.50
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., rent November.....	512.50
"	1	Merchants Bldg. Co., towel service October.....	9.60
"	2	Ralph Pierson, newspapers.....	7.45
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., carbon sheets for receipt books, transfer binders.....	5.85
"	8	Fulton Office Furniture Co., chair.....	20.75
"	8	Hiller-Schwartz Co., ink, paste, chair pads, duster, etc.....	72.05
"	8	Harry B. Mahan, pasteboard boxes.....	19.50
"	8	Ballweg & Co., shipping boxes.....	32.00
"	8	Aquos Distilled Water Co., service October.....	7.00
"	8	Indiana Electrotpe Co., signature.....	1.50
"	8	Burroughs Adding Machine Co., service on two machines as per contract	11.50
"	8	Merchants Heat & Light Co., service October.....	6.63
"	8	W. K. Stewart, gold seals.....	2.40
"	8	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., folding circulars.....	17.50
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., messenger service.....	.40
"	9	Vonnegut Hardware Co., hooks.....	.20
"	13	Pettis Dry Goods Co., letter tray.....	1.50
"	14	Merchants Bldg. Co., key.....	.35
"	23	The Washington Post, subscription one year.....	6.50
"	23	Chas. Mayer & Co., desk scissors and knife.....	2.00
"	26	Fulton Office Furniture Co., glass desk pad.....	6.65
"	26	Marion County Society for Prevention of Tuberculosis, Mrs. A. C. Rasmussen, Treas., Red Cross seals.....	50.00
"	28	Merchants Bldg. Co., incandescent lamps.....	1.00

1917.

Nov. 28	W. K. Stewart & Co., calendar pad.....	\$1.00
" 30	Time cards .....	.50
Total		\$9,469.15

PRINTING.

1916

Dec. 4	James Moran, circulars	\$10.50
" 8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., traveling auditor pads, books and letter heads.....	102.75
" 8	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., ledger binders, loose leaf sheets and leather tabs.....	185.75
" 8	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., ballots, tally sheets, envelopes, return sheets and circulars.....	1,504.10
" 8	Sielken & Faulstich, printing for November.....	32.50
" 8	Il Risveglio, space for November.....	80.00
" 23	Cornelius Printing Co., circulars, composition and binding book, Christopher, Ill., speeches.....	49.50

1917.

Jan. 8	Sielken & Faulstich, printing for December.....	42.75
" 8	Il Risveglio, space for December.....	80.00
" 8	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., referendum election ballots, envelopes, labels, circulars, etc.	736.82
" 10	Joliet Republican Printing Co., envelopes.....	71.70
" 22	J. C. Wilson, vice-president, Bartenders' L. U. No. 437, ad- vertising in Centennial Souvenir edition.....	20.00
Feb. 9	Il Risveglio, space for January.....	80.00
" 9	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., envelopes for D. A. Frampton	2.48
" 9	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., circulars.....	102.50
" 9	Sielken & Faulstich, printing for January.....	63.85
" 23	W. J. Snider, advertising souvenir edition Typographical Union	15.00
Mar. 2	Herald Printing Co., stationery for M. J. McGrath.....	7.50
" 2	J. M. Zimmerman, stationery.....	3.50
" 6	Chas. J. Fisher, secretary, St. Patrick's Day Committee, ad- vertising souvenir edition.....	10.00

1917.

Mar.	7	Joliet Republican Printing Co., envelopes.....	\$52.50
"	7	Il Risveglio, space for February.....	80.00
"	7	Sielken & Faulstich, printing for February.....	105.35
"	7	Bramwood Press, printing for February.....	35.00
"	26	Anthracite Labor News, stationery for M. A. Nash.....	10.25
Apr.	3	Chas. J. Baugert & Sons, envelopes for Fred D. Thomas....	1.75
"	3	David M. E. Griffith, stationery for Thos. Davis.....	7.00
"	9	Sielken & Faulstich, printing for March.....	89.35
"	9	Wyoming Labor Journal, stationery for Paul J. Paulsen....	14.75
"	9	Il Risveglio, space for March.....	80.00
"	9	C. E. Pauley Printing Co., report of tellers International election	732.33
"	9	C. E. Pauley Printing Co., tellers' report referendum vote on Journal proposition	77.00
"	9	Calvert-McBride Printing Co., bulletins "Wage Bonuses" and envelopes	18.63
"	9	Kellog-Baxter Printing Co., letter heads, envelopes and bulle- tins	19.75
"	9	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., annual report Secretary- Treasurer and Auditors.....	319.00
"	10	The Free Press, pamphlets for Robert H. Harlin.....	15.00
"	10	James Morgan, manager, Wyoming Labor Journal, printing semi-annual report of Secretary-Treasurer and Auditors	431.50
"	10	Women's Franchise League, advertising in souvenir.....	15.00
"	14	Calvert-McBride Printing Co., printing "Reason With These Facts"	359.23
"	16	The Albia Republican, stationery for Sam Ballantyne.....	3.25
"	17	Wm. Donaldson, stationery	26.50
May	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., envelopes.....	78.50
"	8	Bramwood Press, letter heads.....	3.25
"	8	Il Risveglio, space for April.....	80.00
"	8	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., circulars.....	43.00
"	8	Sielken & Faulstich, printing.....	59.75
"	16	C. J. Gregory, printing for R. W. Gaffney.....	8.50
"	17	Lawrence Dwyer, posters announcing Mt. Hope and Minden, W. Va., meetings held by Mother Jones.....	3.25

1917.

May	19	A. A. Letter shop, printing.....	\$6.00
June	2	Lawrence Dwyer, posters announcing Mother Jones' meetings at Keeferton and Kingston, W. Va.....	2.00
"	4	Alexander Kupstas, printing.....	5.00
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., envelopes.....	31.50
"	8	Sielken & Faulstich, printing.....	33.75
"	8	Mellett Printing Co., circulars.....	45.50
"	8	Il Risveglio, space May.....	80.00
"	18	Lawrence Dwyer, petitions, posters, envelopes, resolutions, etc.	8.25
"	20	Pottsville Daily Republican, printing for Henry Geise.....	4.50
"	20	Item Publishing Co., printing for Henry Geise.....	2.70
"	20	Herald Printing Company, printing for Henry Geise.....	2.60
"	26	A. A. Letter Shop, printing.....	46.00
July	2	Lawrence Dwyer, printing letters, posters and envelopes...	21.85
"	6	Steve Begalli, stationery	11.50
"	9	Il Risveglio, space June	80.00
"	9	Sielken & Faulstich, printing.....	44.35
"	9	Mellett Printing Co., circulars.....	23.75
"	9	Cornelius Printing Co., pamphlets and envelopes.....	80.45
"	25	Wm. Dalrymple, stationery.....	5.50
"	25	Cornelius Printing Co., stationery.....	46.20
Aug.	3	Lawrence Dwyer, stationery and printing.....	17.60
"	7	Joliet Republican Printing Co., receipt books, for office, income books and envelopes.....	166.00
"	7	C. E. Pauley Printing Co., Proceedings Miners' and Operators' Conference	99.35
"	7	C. E. Pauley Printing Co., tax sheets and ledger leaves....	16.25
"	7	Cornelius Printing Co., brief, "Coronado Coal Co. Case"...	52.50
"	7	Il Risveglio, space July.....	80.00
"	7	Sielken & Faulstich, printing.....	60.00
"	8	Cornelius Printing Co., cash book, ledger paper, expense record and voucher.....	68.40
"	8	Cornelius Printing Co., stationery.....	34.75
"	16	Lawrence Dwyer, printing.....	1.20
"	31	R. M. Blythe, Sec'y-Treas. National Association of Railway Yardmen, advertising in souvenir.....	25.00

1917.

Sept.	4	Joe Bosone, printing	\$6.00
"	8	Henry Friedman, Secretary Marion County Labor Day Association, advertising in souvenir.....	25.00
"	10	Joliet Republican Printing Co., multigraph letter heads and envelopes	56.60
"	10	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., circulars.....	85.25
"	10	Mellett Printing Co., circulars.....	21.25
"	10	Il Risveglio, space August.....	80.00
"	10	Sielken & Faulstich, printing.....	48.00
"	18	Wm. Donaldson, stationery and cards.....	6.25
"	18	P. F. Gatens, stationery	4.75
Oct.	8	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., Auditors and Wm. Green, Sec'y-Treas., semi-annual reports	230.00
"	8	Il Risveglio, space September.....	80.00
"	8	Sielken & Faulstich, printing.....	71.00
"	8	Cornelius Printing Co., Labor Day folders.....	12.70
Nov.	1	Henry Laginski, stationery.....	3.75
"	1	J. C. Rybolt, Business Agent, Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers, advertising in souvenir.....	25.00
"	8	Joliet Republican Printing Co., letter heads and envelopes..	119.75
"	8	Cornelius Printing Co., stationery, letter heads and circulars	112.25
"	8	Sielken & Faulstich, printing.....	67.75
"	8	C. E. Pauley & Co., tax sheets and ledger sheets.....	22.50
"	8	Il Risveglio, space October.....	80.00
"	8	Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., circulars and letter heads....	117.75
"	17	Herald Printing Co., circulars.....	3.00
Total			<u>\$8,451.59</u>

JOURNAL.

	Expenses.	Salary.	Amount Paid.
Ed Wallace, editor.....	\$ 505.68	\$1,249.90	\$1,755.58
Joseph Poggiani, editor.....	378.56	1,249.99	1,628.55
Michael Halapy, editor.....	492.41	1,250.00	1,742.41
Ed Ferry, bookkeeper.....	107.67	207.70	315.37
Jennie Reno, bookkeeper.....	.....	504.08	504.08
Paul White, clerk.....	171.92	474.56	646.48
	<u>\$1,656.24</u>	<u>\$4,936.23</u>	<u>\$6,592.47</u>

To Robert E. Springsteen, P. M., mailing the Journal:

December, 1916	\$ 434.44
January, 1917	251.48
February, 1917	246.90
March, 1917	296.70
April, 1917	169.98
May, 1917	361.08
June, 1917	299.18
July, 1917	118.78

\$2.1

PRINTING THE JOURNAL.

Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co.

November, 1916	\$6,524.28
December, 1916	1,293.57

Cornelius Printing Co.

December, 1916	1,776.97
January, 1917	1,027.17
February, 1917	1,378.17
March, 1917	1,682.43
April, 1917	1,530.67
May, 1917	1,676.25
June, 1917	1,334.12
July, 1917	666.07

18.

Cornelius Printing Co., paper for Journal:

December, 1916	\$3,504.30
January, 1917	3,149.53
February, 1917	3,651.10
March, 1917	3,939.85
April, 1917	4,006.62
May, 1917	3,294.56

21.

Commission on advertising:

T. J. White.....	\$7,569.64
William Sullivan	117.70
Peter Zink	79.75
William Salmans	1,074.27
C. C. Craig	135.00

S. J. Jones	254.23	
R. Krueger	272.63	
John Quinn	32.61	
J. H. Clem	50.41	
Mary Eaglehoff	262.12	
Peter Variot	6.75	
	<hr/>	9,855.11

Commission on subscriptions:

J. White	\$ 111.75	
William Young	6.25	
William Salmans	14.43	
R. Krueger	109.50	
William Sullivan	20.00	
Charles A. Sullivan	52.73	
Frank Gainor	110.00	
John Berry	3.50	
E. W. Aleston	26.25	
	<hr/>	454.41

Miscellaneous printing:

Cornelius Printing Co.	\$ 61.95	
Bramwood Press	21.00	
Sielken & Faulstich	46.50	
Mellett Printing Co.	14.10	
	<hr/>	143.55

Miscellaneous:

William Green, manager, Journals sent to Maryland....	\$ 420.00	
Edw. Mason & Co., drawing cover design.....	16.75	
Scott Nearing, editorial service.....	15.00	
William Green, manager, Journals sent to J. R. Ken-		
namer, President District No. 20.....	320.00	
William Green, manager, stamps exchanged for cash....	8.03	
R. Dalton, attorney fee for collecting back account		
Linden Hotel advertisement.....	2.00	
Wokwalter-Ball Printing Co., binding 8 volumes Journal	15.20	
Wokwalter-Ball Printing Co., metal in mail list.....	576.70	
Charles Stelzle, year's subscription "The Worker".....	.25	
William Green, manager, Journals sent William Dia-		
mond, Cumberland, Md.	7.50	

Henry Evans, foreign letters.....	64.00	
Pearson Publishing Co., year's subscription.....	1.50	
Indianapolis Engraving and Electrotyping Co., etchings and halftones	44.67	
Bookwalter-Ball Printing Co., etchings, halftones and cartoons	604.36	
Department Reports Co., subscriptions.....	26.00	
B. H. Herman, unframed pictures for Journal use.....	11.00	
Indiana National Bank, in payment of overcharged Aus- tralian money order.....	5.00	
Hugh Frayne, copy Gompers' anniversary picture.....	1.00	
D. F. Friel, refund on Journal subscription.....	1.50	
S. F. Vanni, foreign correspondence.....	11.50	
William Green, manager, Journals sent to Van Bittner, Pineville, Ky.	29.00	
Robert Bertolero, refund on subscriptions.....	4.75	
P. J. Dempe, refund on advertisement.....	4.70	
William Green, manager, Journals sent to Thomas M. Gann, Secretary District No. 19.....	50.00	
Fulton Office Furniture Co., sectional bookcase.....	23.75	
Walter Spouse, cartoons.....	3.50	
Mary Eaglehoff, refund on subscriptions.....	25.50	
J. B. Kackley, refund on advertisement.....	1.00	
Cornelius Printing Co., binding 8 volumes Journal.....	16.50	
William Green, manager, Journals sent J. L. Clemo, Secretary District No. 20.....	20.00	
John L. Lewis, manager, advance for Journal expenses..	4,000.00	
Indiana National Bank, check returned William Sullivan, agent, "insufficient funds".....	6.00	
Leonida Poggiani, pictures for Journal and postage on same	18.00	
		<hr/>
		6,354.66
		<hr/>
		\$66,014.40

TELEPHONE, POSTAGE AND EXPRESS

1916.

Dec. 2	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Cle Elum, Wash.....	\$.60
" 4	American Express Co., package, McAlester, Okla.....	.89

1916.

Dec.	4	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	\$ 90.00
"	8	Adams Express Co., bill for November.....	8.40
"	8	American Express Co., bill for November.....	40.25
"	8	Receivers, Central Union Telephone Co., bill for November.	43.35
"	8	Iowa Telephone Co., bill for November.....	7.32
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, bill for Nov....	6.61
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., bill for November.....	85.37
"	8	Postal Telegraph Co., bill for November.....	13.00
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., messenger service.....	1.05
"	9	Adams Express Co., package, Coshocton, Ohio.....	.48
"	11	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	.33
"	11	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	18	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	21	Adams Express Co., boxes, Newark, N. J., and Terre Haute, Ind.....	.90
"	21	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.00
"	27	Wells-Fargo & Co., box, Bellaire, Ohio.....	.50
"	29	Adams Express Co., package, Mt. Roberts, Ky.....	.55
"	30	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during December.	1.72
"	30	Stamps received as cash during December.....	6.20

1917.

Jan.	3	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	3	Adams Express Co., box, Salineville, Ohio.....	.37
"	3	Adams Express Co., box, Albia, Iowa.....	1.22
"	5	Western Union Telegraph Co., messenger service.....	.30
"	5	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, New York City.....	.32
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., bill for December.....	88.93
"	8	Receivers, Central Union Telephone Co., bill for December.	94.90
"	8	Indianapolis Telephone Co., bill for December.....	13.50
"	8	Iowa Telephone Co., bill for December.....	17.39
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, bill for Dec....	1.75
"	8	Postal Telegraph Co., bill for December.....	4.56
"	8	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Wellston, Ohio.....	.28
"	10	Adams Express Co., package, Belleville, Ill.....	.34
"	10	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Stonington, Ill.....	.32
"	12	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00

1917.

Jan.	15	American Express Co., package, Centralia, Pa.....	\$ 0.60
"	15	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	5.00
"	17	American Express Co., package, Murphysboro, Ill.....	.37
"	18	Adams Express Co., package, Hazleton, Pa.....	.42
"	18	Adams Express Co., package, Wellston, Ohio.....	.28
"	19	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	22	Adams Express Co., package, Nelsonville, Ohio.....	.30
"	23	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	25	Wells-Fargo & Co., bill for December.....	39.14
"	29	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Girard, Kan.....	.52
"	31	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during January..	1.76
"	31	Stamps received as cash during January.....	7.04
Feb.	5	American Express Co., package, Mahanoy City, Pa.....	.51
"	5	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	8	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Gallia, Ohio.....	.35
"	9	Receivers, Central Union Telephone Co., bill for January..	39.65
"	9	Western Union Telegraph Co., bill for January.....	82.40
"	9	Postal Telegraph Co., bill for January.....	6.78
"	9	Adams Express Co., bill for January.....	48.54
"	9	Adams Express Co., box, Shenandoah, Pa.....	.56
"	9	Iowa Telephone Co., bill for January.....	8.49
"	9	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Wellston, Ohio.....	.28
"	13	Wells-Fargo & Co., box, Cumberland, Md.....	3.95
"	13	Western Union Telegraph Co., messenger service, January..	.30
"	13	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	17	John P. White, telegrams, Albia, Iowa, during January....	3.58
"	20	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps for shipping department	238.00
"	20	Adams Express Co., box, Scranton, Pa.....	.33
"	24	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	27	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	28	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during February..	.59
"	28	Stamps received as cash during February.....	6.60
Mar.	1	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., 1-cent wrappers.....	1.00
"	2	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., 1-cent wrappers.....	1.50
"	5	Adams Express Co., package, Byesville, Ohio.....	.38
"	6	American Express Co., package, New York City.....	.54
"	7	American Express Co., bill for February.....	37.98

1917.

Mar.	7	Iowa Telephone Co., bill for February	\$ 11.40
"	7	Receivers, Central Union Telephone Co., bill for February..	35.55
"	7	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, bill for February	7.88
"	7	Western Union Telegraph Co., bill for February.....	82.28
"	7	Postal Telegraph Co., bill for February.....	74.62
"	8	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	13	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.00
"	15	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	19	American Express Co., box, Whitsett Jct., Pa.....	.40
"	22	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps for tellers' report of International Election.....	150.00
"	22	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps for tellers' report ref- erendum vote.....	30.00
"	23	Adams Express Co., box, Charleston, W. Va.....	.72
"	26	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, Charleston, W. Va.	3.63
"	26	Adams Express Co., box, Oak Hill, W. Va.....	1.21
"	27	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	28	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	30	Adams Express Co., package, Patton, Pa.....	.31
"	30	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Bellaire, Ohio.....	.35
"	31	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during March...	.82
"	31	Stamps received as cash during March.....	8.50
Apr.	9	Indianapolis Telephone Co., service, April, May, June....	13.50
"	9	Iowa Telephone Co., bill for March.....	7.24
"	9	Receivers, Central Union Telephone Co., bill for March....	99.40
"	9	Western Union Telegraph Co., bill for March.....	64.87
"	9	Postal Telegraph Co., bill for March.....	54.57
"	9	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., 1-cent wrappers.....	1.00
"	10	Wells-Fargo & Co., bill for March.....	25.48
"	10	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	11	American Express Co., box, Rutland, Ohio.....	.33
"	14	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, bill for March..	3.03
"	19	American Express Co., box, Crooksville, Ohio.....	.61
"	20	Adams Express Co., package, Terre Haute, Ind.....	.25
"	20	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	26	American Express Co., packages, Washington, D. C.....	1.91
"	27	American Express Co., package, New York City.....	.66

8 - M Pro.

Apr.	28	American Express Co., package, New York City.....	\$ 0.
"	30	John P. White, telegrams and telephone, Hotel Continental, New York City.....	43.
"	30	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during April....	.
"	30	Stamps received as cash during April.....	5.
May	3	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.
"	8	Receivers, Central Union Telephone Co., bill for April....	68.
"	8	Iowa Telephone Co., bill for April.....	6.
"	8	Adams Express Co., bill for April.....	39.
"	8	Postal Telegraph Co., bill for April.....	32.
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., bill for April.....	136.
"	8	Wells-Fargo & Co., package, Avella, Pa.....	.
"	9	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.0
"	9	American Express Co., box, Joliet, Ill.....	1.9
"	10	Adams Express Co., box, Newark, N. J.....	.6
"	14	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.0
"	23	American Express Co., box, Deering, Ill.....	.3
"	24	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.0
"	28	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.0
"	31	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during May.....	.56
"	31	Stamps received as cash during May.....	4.60
June	1	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., wrappers.....	1.00
"	1	Wells-Fargo & Co., express Kansas City, Mo.....	4.88
"	4	Wells-Fargo & Co., express Kansas City, Mo.....	.40
"	7	American Express Co., box, Deering, Ill.....	.69
"	8	American Express Co., service, May.....	102.37
"	8	Receivers, Central Union Telephone Co., service, May.....	62.50
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, May.....	256.49
"	8	Postal Telegraph Co., service, May.....	837.05
"	9	Iowa Telephone Co., service, May.....	12.35
"	9	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, service, May..	12.28
"	11	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	11	American Express Co., box, Kansas City, Mo.....	1.35
"	13	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.00
"	13	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., wrappers.....	2.00
"	13	Wells-Fargo Express Co., express, Bellaire, Ohio.....	.35
"	18	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.00

1917.

June	18	American Express Co., box, Deering, Ill.....	\$ 1.10
"	19	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps for shipping department	218.00
"	26	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	29	American Express Co., box, Winona, W. Va.....	.83
"	30	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during June.....	.61
"	30	Stamps received as cash during June.....	8.72
July	9	Iowa Telephone Co., service, June.....	15.44
"	9	Indianapolis Telephone Co., rent third quarter.....	13.50
"	9	Receivers Central Union Telephone Co., service, June....	83.75
"	9	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, June.....	118.48
"	9	Postal Telegraph Co., service, June.....	49.70
"	9	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	9	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.00
"	9	Wells-Fargo Co., service, June.....	107.94
"	13	Adams Express Co., box, Rugby, Colo.....	1.99
"	16	Adams Express Co., box, Johnstown, Pa.....	.79
"	23	Adams Express Co., box, Johnstown, Pa.....	.90
"	25	American Express Co., box, Coal Creek, Tenn.....	.83
"	25	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, service, June..	2.51
"	25	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
"	27	American Express Co., box, McAlester, Okla.....	.97
"	31	Adams Express Co., box, Gallitzin, Pa.....	.57
"	31	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during July.....	.18
"	31	Stamps received as cash during July.....	9.06
Aug.	2	Adams Express Co., box, Kansas City, Mo.....	.45
"	2	Adams Express Co., box, Kansas City, Mo.....	1.05
"	6	American Express Co., package, Granville, Ill.....	.42
"	7	J. P. White, telephone and telegrams while in Denver, Colo.	11.21
"	7	Iowa Telephone Co., service, July.....	12.79
"	7	Receivers Central Union Telephone Co., service, July.....	42.23
"	7	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, July.....	104.78
"	7	Postal Telegraph Co., service, July.....	34.93
"	7	Adams Express Co., service, July.....	137.38
"	7	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	8	American Express Co., box, Deering, Ill.....	1.10
"	9	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, July.....	.15
"	14	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	100.00

1917.

Aug. 20	American Express Co., box, Washington, D. C.....	\$ 2.80
" 20	Adams Express Co., box, Madisonville, Ky.....	1.09
" 22	Wells-Fargo Express Co., two boxes, San Francisco, Cal....	8.82
" 22	Wells-Fargo Express Co., balance due for express service during June and July.....	6.06
" 23	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
" 29	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	80.00
" 29	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps for shipping department.....	218.00
" 31	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during August..	.67
" 31	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	80.00
" 31	Stamps received as cash during August.....	5.45
Sept. 1	Adams Express Co., package, Washington, D. C.....	1.04
" 7	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps for six months' report.	90.00
" 7	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
" 10	Iowa Telephone Co., service, August.....	12.51
" 10	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, service, August.	1.91
" 10	Postal Telegraph Co., service, August.....	591.48
" 10	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, August.....	283.81
" 10	American Express Co., service, August.....	80.87
" 10	Receivers Central Union Telephone Co., service, August...	19.90
" 12	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
" 17	Jos. Angelo, postage for mailing Journals.....	3.00
" 28	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	60.00
" 29	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during September.	.17
" 29	Stamps received as cash during September.....	5.85
Oct. 1	Adams Express Co., express, Kansas City, Mo.....	4.58
" 5	American Express Co., package, Deering, Ill.....	.44
" 8	Adams Express Co., box, Kelley, Pa.....	.65
" 8	Western Union Telegraph Co., Albia, Iowa, service, Sept..	5.29
" 8	Indianapolis Telephone Co., service, fourth quarter.....	13.50
" 8	Iowa Telephone Co., service, September.....	14.34
" 8	Receivers Central Union Telephone Co., service, September.	88.66
" 8	Postal Telegraph Co., service, September.....	18.43
" 8	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, September.....	129.04
" 8	Wells-Fargo & Co., box, Middlesboro, Ky.....	.89
" 9	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	80.00

1917.

Oct.	11	Wells-Fargo & Co., service, September.....	\$ 56.63
"	15	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.00
"	16	Adams Express Co., box, Newark, N. J.....	.49
"	17	Adams Express Co., box, Newark, N. J.....	.76
"	17	Adams Express Co., box, Washington, D. C.....	1.21
"	18	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	80.00
"	26	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	80.00
"	29	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	30.00
"	30	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	50.00
"	31	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during October..	.09
"	31	Stamps received as cash during October.....	7.13
Nov.	2	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	2	American Express Co., box, Deering, Ill.....	.51
"	8	Receivers Central Union Telephone Co., service, October...	14.51
"	8	Western Union Telegraph Co., service, October.....	181.21
"	8	Postal Telegraph Co., service, October.....	64.96
"	14	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	14	Wells-Fargo & Co., express, Washington, D. C.....	1.64
"	15	Adams Express Co., box, New York.....	6.41
"	16	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	120.00
"	16	American Express Co., box, Deering, Ill.....	.78
"	19	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps for shipping department	300.00
"	20	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	96.00
"	21	Adams Express Co., service, October.....	64.70
"	22	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., stamps.....	90.00
"	23	Wells-Fargo & Co., express.....	.31
"	27	American Express Co., box, Fort Smith, Ark.....	10.60
"	30	Robt. E. Springsteen, P. M., postage due during November.	.24
"	30	Stamps received as cash during November.....	4.97
Total.....			\$9,920.43

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District	2	\$ 23,000.00
District	5	58,000.00
District	15	66,850.00
District	16	700.00

1917.		
Jan. 15	Chas. O'Neil, expenses attending Executive Board meeting	\$
" 15	T. E. Waite, expenses attending Executive Board meeting	
" 16	W. S. Davidson, expenses attending Executive Board meeting	
" 16	Duncan McDonald, secretary District 12, tax due District 12 from Local Union No. 3.....	
" 16	The Misses Beatty, to reporting special convention called by International Executive Board in District 5, July 12-17, inclusive	3
" 17	Alex McAllister, salary and expenses attending Executive Board meeting	1
" 18	Neal J. Ferry, reimbursed for attorney fee paid.....	
" 23	Mary C. McGrew, reporting Executive Board meeting, Jan. 9-12, inclusive	
" 24	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2059, District 6, "no account"	
" 25	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2159, District 6, on account of being protested.....	
" 26	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 151, District 1, signature missing	
" 30	H. A. Couch, reporting Executive Board meeting one and one-half days	
" 31	Sam Wood, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 2193, District 12	
" 31	Fred Neve, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1807, District 12	
" 31	E. Goodman, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 663, District 12	
Feb. 1	John B. Lennon, treasurer, donation Commission of Industrial Relations	1,0
" 1	John McCabe, one-half hospital expenses, by order Executive Board	
" 1	Attorney John C. Palmer, Jr., legal services in case Frank Ledvinka et al.....	4

1917.

Feb.	2	New Markham Hotel, expenses incurred during trial of members at Castle Rock, Colorado.....	\$ 6.00
"	5	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, Jan. 2.....	16.70
"	6	John Hough, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 570, District 2	47.50
"	9	Greensburg Storage & Transfer Co., rent for office furniture storage, Oct. 31, 1916, to Jan. 31, 1917.....	3.00
"	9	Walter R. Beeson, storage, office furniture, Uniontown, Pa., July 1, 1916, to January 1, 1917.....	3.60
"	14	W. J. McGee, secretary, overpaid tax and assessment refunded L. U. 784, District 12.....	67.75
"	16	Jas. F. Moran, stenographic work.....	3.00
"	17	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, February 1.....	12.56
"	27	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 70-14, "no funds"	14.00
"	27	B. F. Lambert, secretary, overpaid assessment refunded L. U. 1109, District 11.....	72.50
Mar.	1	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, February 2.....	15.32
"	2	Robt. Gilmour, stenographic work	1.50
"	6	Gayle & Co., renewals for bonds of Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer, and Wm. Green, Manager U. M. W. of A. Journal	140.00
"	12	Harry Couch, part payment reporting special convention of District 17, Charleston, W. Va.....	81.20
"	12	K. C. Adams, expenses publishing bulletin directed at the working class union	70.57
"	15	Frank S. White & Sons, attorneys, legal service in case of Republic Iron and Steel Company vs. U. M. W. of A. et al.	75.00
"	16	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1097, Individual, "signature incomplete and insufficient funds"	8.75
"	17	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, March 1.....	10.72
"	19	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 521, District 2, for correction.....	125.50
"	20	Geo. P. West, for aid in bonus investigation.....	35.00
"	21	David T. Day, secretary Jos. A. Holmes Safety Association, contribution	1,000.00

1917.

Mar. 21	John B. Andrews, secretary American Association for Labor Legislation, contribution.....\$	10.00
" 21	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1483, District 1, for signatures	4.00
" 21	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1178, District 13, for signature	1.25
" 22	Jesse Cain, secretary, overpayment refunded L. U. 2469-12	6.50
" 26	S. A. Traylor, secretary, overpaid tax and assessment refunded L. U. 1228, District 12.....	228.74
Apr. 4	American Academy of Political Science, annual dues...	5.00
" 4	Stanley Seroskie, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 984, District 9	14.90
" 4	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, March 2.....	40.65
" 5	Fred Mooney, secretary, tax due District 17 from L. U. 2140	18.00
" 5	Andrew Bourey, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 101, District 12	5.00
" 5	C. L. Goldbeck, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 297, District 12	10.25
" 5	Indiana National Bank, protested check returned L. U. 758, District 12	51.10
" 7	A. J. Carter, secretary District 18, to relieve distress among Coal Creek, B. C., Canada, explosion victims..	1,000.00
" 7	John W. Attman, commissioner, to settle bill with attorneys, Frank S. White & Sons, Birmingham, Ala...	50.00
" 9	Redner Photo Company, photos	12.50
" 9	Robt. H. Harlin, stenographic work and circulars, District 15	34.27
" 11	Harry A. Couch, reporting proceedings of re-convened joint convention, District 17.....	235.00
" 16	Lawrence Dwyer, hall rent for Mother Jones's meetings at Ansted and Winona, West Virginia.....	7.00
" 17	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, April 1.....	62.10
" 20	Harry A. Couch, reporting meeting of U. M. W. A. officials	16.90
" 21	Thos. M. King, stenographic work for committee.....	11.95

1917.			
Apr. 23	Gomer Williams, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1464, District 9	\$	92.18
" 23	Robt. Gilmour, stenographic work.....		2.00
" 24	E. F. Ross, secretary District 21, one-half litigation expenses A. S. Dowd, receiver, Coronado Coal Co. vs. U. M. W. A.....		2,811.55
" 24	Wm. Carlin, secretary, overpaid assessment refunded L. U. 2664, District 24.....		.99
" 24	S. T. Grear, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1104, District 12		2.25
" 24	Chas. Koenitz, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1090, District 12		1.75
" 24	Ed. Wray, secretary, overpaid assessment refunded L. U. 720, District 12		68.75
" 24	Cole Ruggles, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 407, District 13		1.00
" 24	Wm. T. Deegan, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1620, District 24		9.19
" 27	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, April 2.....		79.65
" 28	Warren Pippin, secretary District 15, for relief among families of Hastings mine explosion victims.....		1,000.00
May 1	Frank Hughes, for expenses in Irwin field work.....		300.00
" 2	Ed. Wallace, crutches for John Leaty.....		1.25
" 2	J. M. Zimmerman, stenographic work.....		2.00
" 2	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 272, District 9, "insufficient funds".....		2.50
" 2	Warren Pippin, secretary District 15, additional relief for dependents of Hastings mine explosion victims....		1,000.00
" 8	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1808, District 17, for president's signature.....		25.00
" 11	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1765, District 14, "insufficient funds"		19.25
" 15	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, May 1.....		18.80
" 16	Emma Steghagen, secretary-treasurer National Women's Trade Union League of America, affiliation fee.....		5.00
" 17	Lawrence Dyer, hall rent for Mother Jones's meeting at Mt. Hope, West Virginia		2.00

1917.

May 17	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1437, District 6, "no account with bank".....	\$ 3.00
" 19	D. C. Morris, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1397, District 12	12.50
" 24	Chas. C. Risher, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 625, District 11	104.75
" 24	Clarence Secrest, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 357, District 6	3.40
" 24	W. H. Plymin, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 2104, District 5	35.00
" 24	A. Cross, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1933, District 13	2.43
" 24	Sam A. Opoe, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 850, District 12	2.25
" 24	Edney Buck, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 23, District 11	19.25
" 26	Robt. Stafford, secretary, delinquent fine refunded L. U. 1348, District 6	2.00
" 28	Jas. Morgan, secretary District 22, part payment on loan to International by District 22 (\$2.00 assessment allowance)	14,578.00
" 28	Jas. Morgan, secretary District 22, part payment on loan to International by District 22.....	30,422.00
" 31	John McCartney, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1339, District 5	12.25
" 31	Jas. J. McAndrew, money advanced for expenses of litigation	250.00
June 1	J. L. Clemo, secretary, donation for storm victims, District 20	500.00
" 1	K. C. Adama, incidental expenses, May 2.....	14.40
" 4	Jas. J. McAndrew, secretary, money supplied District 9 for expenses of litigation	250.00
" 4	Fred Holt, salary and expenses as witness in case of Jas. H. Hazen vs. State of Missouri.....	47.60
" 4	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2317, District 21, "insufficient funds"	21.00
" 4	Walter Nesbitt, secretary, payment in full of direct loan made by District 12 to International.....	250,000.00

1917.

June	5	John Gay, secretary, part payment on loan made by District 13 to International	\$ 61,040.00
"	6	Wm. Hargest, secretary, payment in full of loan made by District 5 to International.....	60,000.00
"	6	Warren Pippin, secretary, for expenses of Joint Conference, District 15	2,000.00
"	7	Thos. Harvey, secretary, part payment on loan made by District 14 to International.....	52,238.00
"	8	Geo. Hepple, secretary, part payment on loan made by District 25 to International.....	30,744.00
"	9	Joe Jennings, secretary, overpaid tax and assessment refunded L. U. 1193, District 12.....	5.50
"	9	Glen Welch, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1782, District 12	102.50
"	9	Chas. Koenitz, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1090, District 12	14.25
"	9	Jas. Stokes, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 106, District 11	14.45
"	11	Jas. F. Moran, President District 15, for settlement in full with Mrs. Hoffemeyer	300.00
"	12	John T. Dempsey, loan.....	49.24
"	13	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2159, Dist. 6, for additional signature	72.50
"	14	Henry Hagelstein, secretary International Workers' Defense League, donation, Thos. Mooney defense.....	500.00
"	16	John T. Jones, secretary, overpaid assessment refunded L. U. 2657, District 12	97.02
"	18	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, June 1.....	6.45
"	18	John Foord, secretary, association fee in the "American Asiatic Association"	2.00
"	18	Jas. J. McAndrew, secretary, payment in full of loan made by District 9 to International.....	45,000.00
"	18	Robt. McQuinston, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 493, District 12	16.50
"	18	Robt. Gilmour, stenographic work	1.60
"	20	Fred Mooney, secretary, loan to District 17.....	1,000.00
"	20	John B. Lennon, treasurer, donation to Industrial Relations Commission	1,000.00

1917.

June 20	Warren Pippin, secretary, to pay expenses of District 15 Convention	\$ 2,000.00
" 21	John Holliday, treasurer Red Cross War Fund, donation.	200.00
" 22	John Worthington, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1893, District 12	26.00
" 26	A. L. Zimmerman & Co., public accountants, for services rendered	60.00
" 30	J. M. Zimmerman, stenographic work.....	2.00
" 30	A. L. Zimmerman & Co., balance due for services rendered	71.00
July 2	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, June 2.....	5.50
" 5	Robt. Condon, secretary, payment in full of loan made by District 27 to International	12,860.00
" 6	Wm. Dalrymple, stenographic work.....	3.00
" 6	D. A. Jones, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1032, District 25	6.25
" 6	A. B. C. Fireproof Warehouse Co., storage.....	12.00
" 10	Jas. Naylor, salary and expenses attending meeting of Investigating Committee	55.60
" 13	John B. Gallagher, T. A. Dist. 1, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	94.93
" 13	C. W. Zerby, T. A. Dist. 1, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting	94.93
" 13	John Ghizzoni, T. A. Dist. 2, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	86.56
" 13	Jos. Bauer, T. A. Dist. 5, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting	69.64
" 13	John Stephenson, T. A. Dist. 5, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	70.54
" 13	Geo. Fenton, T. A. Dist. 5, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	70.44
" 13	Noble Ault, T. A. Dist. 6, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting	70.50
" 13	Jos. Richards, T. A. Dist. 6, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting	68.00
" 13	Benjamin F. Davis, T. A. Dist. 7, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	85.43

1917.

July	13	Henry M. Conner, T. A., Dist. 8, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	\$ 37.76
"	13	Chas. Kalbach, T. A., Dist. 9, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	83.90
"	13	Jas. H. Whalen, T. A., Dist. 9, salary and expenses attached Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	85.00
"	13	Ernest Newsham, T. A., Dist. 10, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	267.00
"	13	Roy Hirshfeld, T. A., Dist. 11, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	39.40
"	13	John G. Atkinson, T. A., Dist. 12, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	65.54
"	13	Enoch Martin, T. A., Dist. 12, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	61.14
"	13	Henry Meyer, Jr., T. A., Dist. 12, expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting	39.20
"	13	A. T. Pace, T. A., Dist. 12, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting	74.63
"	13	Thos. Cunningham, T. A., Dist. 14, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	103.80
"	13	A. J. Carter, T. A., Dist. 18, expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting	164.10
"	13	Tony Radalj, T. A., Dist. 22, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	179.60
"	13	Wm. Roberts, T. A., Dist. 23, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	68.54
"	13	Geo. Chivers, T. A., Dist. 24, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	72.40
"	13	L. E. Shelton, T. A., Dist. 25, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	88.30
"	13	David Lewis, T. A., Dist. 27, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	174.60
"	14	Thos. J. White, acting as shipping clerk.....	32.42
"	16	Thos. Stephenson, T. A., Dist. 13, salary and expenses attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	66.70
"	16	E. F. Ross, Secretary, balance in full due on loan made by Dist. 21 to International.....	30,000.00

1917.

July 18	E. F. Ross, Secretary, one-half litigation expenses, A. S. Dowd, Receiver Coronado Coal Co. vs. United Mine Workers of America.....	\$ 1,979.56
" 18	Indiana National Bank, protested check returned L. U. 1229, Dist. 1, "account closed".....	116.62
" 23	Henry Meyer, Jr., T. A., Dist. 12, salary while attending Traveling Auditors' Meeting.....	27.00
" 26	Wm. Green, floral offering for D. H. Sullivan.....	15.00
" 26	M. L. Barnes, Sec'y, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1187, Dist. 11	12.00
" 30	Stewart Stroud, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 752, Dist. 11 .....	.88
" 31	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 945, Dist. 19, "no account with bank".....	27.25
" 31	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2204, Dist. 17, for correction.....	86.75
" 31	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 253, Dist. 19, for correction	3.00
Aug. 1	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses July 2.....	7.50
" 1	Samuel Ballantyne, stenographic work.....	.75
" 1	Frank Hefferly, relief for men deported from Gallup, N. Mexico	400.00
" 2	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 88, Dist. 12, for signature	2.50
" 3	Robt. Gilmour, stenographic work.....	.75
" 4	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2475, Dist. 11, for signature	16.50
" 6	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 3033, Dist. 15, for additional signature.....	43.50
" 7	Walter R. Beeson, seven months' storage on office furniture, Uniontown, Pa.	4.20
" 9	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1794, Dist. 5, for signature	1.00
" 9	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1048, Dist. 14, "no account with bank".....	5.75
" 10	Capt. A. J. Wiseman, Fresh Air Fund, donation.....	5.00
" 11	Welsey Turner, Secretary, overpayment refunded L. U. 478, Dist. 12	20.75

1917.

Aug. 14	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses August 1.....	\$ 6.75
“ 14	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2768, Dist. 6, “where payable not given”.....	121.80
“ 17	John P. White, typewriter rent while in Denver, Colo.....	1.50
“ 18	Robt. H. Harlin, stenographic work.....	3.00
“ 20	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 3328, Dist. 20, “insufficient funds”.....	14.25
“ 21	Max Steinbach, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1712, Dist. 5.....	2.00
“ 24	J. P. Hartley, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 3397, Dist. 23	11.75
“ 25	John B. Mooney, Secretary, donation Tom Mooney Defense Fund	500.00
“ 25	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 413, Dist. 12, “insufficient funds”.....	5.00
Sept. 4	John Tilmont, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1584, Dist. 9.....	12.63
“ 4	L. R. Baker, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 2438, Dist. 9	3.01
“ 4	John M. Mack, Secretary, payment in full of loan made by Dist. 1 to International.....	55,000.00
“ 5	E. S. Moore, Agent, U. S. Fidelity & Guaranty Co., premium on bonds furnished.....	280.00
“ 7	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2146, Dist. 21, “no account with bank”.....	4.75
“ 11	T. G. Hill, Secretary, overpaid tax and assessment refunded L. U. 368, Dist. 12.....	32.00
“ 11	J. H. Clem, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 787, Dist. 12	118.25
“ 12	Geo. Skirls, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 650, Dist. 12	11.50
“ 12	Sam Walker, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 753, Dist. 12	3.25
“ 12	H. E. Gillroy, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1237, Dist. 12	12.00
“ 12	Tom Wakefield, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1421, Dist. 12.....	18.75

1917.

Jan. 15	Chas. O'Neil, expenses attending Executive Board meeting	\$ 47.10
" 15	T. E. Waite, expenses attending Executive Board meeting	48.57
" 15	W. S. Davidson, expenses attending Executive Board meeting	46.12
" 15	Duncan McDonald, secretary District 12, tax due District 12 from Local Union No. 3.....	24.13
" 16	The Misses Beatty, to reporting special convention called by International Executive Board in District 5, July 12-17, inclusive	300.00
" 17	Alex McAllister, salary and expenses attending Executive Board meeting	103.40
" 18	Neal J. Ferry, reimbursed for attorney fee paid.....	99.00
" 23	Mary C. McGrew, reporting Executive Board meeting, Jan. 9-12, inclusive	57.00
" 24	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2059, District 6, "no account"	65.00
" 25	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2159, District 6, on account of being protested.....	73.90
" 26	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 151, District 1, signature missing	99.25
" 30	H. A. Couch, reporting Executive Board meeting one and one-half days	32.15
" 31	Sam Wood, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 2133, District 12	2.50
" 31	Fred Neve, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1807, District 12	4.50
" 31	E. Goodman, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 663, District 12	2.75
Feb. 1	John B. Lennon, treasurer, donation Commission of Industrial Relations	1,000.00
" 1	John McCabe, one-half hospital expenses, by order Executive Board	62.50
" 1	Attorney John C. Palmer, Jr., legal services in case Frank Ledvinka et al.....	463.00

1917.

Feb.	2	New Markham Hotel, expenses incurred during trial of members at Castle Rock, Colorado.....\$	6.00
"	5	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, Jan. 2.....	16.70
"	6	John Hough, secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 570, District 2	47.50
"	9	Greensburg Storage & Transfer Co., rent for office furniture storage, Oct. 31, 1916, to Jan. 31, 1917.....	3.00
"	9	Walter R. Beeson, storage, office furniture, Uniontown, Pa., July 1, 1916, to January 1, 1917.....	3.60
"	14	W. J. McGee, secretary, overpaid tax and assessment refunded L. U. 784, District 12.....	67.75
"	16	Jas. F. Moran, stenographic work.....	3.00
"	17	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, February 1.....	12.56
"	27	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 70-14, "no funds"	14.00
"	27	B. F. Lambert, secretary, overpaid assessment refunded L. U. 1109, District 11.....	72.50
Mar.	1	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, February 2.....	15.32
"	2	Robt. Gilmour, stenographic work	1.50
"	6	Gayle & Co., renewals for bonds of Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer, and Wm. Green, Manager U. M. W. of A. Journal	140.00
"	12	Harry Couch, part payment reporting special convention of District 17, Charleston, W. Va.....	81.20
"	12	K. C. Adams, expenses publishing bulletin directed at the working class union	70.57
"	15	Frank S. White & Sons, attorneys, legal service in case of Republic Iron and Steel Company vs. U. M. W. of A. et al.	75.00
"	16	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1097, Individual, "signature incomplete and insufficient funds"	8.75
"	17	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses, March 1.....	10.72
"	19	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 521, District 2, for correction.....	125.50
"	20	Geo. P. West, for aid in bonus investigation.....	35.00
"	21	David T. Day, secretary Jos. A. Holmes Safety Association, contribution	1,000.00

1917.

Oct.	11	Bertermann Bros., Florists, flowers.....	\$	3.50
"	13	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1468, Dist. 2, for signature		17.75
"	16	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses October 1.....		6.40
"	16	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 3076, Dist. 1, signature unofficial		12.50
"	18	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 3139, Dist. 5, signature incorrect		194.35
"	18	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 2602, Dist. 9, signature incorrect		67.50
"	20	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 579, Dist. 9, "payment refused"		38.25
"	23	J. E. Hargler, Treasurer, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1144, Dist. 12.....		19.50
"	24	Circle Flower Shop, flowers.....		10.00
"	26	C. F. Calbert, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1563, Dist. 9		8.12
"	26	Leonard Dalton, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1270, Dist. 6		2.00
"	26	Harold Cabey, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 803, Dist. 17		10.00
"	26	Wm. Wierm, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 1936, Dist. 9		5.11
"	29	D. W. Davis, for hospital expenses, per order International Executive Board		115.00
"	30	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses October 2.....		13.20
Nov.	1	Wm. Short, Secretary, Dist. 10, assessment due district from L. U. 2264, Dist. 10.....		14.75
"	2	Armando Pelizarri, for medical services, per order Inter- national Executive Board		50.00
"	3	Hugh Sullivan, one-half contract price for erection of Lud- low monument		3,250.00
"	5	W. C. Smith, for services in connection with trial of U. M. W. A. members in Webster County, Kentucky.....		80.00
"	6	Jas. Hill, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 511, Dist. 12		7.00
"	8	Underwood Bros., floral wreath.....		15.00
"	8	Chas. Bretzman, photos		12.00

1917.

Nov. 8	Mary C. McGrew, reporting International Executive Board meeting	\$ 46.00
" 9	Jas. Morgan, Secretary, part payment on loan made by Dist. 22 to International	10,000.00
" 10	Dorothy Friedman, extra work.....	5.00
" 12	Mike Nelson, reimbursed for fine and costs in Somerset Field, Pa., strike	12.50
" 12	Martin Wallace, reimbursed for fine and costs in Somerset Field, Pa., strike.....	12.50
" 13	Thos. M. Gann, Secretary, tax due Dist. 19 from L. U. 3345, Dist. 19.....	16.75
" 13	Harry A. Couch, reporting International Executive Board meeting	101.00
" 15	K. C. Adams, incidental expenses November 1.....	23.50
" 15	H. C. Atkins, Treasurer, Y. M. C. A. War Fund, donation.	150.00
" 16	C. M. Ward, attorney, for legal services in certain suits before Justice of Peace at Beckley, W. Va.....	50.00
" 16	Indiana National Bank, protested check returned L. U. 3258, Dist. 5	21.25
" 22	Geo. Hargrove, for witnesses' expenses in Owensboro, Ky., Federal Court	1,000.00
" 23	Ed. Wallace, expenses attending A. F. of L. Convention...	82.16
" 23	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 296, Dist. 6, "where payable requested".....	52.50
" 26	Phil C. Sauer, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 474, Dist. 12	7.25
" 26	Jas. Easton, Secretary, overpaid tax refunded L. U. 2708, Dist. 12	7.50
" 26	Robt. Pollock, expenses incurred while ill, by order of the International Executive Board	26.33
" 27	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 1351, Dist. 1, "insufficient funds"	11.25
" 27	Indiana National Bank, check returned L. U. 945, Dist. 23, "no account with bank".....	46.75
" 28	Chas. F. Bretzman, photos	15.50
Total		\$693,143.04

Duke Applewhite	\$ 77.13	
Barnett & Campbell, Attorneys.....	1,000.00	
T. A. Bledsoe, Attorney.....	200.00	
F. W. Clark, Attorney.....	250.00	
H. S. Clearwater, Accountant	121.50	
John L. East, Attorney.....	200.00	
Mary Burke East, Reporter.....	555.39	
Chris Evans, Committee on History of Mine Workers' Organization	1,603.75	
Horace N. Hawkins, Attorney.....	20,288.62	
Samuel B. Montgomery, Attorney.....	1,116.50	
T. A. McHarg, Attorney.....	253.00	
John MacQuarrie, Legal Adviser.....	312.50	
Robert Osborne	696.02	
Samuel Pascoe	872.84	
J. V. Poag	125.04	
Joseph Poggiani, expenses, organization work.....	846.02	
D. H. Sullivan, Committee on History Mine Workers' Organization	864.65	
Henry Warrum, Attorney	17,415.00	
Warren Pippin, Secretary District 15.....	4,000.00	
P. J. Gorman, Branch 1, District 15.....	1,650.00	
Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of La- bor, tax	31,679.06	
P. M. Draper, Secretary Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, tax	871.02	
Ernest Mills, Secretary Mining Dept. A. F. of L., tax...	4,037.92	
Manager Boulder (Colo.) Sanitarium. expenses for Louis Zancanelli	351.37	
John Yourishin, Secretary, salary and expenses of An- drew Churchman, Vice-President Sub-District 1 of District 7	1,256.94	
E. F. Ross, Secretary District 21—aid to be applied on loan to International.....	30,000.00	
Total		\$120,64

**DISTRICTS REIMBURSED FOR ONE-HALF SALARY AND
EXPENSES OF TRAVELING AUDITORS.**

District 1	.....\$	1,899.36	
District 2	.....	1,016.40	
District 5	.....	2,741.72	
District 6	.....	1,887.34	
District 7	.....	802.94	
District 8	.....	199.70	
District 9	.....	1,699.22	
District 10	.....	393.10	
District 11	.....	970.89	
District 12	.....	4,035.62	
District 13	.....	836.10	
District 14	.....	1,180.92	
District 17	.....	153.59	
District 21	.....	1,451.85	
District 22	.....	1,394.72	
District 23	.....	660.20	
District 24	.....	143.98	
District 25	.....	953.82	
District 27	.....	580.21	23,001.68
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Grand total miscellaneous.....			\$836,788 99

INCOME

1916. December	Totals.	Tax.	Supplies.	Journal.	Ludlow.	Strike			Misc.
						Donation.	Assessment.		
1917.									
January	93,441.11	85,989.05	1,242.88	4,466.92			1,404.22		338.04
February	91,845.74	86,684.48	937.52	2,798.86			842.31		582.57
March	105,312.08	96,259.58	863.39	3,041.93			1,744.13		3,403.05
April	86,832.93	80,677.01	1,050.61	3,098.26			1,647.18		359.87
May	96,230.04	89,682.43	1,636.63	3,727.63			925.79		257.56
June	444,145.14	87,502.79	2,066.60	4,592.85			348,482.75		286.70
July	148,992.63	89,217.77	2,318.80	2,462.71	\$5,059.61		42,336.25		8,810.94
August	112,519.28	97,239.60	1,731.91		691.35		12,191.25		665.17
September	219,981.39	96,211.17	1,422.19		263.27	\$49,946.59	71,294.50		843.67
October	136,297.24	101,256.38	1,614.66		5.15	10,539.00	22,548.50		338.55
November	128,401.43	102,650.00			18.15	314.85	23,368.14		404.48
Totals	\$1,759,727.34	\$1,102,142.85	\$17,557.50	\$28,143.93	\$6,037.53	\$60,800.44	\$528,111.09		\$16,934.00

EXPENDITURES.

1916.	Salary and		Office			Telephone,			
	Totals.	Expenses.	Supplies.	Expenses.	Printing.	Journal.	Express.	Aid.	Misc.
December	\$ 95,750.63	\$ 31,914.10	\$ 694.10	\$ 644.21	\$1,965.10	\$13,359.13	\$ 457.52	\$ 9,307.00	\$ 37,409.47
1917.									
January	69,895.94	29,857.91	1,598.20	630.95	951.27	8,750.90	549.61	11,910.25	15,646.85
February	69,474.56	27,906.93	354.90	804.74	263.83	6,835.12	710.91	18,796.00	13,802.13
March	79,842.95	26,830.31	709.65	833.76	304.10	4,014.78	779.07	30,067.00	16,304.28
April	75,800.56	29,221.43	232.85	730.21	2,210.04	12,843.08	472.78	19,543.00	10,547.17
May	116,813.05	28,225.52	852.80	733.90	282.25	3,516.14	562.07	31,542.00	51,098.37
June	588,162.02	31,781.23	527.80	844.55	261.80	6,647.30	1,702.97	27,057.00	519,339.37
July	159,210.87	30,280.51	1,413.40	1,221.23	313.60	7,959.39	556.61	66,328.00	51,138.13
August	184,263.35	32,151.91	6,133.05	647.68	621.05	70.56	999.38	129,984.00	13,655.72
September	272,218.23	33,582.85	1,162.47	872.21	333.10	18.00	1,300.54	166,425.00	68,524.06
October	140,537.98	37,848.75	347.75	708.88	393.70	.....	692.13	93,528.00	7,018.77
November	115,028.56	38,061.41	1,155.26	796.83	551.75	2,000.00	1,136.84	39,022.00	32,304.67
Totals	\$1,966,998.70	\$377,662.86	\$15,182.03	\$9,469.15	\$8,451.59	\$66,014.40	\$9,920.43	\$643,509.25	\$836,788.99

INCOME.

Tax	\$1,10
Supplies	1
Journal	2
Ludlow donations ,	
Strike fund donations	6
Assessment	52
Miscellaneous	1
	<hr/>
Total	\$1,75

EXPENDITURES.

Salary and expenses	\$ 37
Supplies	1
Office expenses	
Printing	
Journal	6
Telephone, postage and express	
Aid	64
Miscellaneous	83
	<hr/>
Total	\$1,96

RECAPITULATION.

Amount on hand December 1, 1916	\$ 41
Income December 1, 1916, to December 1, 1917	1,75
	<hr/>
	\$2,17
Expenditures December 1, 1916, to December 1, 1917	1,96
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Balance on hand December 1, 1917	\$ 20
Amount on deposit, Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer	\$ 9
Amount on deposit, Strike Fund	
Amount on deposit, Louisville Bank, Louisville, Colo.	
Amount on deposit, Lafayette Bank, Lafayette, Colo.	4
Amount on deposit, Erie Bank, Erie, Colo.	

Amount on deposit, City Bank, Wheeling, W. Va.	3,000.00
Amount on deposit, Central Bank, Coshocton, Ohio	10,000.00
Amount on deposit, County Savings Bank, Scranton, Pa.	10,000.00
Amount on deposit, Des Moines National Bank, Des Moines, Iowa	25,000.00
Amount on deposit, Birmingham Trust and Savings Company, Birmingham, Ala.	20,000.00
United States Liberty Bonds	10,000.00
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Total amount on deposit December 1, 1917.....	\$ 237,700.16
Outstanding checks	27,952.61
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Balance on hand December 1, 1917.....	\$ 209,747.55

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
International Secretary-Treasurer.

**LIST OF LOCAL UNIONS ORGANIZED AND ABANDONED
DURING FISCAL YEAR ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1917.**

DECEMBER, 1916.

- Organized.			Abandoned.		
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist.	Location.
2774	2	Punxsutawney, Pa.	7	6	Coshocton, Ohio.
441	6	Crooksville, Ohio.	2740	6	Warsaw, Ohio.
479	6	Derwent, Ohio.	927	11	Midland, Ind.
568	6	New Straitsville, Ohio.	2689	11	Sullivan, Ind.
1404	6	Magnolia, Ohio.	3	12	Sandoval, Ill.
2313	6	Nelsonville, Ohio.	444	14	Frontenac, Kans.
1994	10	Bayne, Wash.	1284	14	Hartshorne, Okla.
311	12	Springfield, Ill.	1478	21	Craig, Okla.
419	12	Craig, Ill.	1778	21	Pocahontas, Okla.
518	12	Marion, Ill.	2160	21	Coal Hill, Ark.
528	12	Springfield, Ill.	2208	21	Bache, Okla.
698	12	Pittsburg, Ill.	2773	21	Clarksville, Ark.
782	12	Belleville, Ill.			
826	12	Collinsville, Ill.			
53	14	Ringo, Kans.			
164	14	Arcadia, Kans.			
283	14	Midway, Kans.			
310	14	Cherokee, Kans.			
406	14	Radley, Kans.			
363	15	Williamsburg, Colo.			
2027	16	Vale Summit, Md.			
2471	16	Mt. Savage, Md.			
1101	17	Comfort, W. Va.			
1480	17	Flemington, W. Va.			
180	19	Wallsend, Ky.			
241	21	Coal Hill, Ark.			
514	21	Coalton, Okla.			
520	21	Coalton, Okla.			
356	22	Conroy, Wyo.			
175	28	Robards, Ky.			

JANUARY, 1917.

Organized.			Abandoned.		
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist.	Location.
1330	5	Meadowlands, Pa.	8	6	Orbiston, Ohio.
2125	5	Houston, Pa.	261	6	Roseville, Ohio.
2252	5	Fayette City, Pa.	271	6	Steubenville, Ohio.
2367	5	New Eagle, Pa.	281	6	Glouster, Ohio.
3140	5	Vandergrift, Pa.	282	6	Glen Roy, Ohio.
3156	5	Freeport, Pa.	421	6	Nelsonville, Ohio.
3157	5	Braeburn, Pa.	786	6	Bellaire, Ohio.
569	6	Corning, Ohio.	804	6	Connorville, Ohio.
689	6	Parlett, Ohio.	811	6	Salem, Ohio.
1493	6	McArthur, Ohio.	939	6	Rayland, Ohio.
2285	6	Barton, Ohio.	1774	6	Wellston, Ohio.
2936	6	Roseville, Ohio.	1968	6	Wellston, Ohio.
2937	6	Saltillo, Ohio.	2083	6	Sand Run, Ohio.
2938	6	Roseville, Ohio.	2114	6	Oak Hill, Ohio.
2940	6	Roseville, Ohio.	2322	6	Nelsonville, Ohio.
3066	6	Bergholz, Ohio.	2447	6	Oak Hill, Ohio.
217	11	Boonville, Ind.	2023	11	Hymera, Ind.
582	11	Winslow, Ind.	2699	11	Terre Haute, Ind.
610	11	Washington, Ind.			
770	11	Linton, Ind.			
78	12	Breese, Ill.			
179	12	Sparland, Ill.			
1491	12	Herrin, Ind.			
133	14	Mulberry, Kans.			
259	14	Arcadia, Kans.			
186	15	Rockvale, Colo.			
295	15	Berwind, Colo.			
1708	17	Montgomery, W. Va.			
1741	17	Leewood, W. Va.			
1054	18	Brule Lake, Alta., Can.			
476	21	Midland, Ark.			
560	21	Hartford, Ark.			
921	24	Six Mile Creek, Mich.			
551	25	Oskaloosa, Mo.			

FEBRUARY.

Organized.			Abandoned.		
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist.	Location.
2970	2	Anita, Pa.	8	6	Orbiston, Ohio.
1230	5	Puckety Creek, Pa.	281	6	Glouster, Ohio.
1254	5	Finleyville, Pa.	1150	6	Nelsonville, Ohio.
657	6	Nelsonville, Ohio.	1774	6	Wellston, Ohio.
717	6	Wilbren, Ohio.	2083	6	Carbon, Ohio.
1172	6	Buchtel, Ohio.	2114	6	Oak Hill, Ohio.
1418	6	Midvale, Ohio.	2447	6	Oak Hill, Ohio.
2591	6	Flushing, Ohio.	931	12	Seatonville, Ill.
2883	6	Carbon Hill, Ohio.	2714	14	Pittsburg, Kans.
1044	10	Cumberland, Wash.			
590	11	Burnett, Ind.			
647	11	Terre Haute, Ind.			
656	11	Jasonville, Ind.			
836	14	Radley, Kans.			
857	14	Cherokee, Kans.			
1093	14	Weir, Kans.			
834	15	Firestone, Colo.			
876	15	Oakview, Colo.			
936	17	Wake Forest, W. Va.			
1818	17	Dry Branch, W. Va.			
1185	18	Lethbridge, Alta., Can.			
587	19	Ferndale, Ky.			
1264	19	Harrison, Ky.			
1327	19	Davisburg, Ky.			
191	23	Nortonville, Ky.			
1038	25	Mindenmines, Mo.			

MARCH.

Organized.			Abandoned.		
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist.	Location.
2370	2	Marion Center, Pa.	156	5	Camp Hill, Pa.
2232	5	Dentro, Pa.	564	5	Webster, Pa.
2597	5	Smithton, Pa.	777	5	W. Brownsville, Pa.
1395	6	New Pittsburg, Ohio.	1341	5	Edri, Pa.
1835	6	Crooksville, Ohio.	1344	5	Webster, Pa.

Organized.		Abandoned.	
Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist. Location.
6	Uhrichsville, Ohio.	1410	5 Saltsburg, Pa.
6	Lafferty, Ohio.	1481	5 Cecil, Pa.
11	Dugger, Ind.	1786	5 Gillespie, Pa.
11	Terre Haute, Ind.	1891	5 Epton, Pa.
11	Edwardsport, Ind.	2048	5 Carnegie, Pa.
11	Farmersburg, Ind.	2251	5 Scott's Mine, Pa.
12	Pana, Ill.	2256	5 Wick Haven, Pa.
12	Taylor Springs, Ill.	2781	5 Redmond, Pa.
14	Arcadia, Kans.	2817	5 Volant, Pa.
15	Rapson, Colo.	940	6 Pomeroy, Ohio.
15	Delagua, Colo.	1324	6 Moxahala, Ohio.
15	Gray Creek, Colo.	2381	6 Bellaire, Ohio.
15	Gray Creek, Colo.	2448	6 Steubenville, Ohio.
17	Garrison, W. Va.	646	12 Taylorville, Ill.
17	Marfork, W. Va.	2714	14 Pittsburg, Kans.
17	Warrior, W. Va.	1379	24 W. Bay City, Mich.
17	Bentree, W. Va.	744	29 Lochgelly, W. Va.
21	Alderson, Okla.	1408	29 Summerlee, W. Va.
21	Henryetta, Okla.	1904	29 Scarbro, W. Va.
23	Browder, Ky.	2108	29 Meadow Fork, W. Va.
		2793	29 Beury, W. Va.

APRIL.

Organized.		Abandoned.	
Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist. Location.
2	DuBois, Pa.	2255	6 N. Lawrence, Ohio.
2	Frackville, Pa.	987	11 New England, Ind.
6	Beidler, Ohio.	1050	11 Boonville, Ind.
6	Dillonvale, Ohio.	510	9 Tracy City, Ky.
6	Oak Hill, Ohio.	950	19 Blanche, Ky.
6	New Lexington, Ohio.	998	19 E. Bernstadt, Ky.
8	Clay City, Ind.	1119	19 Pittsburg, Ky.
10	Beaver Hill, Ore.	1253	19 Pineville, Ky.
11	Cannelburg, Ind.	1485	19 Glen Mary, Tenn.
11	New Goshen, Ind.	3031	19 Kensee, Ky.
14	Mindenmines, Mo.		
14	Oskaloosa, Mo.		

Organized.			Abandoned.	
L. U.	Dist.	Location.		
1894	15	Pinnacle, Colo.		
2189	15	Pyrolite, Colo.		
2224	15	Gibson, N. M.		
2395	15	Gallup, N. M.		
2662	15	Gallup, N. M.		
2663	15	Gibson, N. M.		
3020	15	Oak Hill, Colo.		
3023	15	McGregor, Colo.		
3028	15	Curtis, Colo.		
3030	15	Mt. Harris, Colo.		
3040	15	Sopris, Colo.		
3043	15	Coalview, Colo.		
3045	15	Bear River, Colo.		
3051	15	Mt. Harris, Colo.		
2161	17	Brydon, W. Va.		
2291	17	Ivaton, W. Va.		
2311	17	Flemington, W. Va.		
2321	17	Sullivan, W. Va.		
2344	17	Nabob, W. Va.		
2348	17	Vaughan, W. Va.		
2429	17	Bream, W. Va.		
2445	17	Carbon, W. Va.		
2456	17	Stanaford, W. Va.		
2639	17	Cranberry, W. Va.		
2052	19	Cary, Ky.		
2146	21	Blanco, Okla.		
2214	23	Mannington, Ky.		

MAY.

Organized.			Abandoned.	
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist. Location.
2370	2	Marion Center, Pa.	3016	15 Walsenburg, Colo.
2956	2	Smith Mills, Pa.		
2965	2	Ferring Run, Pa.		
3089	2	Beccaria, Pa.		
3163	2	Macdonaldton, Pa.		
3168	2	Macdonaldton, Pa.		

Organized.		Abandoned.
Dist.	Location.	
2	Boardman, Pa.	
5	Pa.	
5	North West, Pa.	
5	W. Va.	
5	Banning, Pa.	
5	Apollo, Pa.	
5	Leechburg, Pa.	
5	Pine Run, Pa.	
5	Shenley, Pa.	
5		
5		
5	Van Meter, Pa.	
5	Apollo, Pa.	
5	Avonmore, Pa.	
5	Wallville, Pa.	
5	Leechburg, Pa.	
6	Carbon Hill, Ohio.	
6	Germano, Ohio.	
6	Drakes, Ohio.	
6	Kimberly, Ohio.	
6	Coalgate, Ohio.	
6	Dillonvale, Ohio.	
6	Jobs, Ohio.	
6	Kimberly, Ohio.	
6	Wellston, Ohio.	
6	Lore City, Ohio.	
6	Moxahala, Ohio.	
6	Sand Run, Ohio.	
6	Klee, Ohio.	
8	Coal City, Ind.	
8	Carbon, Ind.	
10	Melmont, Wash.	
11	,	
11	Linton, Ind.	
11	Jasonville, Ind.	
11	Cannelburg, Ind.	
12	Greenridge, Ill.	
9-M Pro.		

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L. U.	Dist.	Location.	
3160	12	Sesser, Ill.	
3008	15	Leyden, Colo.	21 2 11 37 4 103
3006	15	Haybro, Colo.	
3008	15	Walsenburg, Colo.	
3010	15	Segundo, Colo.	
3012	15	Forbes, Colo.	
3014	15	Strong, Colo.	
3033	15	Pryor, Colo.	
2964	17	Winona, W. Va.	
2968	17	Minden, W. Va.	
2974	17	Hawksnest, W. Va.	
2980	17	Pemberton, W. Va.	
2981	17	Winifrede, W. Va.	
3117	17	Dunloop, W. Va.	
3171	17	Clifton, W. Va.	
3172	17	Kilsyth, W. Va.	
3173	17	Perryville, W. Va.	
3183	17	Derryhalc, W. Va.	
3184	17	Tunnelton, W. Va.	
2615	18	Olyphant, Munson, Alta.	
2655	18	Mountain Park, Alta.	
2949	18	Coalspur, Alta., Can.	
3170	18	Pocahontas, Alta., Can.	
2517	19	Elys, Ky.	
2572	19	Coalmont, Tenn.	
2673	19	Tracy City, Tenn.	
2687	19	Meldrum, Ky.	
2884	19	Briceville, Tenn.	
2914	19	Gravity, Ky.	
2925	19	Bosworth, Ky.	
2929	19	Logmont, Ky.	
2983	19	Chenoa, Ky.	
2984	19	Cupp, Tenn.	
2992	19	Williamsburg, Ky.	
2995	19	Straight Creek, Ky.	
2997	19	Tinsley, Ky.	
3161	19	Hollingsworth, Ky.	

Organized.		Abandoned.
Dist.	Location.	
19	Manring, Ky.	
19	Coal Creek, Tenn.	
19	Bryson, Tenn.	
19	Kensee, Ky.	
19	Rim, Ky.	
19	Shamrock, Ky.	
21	Clarksville, Ark.	
23	Clay, Ky.	
23	Wheatcroft, Ky.	
23	Madisonville, Ky.	
23	Madisonville, Ky.	
23	Deaneville, Ky.	
24	St. Charles, Mich.	
24	Saginaw, Mich.	

JUNE.

Organized.		Abandoned.	
Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist. Location.
2	Punxsutawney, Pa.	1443	2 Johnstown, Pa.
5	Avonmore, Pa.	1259	6 Buchtel, Ohio.
6	Carbon Hill, Ohio.	2031	6 Carbon Hill, Ohio.
6	Murray, Ohio.	2417	6, Murray, Ohio.
6	McCuneville, Ohio.	2531	6 Cadiz, Ohio.
6	Elm Grove, W. Va.	2666	6 Wheeling, W. Va.
6	Triadelphia, W. Va.	2372	15 Trinidad, Colo.
6	McMechen, W. Va.	3094	15 Trinidad, Colo.
6	Powhatan Point, Ohio.	2754	23 Waverly, Ky.
6	S. Zanesville, Ohio.		
6	Carbon Hill, Ohio.		
6	Hocking, Ohio.		
6	Barton, Ohio.		
7	McAdoo, Pa.		
7	McAdoo, Pa.		
7	Zehner, Pa.		
10	Fairfax, Wash.		
11	Shelburn, Ind.		
11	Montgomery, Ind.		

Organized.			Abandoned.
L. U.	Dist.	Location.	
3192	12	Johnston City, Ill.	
3221	12	Pittsburg, Ill.	
3222	12	Danville, Ill.	
3313	12	Ill.	
3317	12	Tallula, Ill.	
3281	18	Olmitz, Iowa.	
3017	14		
3038	15	Cameron, Colo.	
3052	15	Primero, Colo.	
3053	15		
3216	15	Gallup, N. M.	
3227	15	Los Cervillos, N. M.	
3194	17	Scarbrough, W. Va.	
3196	17	Red Star, W. Va.	
3197	17	Sun, W. Va.	
3198	17	McDonald, W. Va.	
3203	17	Glen Jean, W. Va.	
3204	17	Keeney Creek, W. Va.	
3205	17	Tamroy, W. Va.	
3207	17	Affinity, W. Va.	
3208	17	Vanetta, W. Va.	
3212	17	Stanaford, W. Va.	
3213	17	Skelton, W. Va.	
3217	17	Fire Creek, W. Va.	
3218	17	Ottawa, W. Va.	
3219	17	Tunnelton, W. Va.	
3220	17	Herberton, W. Va.	
3242	17	Lanark, W. Va.	
3243	17	Glen White, W. Va.	
3247	17	Raleigh, W. Va.	
3248	17	Blue Jay, W. Va.	
3253	17	Clift Tape, W. Va.	
3254	17	Summerlee, W. Va.	
3282	17	Oswald, W. Va.	
3283	17	Long Branch, W. Va.	
3288	17	Independence, W. Va.	
3291	17	Big Stick, W. Va.	

Organized.		Abandoned.
Dist.	Location.	
17	Greenview, W. Va.	
17	Clothier, W. Va.	
17	Bower, W. Va.	
17	Gilmer, W. Va.	
17	Tunnelton, W. Va.	
17	McAlpine, W. Va.	
17	Stonewall, W. Va.	
18	Lovett, Alta., Can.	
19	Hartcroft, Ky.	
19	Fork Ridge, Tenn.	
19	Westbourne, Tenn.	
19	Duff, Tenn.	
19	Harlan, Ky.	
19	Ages, Ky.	
19	Harlan, Ky.	
19	Fork Ridge, Tenn.	
19	Ky.	
19	Gravity, Ky.	
19		
19	Newcomb, Tenn.	
19	Mountain Ash, Ky.	
19	Trosper, Ky.	
19	Blanche, Ky.	
19	Kettle Island, Ky.	
19	Peabody, Ky.	
19		
19	Tenn.	
19	Caryville, Tenn.	
19	Morley, Tenn.	
19	Shamrock, Ky.	
19	Nebo, Ky.	
19	Kentonia, Ky.	
20	Piper, Ala.	
20	Altoona, Ala.	
20	Bessemer, Ala.	
20	Straven, Ala.	
20	Maylene, Ala.	

Organized.			Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
3226	20	Straven, Ala.	
3233	20	W. Blocton, Ala.	
3234	20	Blocton, Ala.	
3235	20	Hargrove, Ala.	
3236	20	Birmingham, Ala.	
3237	20	Wylam, Ala.	
3238	20	Pratt City, Ala.	
3239	20	Maylene, Ala.	
3240	20	Helena, Ala.	
3245	20	Blocton, Ala.	
3246	20	Adger, Ala.	
3255	20	Birmingham, Ala.	
3266	20	Sayre, Ala.	
3267	20	Cardiff, Ala.	
3268	20	Cardiff, Ala.	
3269	20	Coalburg, Ala.	
3270	20	Brookside, Ala.	
3271	20	Brookside, Ala.	
3272	20	Blossburg, Ala.	
3273	20	Walatov, Ala.	
3274	20	Blocton, Ala.	
3275	20	Marvel, Ala.	
3276	20	Belle Ellen, Ala.	
3277	20	Belle Ellen, Ala.	
3278	20	Garnsey, Ala.	
3279	20	Adamsville, Ala.	
3280	20	Republic, Ala.	
3285	20	Beltona, Ala.	
3286	20	Warrior, Ala.	
3287	20	Kimberly, Ala.	
3294	20	Yolande, Ala.	
3296	20	Rock Castle, Ala.	
3305	20	Carbon Hill, Ala.	
3306	20	Kansas, Ala.	
3307	20	Empire, Ala.	
3308	20	Dora, Ala.	
3309	20	Sammet, Ala.	

Organized.		Abandoned.
Dist.	Location.	
20	Muega, Ala.	
20	Red Star, Ala.	
21	Morris, Okla.	
21	Tulsa, Okla.	
21	Greenwood, Ark.	
23	Spottsville, Ky.	
24	Saginaw, Mich.	

JULY

Organized.		Abandoned.	
Dist.	Location.	L.U.	Dist. Location.
2	Punxsutawney, Pa.	2305	2 Boardman, Pa.
2	Boardman, Pa.	3087	2 Coupon, Pa.
2	Black Lick, Pa.	451	21 Coalgate, Okla.
2	Homer City, Pa.	2131	21 Wilburton, Okla.
2	Johnstown, Pa.	2518	21 Adamson, Okla.
2	Coalville, Pa.	2769	21 Hartford, Ark.
5	McDonald, Pa.	2834	21 Loving, Ark.
5	Yukon, Pa.		
5	Yukon, Pa.		
5	Yukon, Pa.		
5	Penns Station, Pa.		
5	Edna, Pa.		
5	Edna, Pa.		
5	Erwin, Pa.		
5	Harmony, Pa.		
5	Harmony, Pa.		
5	Ellsworth, Pa.		
5	Valley Camp, Pa.		
5	McDonald, Pa.		
6	Cheshire, Ohio.		
6	Stillwater, Ohio.		
6	Nelsonville, Ohio.		
6	Brilliant, Ohio.		
6	Wellston, Ohio.		
6	Highland City, Ohio.		
6	Crescent, Ohio.		

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
3443	6	Bowerton, Ohio.	
3444	6	Sherodsville, Ohio.	
3445	6	Nineveh, Ohio.	
3457	6	Shawnee, Ohio.	
3369	6	Wellsburg, W. Va.	
3458	10	Renton, Wash.	
3331	11	Boonville, Ind.	
3363	11	Winslow, Ind.	
3383	11	Petersburg, Ind.	
3384	11	Ind.	
3426	11		
3353	12	Ledford, Ill.	
3447	12	Raleigh, Ill.	
3459	12	Milwood, Ill.	
3462	14	Mulberry, Kans.	
3322	14	Liberal, Mo.	
3453	14	Arcadia, Kans.	
3332	15	Tabasco, Colo.	
3333	15	Gallup, N. M.	
3351	15	Rapson, Colo.	
3393	15	Aguilar, Colo.	
3430	15	Helper, Utah.	
3334	16	Davis, W. Va.	
3335	16	Shaft, Md.	
3336	16	Benbush, W. Va.	
3337	16	Pierce, W. Va.	
3437	16	Collier, W. Va.	
3362	16	. Va.	
3352	17	Va.	
3419	17	Braxton, W. Va.	
3420	17	Mason City, W. Va.	
3421	17	Gilmer, W. Va.	
3435	17	W. Va.	
3449	17	Riverside, W. Va.	
3451	17	Grape Creek, W. Va.	
3450	17	Flemington, W. Va.	
3323	19	Balkan, Ky.	

		Organized.	Abandoned.
. Dist.		Location.	
0	19	Vanilla, Ky.	
1	19	Conar, Ky.	
2	19	Arjay, Ky.	
3	19	Wofford, Ky.	
4	19	Jellico, Tenn.	
5	19	Chaska, Tenn.	
7	19	Gatliff, Ky.	
8	19		
1	19	Ingram, Ky.	
7	19	Wallins Creek, Ky.	
8	19	Hosman, Ky.	
1	19	Wilton, Ky.	
7	19	Redash, Ky.	
9	19	Tinsley, Ky.	
0	19	Belljellico, Ky.	
1	19	White Star, Ky.	
2	19	Meldrum, Ky.	
3	19	Clairfield, Tenn.	
	19	Pleasant View, Ky.	
	19	Burchfield, Ky.	
	19	Poor Fork, Ky.	
	19	Benham, Ky.	
	19	Ky.	
	19	Wallins Creek, Ky.	
	19	Henderson, Ky.	
	19	Williamsburg, Ky.	
	20	Prospect, Ala.	
	20	Palos, Ala.	
	20	Maben, Ala.	
	20	Cordona, Ala.	
	20	Benoit, Ala.	
	20	America, Ala.	
	20	Parish, Ala.	
	20	Porter, Ala.	
	20	Warrior, Ala.	
	20	Morris, Ala.	
	20	Trafford, Ala.	

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
3358	20	Pinson, Ala.	
3359	20	Quinton, Ala.	
3360	20	Quinton, Ala.	
3361	20	Adamsville, Ala.	
3364	20	Quinton, Ala.	
3372	20	Searls, Ala.	
3373	20	Brookwood, Ala.	
3374	20	Kellerman, Ala.	
3375	20	Oakman, Ala.	
3376	20	Oakman, Ala.	
3379	20	Birmingham, Ala.	
3380	20	Crocker, Ala.	
3388	20	Ensley, Ala.	
3395	20	Gamble Mines, Ala.	
3408	20	Bessemer, Ala.	
3409	20	New Castle, Ala.	
3410	20	National Bridge, Ala.	
3411	20	Jasper, Ala.	
3412	20	Jasper, Ala.	
3413	20	Bankhead, Ala.	
3414	20	Oakman, Ala.	
3415	20	Corona, Ala.	
3416	20	Patton, Ala.	
3417	20	Nauvoo, Ala.	
3418	20	Barney, Ala.	
3427	20	Natural Bridge, Ala.	
3428	20	Empire, Ala.	
3429	20	Corona, Ala.	
3430	20	Underwood, Ala.	
3431	20	Burnwell, Ala.	
3454	20	Empire, Ala.	
3455	20	Trafford, Ala.	
3425	21	Craig, Okla.	
3448	24	Jackson, Mich.	
3450	25	Wellington, Mo.	
3460	29	Lochgelly, W. Va.	

AUGUST.

Organized.		Abandoned.	
Dist.	Location.	L.U. Dist.	Location.
2	Kearney, Pa.	1622 15	Rapson, Colo.
2	Gallitzin, Pa.		
2	Rossiter, Pa.		
5	Russellton, Pa.		
5	Logansport, Pa.		
5	Natrona, Pa.		
5	Midway, Pa.		
6	Morgan Run, Ohio		
6	Dennison, Ohio.		
6	Bellaire, Ohio.		
6	Short Creek, W. Va.		
6	Rendville, Ohio.		
6	Yorkville, Ohio.		
6	Joyce, Ohio.		
6	Joyce, Ohio.		
6	Moundsville, W. Va.		
6	Cambridge, Ohio.		
6	Coshocton, Ohio.		
6	Ironton, Ohio.		
6	Warwood, W. Va.		
6	Baileys Mills, Ohio.		
6	Bellaire, Ohio.		
9	Shenandoah, Pa.		
9	Shenandoah, Pa.		
9	Shenandoah, Pa. *		
11	Staunton, Ind.		
11	Staunton, Ind.		
11	Brazil, Ind.		
11	Clinton, Ind.		
12	DeSoto, Ill.		
12	Astoria, Ill.		
12	Springfield, Ill.		
14	Rich Hill, Mo.		
14	Mulberry, Kans.		
15	Delcarbon, Colo.		

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
3518	15	Rugby, Colo.	
3527	15	Gallup, N. M.	
3471	17	Quincy, W. Va.	
3472	17	Riverview, W. Va.	
3505	17	Shrewsbury, W. Va.	
3508	17	Olcott, W. Va.	
3511	17	Miami, W. Va.	
3512	17	Copen, W. Va.	
3532	17	Rosemont, W. Va.	
3468	19	Cupp, Tenn.	
3469	19	Varilla, Ky.	
3481	19	Jellico, Tenn.	
3486	19	Grays, Ky.	
3487	19		
3491	19	3491	
3496	19	White Star, Ky.	
3497	19	Polleyton, Ky.	
3498	19	Dale, Ky.	
3501	19	Elk Valley, Tenn.	
3509	19	Tatesville, Tenn.	
3525	19	Rockford, Ky.	
3528	19	Miracle, Ky.	
3529	19	Wallins Creek, Ky.	
3476	20	Lynn, Ala.	
3477	20	Argo, Ala.	
3499	20	Quinton, Ala.	
3500	20	Inland, Ala.	
3515	20	Brilliant, Ala.	
3475	21	Scranton, Ark.	
3414	23	Hawesville, Ky.	
3530	24	Bay City, Mich.	
3531	24	St. Charles, Mich.	
3478	27		
3466	29	Bower, W. Va.	
3474	29	Ballengee, W. Va.	
3502	29	S. Nuttal, W. Va.	

		Organized.	Abandoned.
. Dist.		Location.	
3	29	Sugar Camp, W. Va.	
4	29	Boone, W. Va.	
7	29	Fire Creek, W. Va.	
6	29	Hemlock, W. Va.	

SEPTEMBER.

		Organized.			Abandoned.
I. Dist.		Location.	L.U. Dist.		Location.
8	2	McIntyre, Pa.	1847	25	Connellsville, Mo.
9	2	Aultman, Pa.			
6	6	Glendale, W. Va.			
7	6	Moundsville, W. Va.			
8	6	Wellston, Ohio.			
9	6	Old Floodwood, Ohio.			
0	6	Snake Hollow, Ohio.			
1	6	Haydenville, Ohio.			
6	6	Glen Roy, Ohio.			
7	6	Moundsville, W. Va.			
0	6	Tiltonville, Ohio.			
0	6	Wellston, Ohio.			
7	6	E. Liverpool, Ohio.			
1	6	Lisbon, Ohio.			
8	6	Cambridge, Ohio.			
9	6	Pedro, Ohio.			
2	6	Ludington, Ohio.			
2	6	Smithfield, Ohio.			
6	6	New Floodwood, Ohio.			
5	8	Salina City, Ind.			
1	9	Pottsville, Pa.			
2	11	W. Terre Haute, Ind.			
3	11	Blanford, Ind.			
6	11	Jasonville, Ind.			
7	11	Petersburg, Ind.			
0	11	Midland, Ind.			
2	11	Clinton, Ind.			
8	11	Washington, Ind.			
4	11	Terre Haute, Ind.			

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
8589	11	Seelyville, Ind.	
8542	12	Marion, Ill.	
8543	12	Benton, Ill.	
8554	12	Bissell, Ill.	
8586	12	Mascoutah, Ill.	
8571	13	Ft. Dodge, Iowa.	
8571	13	Sheriff, Iowa.	
8563	14	Mulberry, Kans.	
8565	14	Mulberry, Kans.	
8595	14	Garland, Kans.	
8572	15	Pictou, Colo.	
8558	17	Boomer, W. Va.	
8569	17	Julian, W. Va.	
8574	17	Julian, W. Va.	
8587	17	Krebs, W. Va.	
8588	17	Coal Bloom, W. Va.	
8576	18	Rosedale, Alta., Can.	
8580	19	Molus, Ky.	
8581	19	Hulen, Ky.	
8585	19	Caryville, Tenn.	
8591	19	Turley, Tenn.	
8594	19	Anthraa, Tenn.	
8555	21	Okla.	
8573	22	Superior, Wyo.	
8584	22	Beaver Dam, Ky.	
8544	23	Beechcreek, Ky.	
8577	23	Yost, Ky.	
8583	23	Owensboro, Ky.	
8590	23	Owensboro, Ky.	
8574	27	Klein, Mont.	
8545	29	Kaymont, W. Va.	
8540	29	Laurel Creek, W. Va.	
8560	29	Slab Fork, W. Va.	

OCTOBER

Organized.		Abandoned.	
Dist.	Location.	L.U. Dist.	Location.
8	1 Moosic, Pa.	1459	2 Bracken, Pa.
17	2 Six Mile Run, Pa.	1433	6 New Straitsville, Ohio.
26	2 Osceola Mills, Pa.	1999	9 Minersville, Pa.
30	5 S. Burgettstown, Pa.	2432	9 Kuska, Pa.
06	5 Salina, Pa.	2713	9 Shenandoah, Pa.
18	5 Centerville, Borough, Pa.		
25	6 Bridgeville, Pa.		
19	5 Dunlevy, Pa.		
31	6 Coalton, Ohio.		
7	6 New Philadelphia, Ohio.		
2	6 Wellston, Ohio.		
8	6 Monkey Hollow, Ohio.		
1	6 Cambridge, Ohio.		
4	6 Hawks, Ohio.		
0	6 Steel, Ohio.		
1	6 Harrisville, Ohio.		
2	6 Bellaire, Ohio.		
9	6 Sand Run, Ohio.		
1	6 Neffs, Ohio.		
2	6 Doanville, Ohio.		
4	6 Minersville, Ohio.		
5	8 Jessup, Ind.		
20	9 Tamaqua, Pa.		
4	11 Brazil, Ind.		
4	11 Dugger, Ind.		
23	11 Hymera, Ind.		
24	11 Oakland City, Ind.		
53	11 Linton, Ind.		
56	11 Linton, Ind.		
57	11 Cloverland, Ind.		
58	11 Hymera, Ind.		
13	12 Valier, Ill.		
21	12 O'Fallon, Ill.		
47	12 St. Johns, Ill.		
62	12 Hillery, Ill.		

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
3664	12	Auburn, Ill.	
3601	13	Des Moines, Iowa.	
3656	13	Des Moines, Iowa.	
3602	14	Mo.	
3669	14	Pittsburg, Kans.	
3608	15	Cokedale, Colo.	
3599	17	MacNeer, W. Va.	
3610	17	Javins, W. Va.	
3611	17	Brounland, W. Va.	
3635	17	Belle, W. Va.	
3636	17	Garnett, W. Va.	
3637	17	Vaughan, W. Va.	
3639	17	Blair, W. Va.	
3657	17	Charleston, W. Va.	
3660	17	Grump Hollow, W. Va.	
3627	17	Standard, W. Va.	
3597	19	Shamrock, Ky.	
3609	19	Cupp, Tenn.	
3615	19	Pruden, Tenn.	
3619	19	Ralston, Ky.	
3632	19		
3642	19	Caryville, Tenn.	
3643	19	Caryville, Tenn.	
3644	19	Vasper, Tenn.	
3645	19	Caryville, Tenn.	
3646	19	Block, Tenn.	
3650	19	Caxton, Ky.	
3651	19	Kitts, Ky.	
3670	19	Fonde, Ky.	
3630	21	Montreal, Ark.	
3603	22	Point of Rock, Wyo.	
3616	23	Depoy, Ky.	
3658	24	Island, Ky.	
3605	24		
3598	27	N. D.	
3663	27	D.	
3612	29	Export, W. Va.	

Organized.		Abandoned.
Dist.	Location.	
29	Big Q, W. Va.	
29	Price, W. Va.	
29	Surveyor, W. Va.	
29	Mt. Hope, W. Va.	
29	Rush Run, W. Va.	

NOVEMBER.

Organized.		Abandoned.	
Dist.	Location.	L.U. Dist.	Location.
2	Tide Dale, Pa.	2865 29	Ridgeview, W. Va.
2	Luncinsboro, Pa.		
2	Pardus, Pa.		
5	Saltsburg, Pa.		
5	Crafton, Pa.		
5	Pa.		
5	Fair Haven, Pa.		
5	Freeport, Pa.		
5	Edgecliff, Pa.		
6	Cambridge, Ohio.		
6	McLuney, Ohio.		
6	Roseville, Ohio.		
6	Irondale, Ohio.		
6	Wellsburg, W. Va.		
6	South Zanesville, Ohio.		
6	Byesville, Ohio.		
6	Washingtonville, Ohio.		
6	Wellston, Ohio.		
6	Wheeling, W. Va.		
6	Germano, Ohio.		
6	Neffs, Ohio.		
6	Moxahala, Ohio.		
6	Hammondsville, Ohio.		
6	Smithfield, Ohio.		
6	Piney Fork, Ohio.		
10	Ladd, Wash.		
10	Kopiah, Wash.		
11	Terre Haute, Ind.		

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
3686	11	Washington, Ind.	
3689	11	Linton, Ind.	
3692	11	Farmersburg, Ind.	
3712	11		
3684	12	Bryant, Ill.	
3703	12	Elkville, Ill.	
3710	12	Stonefort, Ill.	
3731	12	Pittsburg, Ill.	
3685	13	Lovilia, Iowa.	
3682	14		
3696	14		
3742	14	Mo.	
3694	15	Lester, Colo.	
3713	15	Wootton, Colo.	
3741	16	Shaw, W. Va.	
3723	17	Dana, W. Va.	
3724	17	Charleston, W. Va.	
3725	17	Sand Lick, W. Va.	
3732	17	Big Chimney, W. Va.	
3734	17	. Va.	
3739	17	Marmet, W. Va.	
3740	17	Ramage, W. Va.	
3687	19	Blanche, Ky.	
3697	19	Harlan, Ky.	
3698	19	Harlan, Ky.	
3699	19	Harlan, Ky.	
3700	19	Krob, Ky.	
3701	19	Glomaur, Ky.	
3705	19	Ages, Ky.	
3714	19	Balkan, Ky.	
3718	19	Jellico, Tenn.	
3727	19	Elys, Ky.	
3738	19	Trosper, Ky.	
3735	19	Ralston, Ky.	
3743	19	Kay, Ky.	
3744	19	Hartranft, Tenn.	
3745	19	Straight Creek, Ky.	

		Organized.	Abandoned.
L.U.	Dist.	Location.	
3746	19	Pineville, Ky.	
3675	21	Gowen, Okla.	
3688	23	Owensboro, Ky.	
3702	29	Meadow Fork, W. Va.	
3722	29	Meadow River, W. Va.	
3733	29	Sewell, W. Va.	
2747	29	Royal, W. Va.	

Total number organized during fiscal year ending November 30, 1917, 807.

Total number abandoned during fiscal year ending November 30, 1917, 102.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL AUDITORS.

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 15, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-Sixth Consecutive and the Third Biennial Convention of the International United Mine Workers of America, in Convention here assembled:

We, the undersigned Auditors of the International United Mine Workers of America, have examined the books and accounts of the International Secretary-Treasurer, Wm. Green, for the year commencing December 1, 1916, and ending at the close of business November 30, 1917, and we beg leave to submit our findings for your consideration.

INCOME.

Tax	\$1,102,142.85
Supplies	17,557.50
Journal	28,143.93
Ludlow	6,087.53
Strike Donation	60,800.44
Assessment	528,111.09
Miscellaneous	16,934.00
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Total	\$1,759,727.34

EXPENDITURES.

Salary and Expenses	\$ 377,662.86
Supplies	15,182.03
Office Expenses	9,469.15

Printing	8,451.59
Journal	66,014.40
Telephone, Postage and Express.....	9,920.43
Aid District No. 2.....	\$ 23,000.00
Aid District No. 5.....	58,000.00
Aid District No. 15.....	66,850.00
Aid District No. 16—Wm. Diamond, Agent.....	700.00
Aid District No. 17.....	3,600.00
Aid District No. 19.....	252,125.00
Aid District No. 20.....	108,400.00
Aid District No. 23.....	9,523.75
Aid District No. 23—Geo. Hargrove, Hopkins Co. Agt.	120,500.00
Individual Aid	810.50—\$ 643,509.25
Loan returned to District No. 1.....	55,000.00
Loan returned to District No. 5.....	60,000.00
Loan returned to District No. 9.....	45,000.00
Loan returned to District No. 12.....	250,000.00
Loan returned to District No. 13.....	61,040.00
Loan returned to District No. 14.....	52,238.00
Loan returned to District No. 21.....	60,000.00
Loan returned to District No. 22.....	55,000.00
Loan returned to District No. 25.....	30,744.00
Loan returned to District No. 27.....	12,860.00
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	\$ 681,882.00
Traveling Auditor District No. 1.....	\$ 1,899.36
Traveling Auditor District No. 2.....	1,016.40
Traveling Auditor District No. 5.....	2,741.72
Traveling Auditor District No. 6.....	1,887.34
Traveling Auditor District No. 7.....	802.94
Traveling Auditor District No. 8.....	199.70
Traveling Auditor District No. 9.....	1,699.22
Traveling Auditor District No. 10.....	393.10
Traveling Auditor District No. 11.....	970.89
Traveling Auditor District No. 12.....	4,035.62
Traveling Auditor District No. 13.....	836.10
Traveling Auditor District No. 14.....	1,180.92

auditor District No. 17.....	153.59	
auditor District No. 21.....	1,451.85	
auditor District No. 22.....	1,394.72	
auditor District No. 23.....	660.20	
auditor District No. 24.....	143.98	
auditor District No. 25.....	953.82	
auditor District No. 27.....	580.21—	23,001.68
merican Federation of Labor.....	31,679.06	
ng Dept. A. F. of L.....	4,037.92	
es and Labor Congress of Canada.....	871.02	
ampbell, attorneys.....	1,000.00	
oe, attorney.....	200.00	
;, attorney.....	250.00	
st, attorney.....	200.00	
lawkins, attorney.....	20,288.62	
ntgomery, attorney.....	1,116.50	
rg, attorney.....	253.00	
mer, Legal Advisor.....	463.00	
arrie, attorney	312.50	
rum, attorney	17,415.00	
Secy., Dist. 21—Expenses of litigation...	8,722.85	
pin, Acting Secy. Dist. 15—Expenses....	4,000.00	
pin, Act. Secy. Dist. 15—Joint Conference	2,000.00	
pin—Victims of Hastings, Col.; explosion.	2,000.00	
;, Secy., Dist. 18—Explosion victims....	1,000.00	
y, Secy., Jos. A. Holmes Safety Assn....	1,000.00	
y, Secy. Dist. 14—Explosion victims....	1,000.00	
non, Industrial Relations Commission...	1,000.00	
, Secy. Dist. 25—Witness in Alex Howat		
.....	250.00	
ndrew, Secy., litigation.....	500.00	
r Defense	500.00	
an, libel suits.....	1,000.00	
rly, for relief of men deported from Gal-		
M.	400.00	
bonds furnished.....	280.00	

Ed. S. Moore, premium on 26 appeal bonds, Alabama strike	235.00	
R. C. Smith, forfeiture of bond.....	772.30	
Hugh Sullivan, one-half contract price for erection of Ludlow Monument.....	3,250.00	
Traveling Auditors' special meeting held in Indianapolis, July, 1917	2,409.58	
Donation Red Cross War Fund.....	200.00	
Jas. Moran, Pres. Dist. 15, for settlement in full with Mrs. Haffemeyer	300.00	
Andrew Churchman, Vice-Pres., Sub-Dist. 1, Dist. 7..	1,256.94	
Chris. Evans, Committee on History of Mine Workers	1,603.75	
D. H. Sullivan, Com. on History of Mine Workers..	864.65	
Sam Pascoe	872.84	
Robt. Osborne, Special Auditor	696.02	
Frank Hughes, expenses in Irvine Field.....	300.00	
Branch Office No. 1—Trinidad, Colo.....	1,650.00	
J. V. Poag, expenses Madisonville office.....	125.04	
Colo. Sanitarium expenses for Louis Zancanelli.....	351.37	
The Misses Beatty, reporting special Convention District 5	300.00	
Harry A. Couch, reporting joint Convention Dist. 17.	235.00	
Jos. Poggiani, expenses Organization work.....	846.02	
Miscellaneous	26,757.33	\$ 144,768
Total		<u>\$1,966,998</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand December 1, 1916.....	\$ 417,018.
Income from December 1, 1916, to December 1, 1917.....	1,759,727.
Total	<u>\$2,176,746.</u>
Expenditures December 1, 1916, to December 1, 1917.....	1,966,998.
Balance on hand December 1, 1917.....	<u>\$ 209,747 -</u>

BANK STATEMENTS.**Des Moines, Iowa, December 18, 1917.****John J. Mossop, Albert Neutzling, T. G. Morgan,****International United Mine Workers of America:****Members—This is to certify that the International United
Mine Workers of America had on deposit with the Des Moines
Bank at the close of business November 30, 1917, the sum****.....\$25,000.00****Very truly yours,****J. A. CAVANAUGH, Vice-President.****Birmingham, Ala., December 31, 1917.****John J. Mossop, Albert Neutzling, T. G. Morgan,****International United Mine Workers of America:****Members—This is to certify that on November 30 the books of the
Birmingham Trust & Savings Company showed as follows:****Savings account, showing deposit of \$5,000.00 under date of August
subject to the order of the United States Fidelity & Guaranty Co.,
their local agent, Mr. Ed. S. Moore, attorney in fact.****date of deposit No. 6176, dated August 18, 1917, for \$5,000, pay-
order of the United States Fidelity & Guaranty Co., through Mr.
Moore, attorney in fact.****date of deposit No. 6078, dated August 25, 1917, for \$10,000, pay-
order of the United States Fidelity & Guaranty Co., through Mr.
Moore, attorney in fact.****The above funds were received and deposited as above indicated,
on instructions from the local representatives of the United Mine Work-
ers of America.****Very truly,****BIRMINGHAM TRUST & SAVINGS CO.,****By W. H. MANLY, Cashier.****Scranton, Pa., December 19, 1917.****John J. Mossop, Albert Neutzling, T. G. Morgan,****International United Mine Workers of America:****Members—This is to certify that the International United
Mine Workers of America had on deposit with the County Savings**

Bank, Scranton, Pa., at the close of business November 30, 1917,
the sum of.....\$10,000.00

Very truly yours,

W. M. RUTH, Cashier.

Coshocton, Ohio, December 19, 1917.

Messrs. John J. Mossop, Albert Neutzling, T. G. Morgan,

Auditors United Mine Workers of America:

Gentlemen—This is to certify that the International United Mine Workers of America had on deposit with the Central Bank of Coshocton, Ohio, at the close of business November 30, 1917, the sum of\$10,000.00

Very truly yours,

CARL MCGINNIS, Cashier.

United States Liberty Bonds.....\$10,000.00

Wheeling, West Virginia, December 21, 1917.

Messrs. John J. Mossop, Albert Neutzling, T. G. Morgan,

Auditors United Mine Workers of America:

Gentlemen—This is to certify that the International Department of the United Mine Workers of America had on deposit with the Wellaburg National Bank at the close of business November 30, 1917, the sum of \$3,000.00, which sum has been up until December 18, 1916, subject to the check of John C. Palmer, Jr., special commissioner given to the United States Fidelity & Guaranty Company at Baltimore, Md., as collateral for the bond of Frank Ledvinks. This sum having been released from the aforementioned check was deposited in the attorney's account of Erskine, Palmer & Curl, of which firm I am a member, in the City Bank of Wheeling, W. Va., and is held by said firm of Erskine, Palmer & Curl, subject to the order of the International Department of the United Mine Workers of America\$3,000.00

Very truly yours,

JOHN C. PALMER, Jr.

Statements on file show the following amounts on deposit in Colorado banks:

Louisville Bank	\$ 6,303.60
Lafayette Bank & Trust Company.....	46,565.50
Erie Bank	4,712.25

Indianapolis, Indiana, December 27, 1917.

Messrs. John J. Mossop, Albert Neutzling, T. G. Morgan,
Auditors United Mine Workers of America:

Gentlemen—This is to certify that the International United Mine Workers of America had on deposit with the Indiana National Bank at the close of business November 30, 1917, the sum of.....\$93,732.19
Strike Fund 8,386.62

Yours very truly,
ANDREW SMITH, Vice-President.

Total amount on deposit\$237,700.16
Outstanding checks 27,952.61

Balance on hand December 1, 1917.....\$209,747.55

The following shows the loans received by the International organization from various districts during the former strikes which are still unpaid:

District No. 1.....\$ 25,000.00
District No. 7..... 5,000.00
District No. 11..... 25,000.00
District No. 13..... 13,960.00
District No. 14..... 72,762.00
District No. 22..... 30,000.00
District No. 25..... 9,256.00

Total loans by National still unpaid.....\$180,978.00
Total balance on hand.....\$ 28,769.05

JOURNAL.

From July 15, 1917, to December 1, 1917:

INCOME.

Loans from Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer.....\$ 4,000.00
Advertising 11,306.77
Subscriptions 7,981.27
Miscellaneous 22.48
Total\$23,310.52

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries, business office	\$ 1,193.
Salaries and expenses, editorial	3,084.
Miscl. printing, office supplies, telegrams, etc.....	164.
Postage, business office	62
Postage, mailing Journal	1,118
Advertising commission	1,805
Miscellaneous expense	48
Circulation commission paid where agents sent full subscription price	228
Paper for Journal	8,678.
Printing Journal	4,923.
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Total	\$21,308.
Balance cash on hand November 30, 1917.....	\$ 2,002.
Outstanding checks	209.
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Total amount on deposit	\$ 2,211.

Indianapolis, Indiana, December 27, 1917.

Messrs. John J. Mossop, Albert Neutzling, T. G. Morgan,
Auditors, United Mine Workers of America:

Gentlemen—This is to certify that the United Mine Workers
Journal, John L. Lewis, Manager, had on deposit with the Indiana
National Bank at the close of business November 30, 1917, the
sum of\$2,211.

Yours very truly,

ANDREW SMITH, Vice-President.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MOSSOP,
ALBERT NEUTZLING,
T. G. MORGAN,

International Auditors, U. M. W. of A.

District No. and Location.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1 Pennsylvania	30,491	22,624½	21,434½	28,536½	23,266	29,954½	29,190½	21,454	21,658	23,750½	27,550	23,624
2 Pennsylvania	32,521½	38,406	37,324	49,072	29,072	34,553½	35,429	47,027½	36,314	36,706	45,082	39,900½
5 Pennsylvania	35,276½	31,418	32,671	34,832	27,254	31,651	35,202	29,793½	40,944	35,752	34,899½	38,370
6 Ohio	38,268½	36,556	36,608	38,122½	34,698	37,978½	37,436	37,142½	40,007	38,033	40,553	40,478½
7 Pennsylvania	10,513	12,698	11,766	11,307	10,059	10,510½	11,129½	10,408	11,027½	13,603	13,292	13,605½
8 Indiana	1,020½	747	855	858½	775½	808½	823½	920	1,033½	1,006½	1,098	1,577
9 Pennsylvania	21,099	18,429	25,992½	22,630	19,825½	26,414	20,781	17,628½	30,196	29,754	24,599	32,828½
10 Washington	4,349	3,505½	4,479½	4,828½	3,722	4,243	4,031½	4,188½	4,358½	3,906	5,591½	5,687
11 Indiana	20,842½	22,641	18,081½	24,150½	22,183½	20,797	19,739½	23,896	21,680	21,299½	23,551½	21,177
12 Illinois	78,000½	77,412½	76,630	78,112½	77,682	79,002½	76,318	78,288	78,910	80,823	87,189	82,499½
13 Iowa	14,617	14,112	16,137½	15,278	15,145½	12,777	13,687	14,199	13,679	14,841	13,288	15,147
14 Kansas	11,529½	10,008	11,577	12,421½	9,359½	10,920½	10,679	8,770	11,632	10,958½	9,231	11,216½
15 Colorado	2,181	1,454	1,774	2,124	2,600	4,051½	4,616	5,307½	4,842½	5,693	5,213	5,116½
16 Maryland	187	291	304	1,385	880	1,457	1,358½	2,189	2,079	2,926	2,512	2,773
17 W. Virginia	6,816½	6,588½	8,027½	8,780	8,119	10,166½	11,822	14,964	11,324½	11,213½	13,953	12,572
18 British Columbia...	5,122½	5,184	4,484	5,270	3,702	3,941½	194	129	2,205½	3,828	4,810	5,251½
19 Tennessee	470	460	576	601	723	694	1,226½	3,023	3,929½	2,151	2,041½	7,754½
20 Alabama	48	50	44	62	52	45	46	3,162½	8,314½	6,277	5,885	6,765
21 Ark.-Okla.	12,826½	13,419	13,026½	13,634	9,876½	10,867	12,618½	12,475½	14,516½	13,496	14,632	13,391
22 Wyoming	6,991	8,264	7,411	8,346	6,109½	6,714	6,621½	5,813	6,135	7,245	6,949½	5,269
23 Kentucky	4,981½	5,109½	4,242	5,701½	4,172	5,468	5,662	3,455	5,769½	5,877½	4,446	6,131½
24 Michigan	2,568	1,931½	2,379½	2,270½	1,472½	2,514	1,965	1,547	2,395	2,591	2,005	2,400
25 Missouri	9,480½	7,490½	6,358	10,236½	7,022	7,320	5,744	7,677½	8,925	6,314½	7,945	7,768½
26 Nova Scotia	12	12	.....	24	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
27 Montana	3,572	3,741	3,436	4,472	3,439	4,142	3,398½	3,134½	3,824	2,924	3,971	3,323
28 Vancouver	171	147	162	329	271	317	252	236	84	246	159	223
29 W. Virginia	1,128	1,240½	947	1,617	1,178	1,404	.....	.....	3,137½	3,593	4,557	5,701½
L. U. 828, Indpls.....	6	16	10	36	37	14	40	42	37	36	22	50
Totals.....	355,090	343,956	346,738	385,038	322,708	358,729½	350,011	356,871	388,958	384,844½	405,025½	410,600

MEMBERS EXONERATED DECEMBER 1, 1916, TO DECEMBER 1, 1917.

District No. and Location.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1 Pennsylvania	327	180	696	186	507	676	669	119	61	84	3	2
2 Pennsylvania	978	1,129	1,110½	1,448½	1,279½	1,121½	496	640	511	549½	142½	110
5 Pennsylvania	4,215	4,105	3,639	3,271	1,679	1,267	572	572	800	496	71	201
6 Ohio	732	612	492	206	207	375	519	453	280	284	255	250
7 Pennsylvania	74	48	88	37	14	....	13	43	55	1	8	5
8 Indiana	43	31	38	29	25	45	36	30	17	20	18	8
9 Pennsylvania	1,711	1,841½	2,275	1,364	1,507½	1,352	992	1,076	553½	333½	567½	260
10 Washington	26	22	59	76	19	48	48	27	99	82	74	20
11 Indiana	137½	288½	292	229½	256½	374½	190	186	247	169½	172	190
12 Illinois	1,638	1,771	1,845	1,915	2,045	2,103	2,357	1,980	1,815	1,894	1,961	919
13 Iowa	500	427	522	495½	712	696	595	531	309	358	309	250
14 Kansas	693	552½	554½	846½	1,324½	1,236	929	684½	703	775	406½	200
15 Colorado	100	93	85	97	92	266	237	382	403	428	384	200
16 Maryland	....	....	....	60	300	2	....	4	13	53	69	10
17 W. Virginia	81	82	22	56	16½	992½	149	41	66	....	43½	19
18 British Columbia	8	234	10	8	6	....	....	3	3	4	6	2
19 Tennessee	87	75	75	69	69	71	65	2,576	10,461½	10,699½	720	200
20 Alabama	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	70	223	173	67	210
21 Ark.-Okla.	869	676	1,042	2,506	2,607½	1,193	673½	631	274	471	388	204
22 Wyoming	....	1	5	....	43	30	30	16	39	64	....	6
23 Kentucky	399	905	1,142	1,169	1,328	1,829	1,927	650	153	....	....	18
24 Michigan	56½	59½	56½	73½	56	80	68½	67½	50½	37	29	251
25 Missouri	376	379	373	509½	1,059	664½	677	464	497	571½	542½	100
27 Montana	....	....	....	....	8	36	12	9	....	....	2	....
28 Vancouver	....	....	....	....	....	30	....	....	....	....	....	....
29 W. Virginia	23	29½	28½	20	23	14½	18	137	33	42	26	143
L. U. 828, Indpls.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Totals.....	13,074	13,541½	14,450	14,672	15,184	14,502½	11,273	11,392	17,666½	17,589½	6,264½	3,779

District No. and Location.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1 Pennsylvania	30,818	22,804½	22,130½	28,722½	23,778	30,630½	29,859½	21,573	21,719	23,834½	27,553	23,626
2 Pennsylvania	33,499½	39,535	38,434½	50,520½	30,351½	35,675	35,925	47,667½	36,825	37,255½	45,224½	40,010½
5 Pennsylvania	39,491½	35,523	36,310	38,103	28,933	32,918	35,774	30,365½	41,704	36,248	34,970½	38,571
6 Ohio	39,000½	37,168	37,100	38,328½	34,905	38,353½	37,955	37,595½	40,327	38,317	40,808	40,728½
7 Pennsylvania	10,587	12,746	11,854	11,344	10,073	10,510½	11,142½	10,451	11,082½	13,604	13,300	13,610½
8 Indiana	1,063½	778	893	887½	800½	853½	859½	950	1,050½	1,026½	1,116	1,585
9 Pennsylvania	22,810	20,270½	28,267½	23,994	21,333	27,766	21,773	18,704½	30,749½	30,087½	25,166½	33,088½
10 Washington	4,375	3,527½	4,538½	4,904½	3,741	4,291	4,079½	4,215½	4,457½	3,988	5,665½	5,707
11 Indiana	20,980	22,929½	18,373½	24,380	22,440	21,171½	19,929½	24,082	21,927	21,469	23,723½	21,367
12 Illinois	79,638½	79,183½	78,475	80,027½	79,727	81,105½	78,675	80,268	80,725	82,717	89,150	83,418½
13 Iowa	15,117	14,539	16,659½	15,773½	15,857½	13,473	14,282	14,730	13,988	15,199	13,597	15,397
14 Kansas	12,222½	10,560½	12,131½	13,268	10,684	12,156½	11,608	9,454½	12,335	11,733½	9,637½	11,416½
15 Colorado	2,281	1,547	1,859	2,221	2,692	4,320½	4,853	5,689½	5,245½	6,121	5,597	5,316½
16 Maryland	187	291	304	1,385	880	1,459	1,358½	2,193	2,092	2,979	2,581	2,783
17 W. Virginia	6,897½	6,670½	8,049½	8,836	8,135½	11,159	11,971	15,005	11,390½	11,213½	13,996½	12,591
18 British Columbia...	5,130½	5,418	4,494	5,278	3,708	3,941½	194	132	2,208½	3,832	4,816	5,253½
19 Tennessee	557	535	651	670	792	765	1,291½	5,599	14,391	12,850½	2,761½	7,954½
20 Alabama	48	50	44	62	52	45	46	3,232½	8,537½	6,450	5,952	6,975
21 Ark.-Okla.	13,695½	14,095	14,068½	16,140	12,484	12,060	13,292	13,106½	14,790½	13,967	15,020	13,595
22 Wyoming	6,991	8,265	7,416	8,346	6,152½	6,744	6,651½	5,829	6,174	7,309	6,949½	5,275
23 Kentucky	5,380½	6,014½	5,384	6,870½	5,500	7,297	7,589	4,105	5,922½	5,877½	4,446	6,149½
24 Michigan	2,624½	1,991	2,436	2,344	1,528½	2,594	2,033½	1,614½	2,445½	2,628	2,034	2,651
25 Missouri	9,856½	7,869½	6,731	10,746	8,081	7,984½	6,421	8,141½	9,422	6,886	8,487½	7,868½
26 Nova Scotia	12	12	....	24	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
27 Montana	3,572	3,741	3,436	4,472	3,447	4,178	3,410½	3,143½	3,824	2,924	3,973	3,322
28 Vancouver	171	147	162	329	271	347	252	236	84	246	159	223
29 W. Virginia	1,151	1,270	975½	1,637	1,201	1,418½	18	137	3,170½	3,635	4,583	5,844½
L. U. 828, Indpls.	6	16	10	36	37	14	40	42	37	36	22	50
Totals	368,164	357,497½	361,188	399,710	337,892	373,232	361,284	368,263	406,624½	402,434	411,290	414,378

Respectfully submitted, JOHN J. MOSSOP, ALBERT NEUTZLING, T. G. MORGAN, Int. Auditors, U. M. W. of A.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS.

Vice-President John L. Lewis presided during the reading of President Hayes' report.

President Hayes presided during the reading of the reports of Vice-President John L. Lewis, Secretary-Treasurer William Green and the Auditors.

The Reports of the Officers were distributed to the delegates in printed form, and referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports.

The Report of the Auditors was adopted and made part of the permanent records of the convention.

President Hayes announced the following appointments:

Messengers—James McCormick, District No. 6; Andrew Fielder, District No. 5; James H. Pitman, District No. 12; P. T. McGary, District No. 13.

Secretary Green read the following invitation from the Loyal Order of Moose:

Indianapolis, Ind., January 15, 1918.

United Mine Workers of America, City:

Dear Sirs—Indianapolis Lodge No. 17, Loyal Order of Moose, herewith extends to you their greetings and wish you success in the deliberations of your great organization, and further extends the hospitality of the Loyal Order of Moose in every way possible to make your visit as comfortable as possible.

Our clubrooms and parlors are at your disposal during your stay in this city and are located at 135 North Delaware street.

Yours very truly,

WM. ANDERSON, Secretary.

The chairman announced that the report of the Committee on Credentials would be the first order of business Wednesday morning.

Souvenir badges were distributed to the delegates by the messengers, assisted by Delegates Watkins (A.), Pace, Zerbe and McGary.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 a. m., Wednesday, January 16.

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Ind., January 16, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9:00 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, January 16, President Hayes in the chair.

President Hayes: Some few days ago I invited the Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, to be present and address this convention. I received the following telegram in answer to that invitation:

TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY OF LABOR

"Washington, D. C., January 14, 1918.

"Frank J. Hayes, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"I appreciate very much your invitation to be present and deliver an address at the International convention of the United Mine Workers. The pressure of public business, however, makes it impossible for me to accept. I would have liked to have impressed upon the delegates the idea that the United States is engaged in this war for the preservation of our own democracy as well as the other democracies of the world. You will recall the terms of the communication in which the German imperial government notified our government that it proposed to renew submarine warfare and destroy the lives of our people within a prescribed zone without warning and without opportunity for escape. It notified us that it would permit us to send one vessel a week to England. Was not our Congress responsible to us for their action placing restrictions upon our labor and commerce? It was the German imperial government undertaking without our consent to impose rules of conduct upon us in places where we had a legal and moral right to be; it was autocracy pure and simple. I cite this simply as one of the examples of the extent to which the imperial German government sought to control our institutions and our actions. Wage workers have more at stake in the maintenance of democracies than any other portion of the people because it is only in democracies that the common people can have an opportunity of working out their own destiny in their own way. I know that the mine workers generally appreciate these facts

and that they will continue to make every necessary sacrifice to defend our institutions and promote the common good of mankind.

"WILLIAM B. WILSON, Secretary of Labor."

"January 15, 1918."

"To the Officers and Members of the United Mine Workers of America, in Convention Assembled:

"Brothers—On behalf of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America I extend to you fraternal greetings and express the hope that from your deliberations will come much benefit to the labor movement of our country and set an example to the workers of the world, as I feel that in this, the crisis through which this country and its allies are now passing, much depends on the organized labor movement.

"Knowing from past experience the record of your organization for that which is right and just, I desire to assure you of the hearty co-operation and assistance of the United Brotherhood in carrying out these principles in the future in every way that will be helpful.

"With kindest regards and wishing you a successful convention, I remain, "Fraternally yours,

"WM. L. HUTCHESON, General President.

"FRANK J. HAYES,

"Merchants National Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind."

The communications were received, made part of the records of the convention and the secretary was instructed to make suitably reply.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Printed copies of the list of delegates were distributed, the chairman of the committee stating that there was no contest against these delegates and recommended their seating.

Delegate Grills, District 12, moved the adoption of the report of the committee and the seating of those delegates against whom no protest had been filed. (Seconded and carried.)

Chairman Mossop, of the committee, read a list of delegates whose

local unions were in arrears for per capita tax or assessments and against whom protests had been filed. He announced that those delegates would be given a hearing after adjournment and a report would be made upon the cases later.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

President Hayes announced the following appointments:

Sergeants-at-Arms—Michael Hartneady, District 7; John O'Leary, District 5; Paul Paulsen, District 22; P. J. Sweeney, District 9; Fred Mooner, District 17; Joe Loftus, District 12.

Committee on Officers' Reports—Philip Murray, Chairman, District 5; Charles O'Neil, Secretary, District 2; J. C. Lewis, District 13; James Doyle, District 21; Joseph Richards, District 6; Martin Flyzik, District 10; C. F. Keeney, District 17; Archie Forbes, District 11; James J. McAndrews, District 9.

Resolutions Committee—Robert H. Harlin, Chairman, District 10; Paul J. Smith, Secretary, District 12; James Matthews, District 9; William Dalrymple, District 21; Frank Waite, District 2; William Hargest, District 5; William Mitchell, District 13; J. R. Kennamer, District 20; Clarence McCafferty, District 6.

Constitution Committee—Frank Farrington, Chairman, District 12; Adam Wilkinson, Secretary, District 27; William Harrison, District 20; James Morgan, District 22; James Forgie, District 6; G. H. Edmunds, District 13; Van Bittner, District 19; William Mitch, District 11; Robert Gibbons, District 5.

Committee on Appeals and Grievances—Edward Stewart, Chairman, District 11; John T. Dempsey, Secretary, District 1; John Moore, District 6; Thomas Kennedy, District 7; E. S. McCullough, District 5; John Gay, District 13; John Wilkinson, District 21; John Brophy, District 2; W. D. Duncan, District 23.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF SECRETARY-TREASURER.

Fellow Delegates—I am referring to a matter of great importance which I overlooked when preparing my report. A schedule bond can be arranged for all local unions under the jurisdiction of the United Mine

Workers, so that no matter who may be serving as local union officers, the funds of local unions will be secured and the officers of each local union automatically placed under bond,

This plan is now in effect in some districts, but because the laws of the organization are not explicit and mandatory requiring that this be done, I find it is not operating in a fully successful manner. The funds of each and every local union should be protected. The membership ought to be guaranteed that their moneys will be accounted for and the local union fully indemnified in the event a dishonest officer misappropriates their money or property.

So that this may be done I recommend that the law be amended by making it mandatory that either the international organization or the district organization arrange for blanket bonds by which all local unions under their respective jurisdiction will be covered in one general schedule bond; the premium for said schedule bond to be paid by either the International Secretary-Treasurer or the District Secretary-Treasurer and the same in turn to be collected from local unions pro rata according to their respective membership; and no local union to be considered in good standing with the different branches of the organization until such premium is paid.

If all local union officers are bonded in this manner the membership may feel assured that their money is safeguarded in full measure. In addition, local unions will not be required to look after the details involved in the execution of a bond; the officer of the organization authorized to do so will perform this service.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. GREEN, Secretary-Treasurer.

The supplemental report was referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports.

President Hayes: Some days ago I invited Dr. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, to address this convention. The secretary has received the following communication from Dr. Garfield:

"Washington, D. C., January 14, 1918.

"William Green, Secretary Miners' Union, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"Mr. White has conveyed to me the invitation from Mr. Hayes asking me to attend the convention of the United Mine Workers of America, meeting at Indianapolis tomorrow. As stated in my letter to Mr. Hayes last week, I appreciate sincerely the loyal response made by mine workers to appeals for co-operation with the Government in the present emergency. The steady decrease in loss of tonnage since August by reason of labor shortage is eloquent testimony of this co-operation. I have ventured to state on many occasions that both mine workers and operators have displayed a laudable purpose as American citizens to put aside differences in the present emergency and to unite during the period of the war in a common purpose to increase the production of coal. The successful presentation of the war depends as much on the men in the mines as on the men in the trenches. I regret that I cannot be with you.

"H. A. GARFIELD."

President Hayes: In a letter received from Dr. Garfield some days ago, replying to my invitation to him to address the convention, he stated that, owing to the serious condition of the coal industry and the many demands made upon him in Washington, it was absolutely impossible for him to attend. He advised me, however, that his labor adviser would be present and present the fuel situation to this convention. I am pleased to inform the delegates that we have with us former President John P. White, who is the labor adviser of Dr. Garfield's administration. If it is the wish of this convention I will be pleased to have former President White address you at this time. I do not think I need to introduce him; he has been engaged in the service of our movement for more than twenty years, but I take pleasure in presenting to you the former President of this organization, John P. White.

ADDRESS OF MR. JOHN P. WHITE, LABOR ADVISER NATIONAL FUEL ADMINISTRATOR.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates and Friends: I am certainly delighted to seize this opportunity to say a few words in defense of things that are happening and in defense of the position of our organization. I was delighted, as I know each and every one of you was delighted,

Workers, so that no matter who may be serving as local union officers, the funds of local unions will be secured and the officers of each local union automatically placed under bond.

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Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates and Friends: I am certainly delighted to seize this opportunity to say a few words in defense of things that are happening and in defense of the position of our organization. I was delighted, as I know each and every one of you was delighted,

to listen to the splendid and edifying reports of our officers which bespeak the hopes and aspirations of the subterranean toilers of this country. As I look into your faces this morning I am deeply impressed with the fact that you have come here, as others have come in former years, with a high resolve to perform the duties that devolve upon you in this convention in such a manner that when your work has been completed it will redound to the everlasting credit and benefit of those who honored you with their confidence.

I retired from the presidency of your great organization to accept a position as adviser to Dr. Garfield in the Fuel Administration in Washington. I went to Dr. Garfield a few days ago and importuned him to accept the invitation of your President, knowing he would have a message for the mine workers' representatives here. He deeply regretted that the burden of business that devolves upon the fuel administration prevented his meeting and mingling with the delegates in this convention. I know you would be impressed with the sincerity of Dr. Garfield's aims and purposes, as I have been impressed during my brief association with him in his cabinet. I found him to be a great, upstanding American, imbued with deep sympathy for our cause and our purpose, and I am sure his decisions affecting the mine workers have been such as to commend him to the kindly consideration of our vast constituency.

There has been a marked departure in the conduct of the affairs of the mine workers in the past year because of the great world-wide war. Rules that had been set up for the conduct of war and organizations heretofore no longer suffice, for we are living in the most important hour of our nation's history, when the world is engrossed in the greatest war that has ever occurred among the nations of the earth. Our organization, representing as it does the greatest basic industry in this country of ours, plays no small part in the success of this great struggle that is now going on. When our country decided to cast its lot with the democracies of the world and when our sons were mobilized for the contest the hour of debate ceased in our lives and the decision of our Government became the decision of all loyal citizens. The stars on this service flag bespeak the loyalty of the mine workers. The President of the United States in his message to this convention clearly indicates that there is

no question about the loyalty of this great organization in the contest in which we are now engaged. For that reason much of the subject-matters that will concern you in this convention will be matters that but a few days ago it was my responsibility to defend. By reason of my retirement from the presidency of your organization those responsibilities are now transferred to the shoulders of my worthy successor. It will not be amiss for me to say, however, that I believe it will be necessary that I clarify some of the situations surrounding the negotiations of our recent wage scale.

It became evident to the mine workers' officials in the Central Competitive Field that there was widespread unrest among our people as a result of the high cost of living and other factors over which this organization has no control and which were not affected by its policies. It seemed to be time for us to again approach our employers with the end in view of securing from them additional increases in wages to meet these new-found responsibilities. After full consultation our international officials and the representatives of the organizations in the Central Competitive Field again took this matter up and decided to approach the operators in an endeavor to secure another substantial increase in wages. Ere we had succeeded in formulating our plans and policies the Federal Government, under the influence of public opinion, decided to exercise Federal control over the selling price of coal at the mines and to police all of the coal industry, both in the producing end and in the retail or distributing end of the business. We could readily foresee that the same law that gave the Federal Government, through the President of this country, the right to fix the selling price of coal also gave to the President and his associates the right to regulate the hours of labor and the wages of the employes in the coal mines of this country.

This was a marked departure from ordinary procedure and was bound to have a far-reaching effect upon our organization and its policies. We sent out an invitation to the representatives of the operators of the Central Competitive Field and asked them to attend an informal conference in the city of Indianapolis early in September. They responded to our call, but before we were thoroughly organized in that meeting Dr. Garfield, who had been appointed by the President Chief Fuel Administrator of this nation, wired and asked us to defer the conference until his department was organized. We submitted readily to his wishes in this

matter and in due time he gave his consent to the convening of that wage conference. He appeared before us in Washington and told us that the powers that belonged to us as joint negotiators of wage contracts were still with us. He recognized that our organizations were there to perform a certain legitimate function and, so far as he was concerned, he was perfectly willing to have us determine that, subject to the approval of the government.

After days of debate another increase in wages was secured for the mine workers, the third increase in about eighteen months. This last increase in wages was made subject to the Federal Government increasing the selling price of coal; in other words, your representatives agreed with the coal operators that they could not increase the wages to the extent we demanded and secured out of the then existing prices that had been fixed by the government. It therefore became necessary, in order to secure that which the operators said they were willing to give us in order to hold the men at the mines and stop them from drifting into munitions plants, as well as to quiet the widespread unrest, for the government to increase the selling price of coal. The increase could not be paid out of the then existing prices. When we had concluded our joint negotiations we proceeded to Dr. Garfield's office and presented to him our handiwork, which is now known as the Washington Agreement. It gave the mine workers a large wage increase. In due time Dr. Garfield recommended to the President of the United States the approval of that wage increase. He held, after examination of all the facts relative thereto, that it was highly necessary that this wage increase be granted, and in order to meet that and stabilize the production of coal during the war it was necessary to advance the price of coal at the mines to absorb that wage increase. That was done.

In the Washington Agreement the mine workers agreed to another proposition that has caused some of the members to either be confused about its provisions or to misunderstand the aims and purposes contemplated by that new innovation in our agreement. I refer to the penalty clause. This was one of the factors that made it possible for the representatives of the government to acquiesce in our agreement. It was intended to stop sporadic strikes and prevent an ultimate course that some are even advocating today, which the mine workers do not want to see take place. As the largest single trade union of this American continent

we have retained all our collective powers, retained the management of our organization, and we ought to rejoice in the fact that we have fared so well in the face of what is going on in all fields of endeavor as a result of this war and the emergencies surrounding it.

Some of our people have been misled or they have received incorrect information in regard to this penalty clause. It is not an infrequent thing for me to receive letters from local unions or to hear men making the statement that Dr. Garfield established the penalty clause. That is an error. Dr. Garfield did not do anything of the kind. The representatives of the United Mine Workers of America and the operators agreed to this penalty clause in their own councils. It was one of the things we had to breathe into the agreement to show the Fuel Administrator and others that we were really in earnest in our efforts to stabilize coal production. I point this out now because many who have approached me have left the impression that they believed Dr. Garfield was the man who negotiated the penalty clause.

A great deal will be said about the penalty clause and the wisdom of its enactment. I want to say to you that as the President of your organization during the negotiations referred to I share the full responsibility for all my official acts; I stand ready and willing to defend them as a method of saving our organization from its internal foes. The agreement gave the miners the highest wages ever paid to miners and placed them and their organization upon a plane of public confidence they never enjoyed before. Then some of you say that White and his associates took away from you a right. I agree with you that we took away from you a right, but it was the right of your local unions to do wrong that we suspended, and insisted that you respect the courts of your own organization and have your grievances settled in harmony with your agreements and your constitution, your organic laws.

From this voluntary wage increase every one figured that happiness and contentment would pervade the ranks of the mine workers everywhere, and, with few exceptions, that has been the result. I rejoice with you as an humble member of your organization that you are here today in such large numbers, representatives of a great, proud constituency that is performing its part manfully and well. I know that when you go away from this convention you will have acquitted your-

selves creditably in the eyes of the public, that you will have discharged your duties faithfully and well to that great army of deserving men you represent. I know that the mine workers, after listening to the splendid reports of your officers made here yesterday, are going to obey the mandates of those splendid reports and measure up to every requirement.

We have done more than pledge our word to the maintenance of contracts with coal operators; we have taken a step farther. We have not only told the coal operators and the American public that we would make this a war measure; in other words, that this contract would endure intact during this war, not to exceed two years, commencing in 1918; but we told the President of this mighty republic that this question, although submitted to the approval of this convention, would be patriotically met here and our handiwork would be endorsed. We ought to demonstrate to the world that we are men of our word and that the bond of this organization can be guaranteed by those who represent it. I want to lead myself to the belief that nothing will be done by this convention that will repudiate a word that has been given to our government up to this time. I know the mine workers well enough, I believe, to understand that they are going to approach these questions with great seriousness and give them their proper weight and consideration.

In my new field of work I shall serve you, as your President states, just so long as it is your wish to have me serve you. The hardest thing in my life was the separation from the association I had formed during more than twenty consecutive years of service in your organization. But, my friends, I may be pardoned when I refer to the fact that although perhaps I have not shone in the limelight of publicity or sought the gilded hall, I have been content to work in my own quiet way in the interests of a class I felt was deserving of great things in this life. I saw your organization grow from a fragmentary movement to its present proud proportions. I have witnessed all your struggles during the twenty years of service in which I have been associated with your organization in an official capacity. I have noticed the great strides made by the men in the past that have led your organization, and I am proud of the fact that in all these great achievements that have contributed to the sum of human happiness, in some small way I have at least satisfied my conscience that I played a little part in their upbuilding and their perfection.

Nearly seven years of service I rendered as international president. I came into office when the old rafters of our institution were shaking from one end to the other, when warring factions had the policies and the fundamentals of this organization almost by the throat, when men were almost giving up in despair, when dual movements were being established in the great coal-producing districts. I do not claim credit for all the achievements that have come during my administration. My official associates, the members of the International Executive Board, the field workers and the great rank and file made it possible during the years I served you to iron out these internal differences and place our organization on a solid basis again. The result is that during no like period of our history has there been crowded into it more achievements that are fundamental than during the period I have referred to. The eight-hour day is now practically established. The organization is growing in the non-union field. The dream and hope of the mine workers of the anthracite field have been realized, for the organization has been recognized there, the eight-hour day has been granted, and the bituminous fields of this country that have dreamed of the day when mine-run would be their portion have seen their dream realized. I fancy I hear the pioneers of long ago, men who stood on the floor of this convention and said: "Give us mine-run; waive every other consideration, but give us that fundamental reform that will fill so great a place in our lives." That was accomplished without the loss of a day's work in our 1916 agreement. All these fundamental reforms that mean so much to you are now yours to have and to hold.

In my humble judgment the mine workers are standing at the threshold of a great future. Of course there will be new responsibilities, but my confidence in the trio of men who lead your organization, their associate members on the Board and the men in the district and local organizations are going to meet that responsibility in manful fashion. I shall rejoice at your continued success and I shall be pained at your disappointments. Nothing will ever come into my life that will make me strike at the success of this organization or the welfare of its members; nothing will ever come, I hope, in my life that will make me forfeit the confidence of the great constituency that has honored me so signally in the past.

I want to add one little word to the splendid statements that were

made in appealing to your good sense and loyal judgment by your officers yesterday in upholding the decision of our country, in contributing to the future as you have been doing so loyally since we entered this war in producing coal, in making the success of our army possible. I watched with a great deal of interest in Washington the numerous attempts made by those who would have the public believe you are not doing your part. I am there to register my protest and to clarify the situation whenever opportunity presents itself. You have the word of those in authority, from President Wilson, from Dr. Garfield, from Secretary W. B. Wilson and from the great voice of public opinion comes word of approval that the mine workers are doing their part in such a magnificent manner.

The great strikes and struggles that characterized your career, my friends, are milestones in the life of this great movement. As I look into the faces of the delegates here today I miss many of the old-timers who made so much splendid history in this organization. I see the young men pressing forward—a very hopeful sign—to meet the new and added responsibilities that come by reason of the old giving way to the new. This is the regular order of things. The young men in our movement should take hope and encouragement out of the fact that those who went before and yielded their all in order that this magnificent institution might grow and thrive and serve its great constituency in a way that would bring the most substantial results. I know your ambition to meet every legitimate requirement that will be imposed upon us as delegates in this convention.

I want to say to you before I conclude that I will only exercise those privileges that belong to a delegate in this convention. I will be keen to defend my good name and to render such service to the success of this convention as I am capable of. The responsibilities that came to me as President I have tried to meet in such a manner as to meet with your approval. That I have made mistakes and that I have men who classify themselves as my enemies I have no doubt; but, my friends, I am willing to submit to the judgment of this convention, as I have always been willing to submit to the decision of the institution I hold membership in. Of course I have made mistakes. Show me the man who says he has made no mistakes and I will show you a man who is not actively engaged for your welfare; and the man who figures that he can shoulder the vast

responsibility that is represented in this great convention and will not make mistakes is laboring under a misapprehension. Therefore, my friends, I hope the mistakes I have made will be looked upon as mistakes of the head; I know they are not of the heart.

And for my detractors, those who see no good in anything I have accomplished, I have nothing but compassion. I love the movement all the more for the enemies I have made. Let me say to you that it will be the pride of my life to watch this great movement of ours and to see my successor and his official colleagues winning new accomplishments, greater emoluments and a higher position than I was ever able to place you in. Out of the fullness of my heart I acknowledge the debt of gratitude I owe the men of the mines, and no service I can ever render, no matter how great it may be, will ever repay them. Therefore, if it should be the judgment of some men in this convention that I have maliciously done anything wrong I do not want them to shield me or to grant me any immunity. If they feel that my conduct as an officer or as a man while serving you in this tremendously responsible position has not been what it should be, I want them to have the courage to meet me in the open here and do it in manful fashion. I am ready to answer for my stewardship, and I believe I will be able to answer in a way that will meet the approval of all lovers of fair play and justice in our organization.

It is a long step, my friends, from the first day I felt the initial responsibility of our organization to this day. I met with the men many years ago as a boy, when we were not permitted to meet in the open, as we are today; when governments, local, state and national, gave no concern to the cause we represented. I have seen the steps taken all the way up; I have seen the conditions in the mines improved and I am glad that the old evil conditions have been driven out of them. I went into the mine, as hundreds of other boys of my age and day went in, and worked twelve long, weary hours for the magnificent sum of 55 cents a day. And despite the fact that some say our organization has not accomplished anything, an examination of the wage scales and the conditions under which our people work now plainly show the remarkable progress that has come to the mine workers through their organization. From every public rostrum in every coal-producing district in this country to which I have journeyed in the seven years I have served you I have sought to impress this upon the mine workers. In all that time I have

tried to serve you. I have mingled with the men on the mountain slopes of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, I have journeyed to the far western coast, I have met with the men on the boundless prairies of the Golden West, I have gone to the mountain districts of the Northwest, I have mingled with the men everywhere, and I have nothing but praise and approval for them. I know something about their impulses, their hopes and their desires, and I have sought to defend those ideals that went so far into their lives with the best ability of which I was capable.

My administration was characterized by great strife, and, as is indicated by the reports of your president and secretary, we were dogged all along the line by litigation in the hope that our enemies would succeed in destroying our organization by that method. Strikes of great magnitude, where the greatest brutality possible to be displayed, occurred during my administration of your affairs. When I transferred the responsibility to my good friend and co-worker, Frank J. Hayes, it was the proudest moment of my life—although I regretted to lay down the cares—to know that I was handing to him an organization that had been purged of internal factional strife and that no great strikes were there to mar the success of his administration.

The organization has expanded to the extent of more than 175,000 new members; it has reached out into the citadels of oppression to lift up these men, and the organization is strong enough and capable enough to serve as a shield against the agents of oppression. The United Mine Workers organization is the greatest single force at work today in this country for the elevation of the men of the mines. Mark well what I tell you now. If ever the mine workers of this country listen to the siren song of the deceiver and turn the aims of the organization from the path of rectitude, an evil hour will strike in your life. Guard well the progress you have made, heed the advice of the men who are laboring under the responsibilities of leadership in your organization, maintain your discipline and you will always be able to secure redress of such grievances as you may have in a larger and better way than by any other method you can pursue.

I was indeed glad to be able, along with these men who have assisted me so well, and also with your help, to bring to the mine workers the wages they secured. Five dollars a day isn't enough for the men in the

mines, but it is a great deal better than the \$2.70 they received when I took it up; \$2.65 a day for a trapper boy on an eight-hour basis is a remarkable stride since the day I trapped a door for twelve hours at 55 cents a day. And if we are able to convince our younger men, at least some of them, that there have been sacrifices made to bring this grand old institution to its present accomplishments hope of the future is doubly secured.

In conclusion, I want to express my deep appreciation of the many honors I have received at your hands. You will find that I will in the future, as in the past, endeavor to so conduct myself that I will continue to merit your confidence and esteem. There are no more honors that I seek; I will not be concerned about the political machinations of any one; I am only concerned that the great work that has been going on in your organization, the result of great leadership that preceded me in this organization, with the help of the men in the rank and file, will be conserved. I know it will if you heed the advice of your President and his associates. If you do that I feel the future generations will arise and bless you for the splendid organization you have erected for them.

Orators have extolled the virtues of princes, kings and heroes of battles; but during my journey through life I have observed that here and there, in selecting their themes, they have almost invariably overlooked the great underlying cause of labor. Labor, like the rain, the sunshine and other indispensable blessings, has never been properly appreciated. There are men in this land of ours today who would deny to us this splendid association, the right to legislate here in freedom for our own interests. They would have us, as the Lazaruses of our time, subsisting on the crumbs that fall from the tables of the more fortunate; but, thanks to the democracy of our labor movement, we have been preserved from those arrows of oppression. Your fight must go on and on until all of these non-union fields shall be brought into the fold of this mighty union. Then, and not until then, will the work of your great organization have been accomplished. Nor can you rest from your labors until that is done. The high wages you now enjoy, the remarkable achievements that have been enumerated in your officers' reports, are splendid testimonials to your loyalty to a great principle and your fidelity to the great institution you have erected with your own hands. While I rejoice that I have played a small part in these accomplishments, let me say to

you that it will require more tact and more ability to hold what we have gained than it did to obtain it. My confidence in your officials and your organization is unbounded, and I hope for the greatest possible success of their administration.

I want to thank the officers and the men here, and request you to convey to the members at home my appreciation of their kindness to me in the years I have served you. I will take leave now and thank the delegates and officers for this privilege. I will take my place among you and hope to be able, if opportunity to do so presents itself and I am called upon to answer anything that may seem to affect your happiness or the power and progress of your organization, to do it in a manner and way that will be clear and bring to you the understanding essential to the success of this convention.

President Hayes: I am sure that I express the sentiment of the delegates to this convention when I say to former President White that we deeply appreciate the splendid address he delivered this morning and the great service he has rendered this international organization. I feel sure that the mine workers of our land are conscious of the great part he played as president of this union in securing great fundamental reforms. I spent almost seven years in pleasant association with the man who just addressed you, and while it pains us to see him leave us in an official way, we know he will always be with the United Mine Workers of America in heart and in spirit.

Delegate Mates: I move that the convention give our former President, John P. White, a rising vote of thanks.

The motion was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Phillips, District 21: I move that former President White's speech be printed and distributed to the delegates.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Secretary Green announced that in the past representatives of the Volunteers of America had been allowed to take up a collection in the convention. He explained that the Volunteers collected the money to relieve the wants of the needy and minister to the sick and aged. Permission was granted to take up the collection. While the collection was

being taken up other representatives of the Volunteers entertained the delegates with vocal and instrumental music, rendered in a most delightful manner.

President Hayes: On account of the storm several of the members of the committee that usually begin their work in advance of the convention failed to reach here in time to have reports prepared to submit to the convention. I think a motion to adjourn until tomorrow morning will give these committees an opportunity to report.

Delegate Gay (Iowa) moved that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to 9 a. m., Wednesday. The motion was seconded and carried.

Prior to adjournment Secretary Green had the messengers and sergeants-at-arms distribute copies of the Credential Committee's report and of the minutes of the previous day's session. During the time the documents were being distributed the convention was entertained by Delegate Jack Bell, of Ohio; Delegate P. F. Walsh, of the anthracite field, and Delegate Bierbrodt, of Kansas, with several songs.

Delegate Fowler, of Pennsylvania, gave a very clever impersonation of a country minister, handicapped by the absence of his glasses, giving out the hymns to the prayer-meeting. **Delegate Joe Loftus, District 12,** recited a clever original poem dealing with the present war and the fate he hoped would overtake the kaiser.

At 11 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 a. m., Thursday, January 17.

THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, January 17, **President Hayes** in the chair.

Secretary Green read the following communications:

"Kansas City, Mo., January 16, 1918.

"**Wm. Green, Secretary United Mine Workers, Indianapolis, Ind.:**

"Please extend to officers and delegates my best wishes for a successful convention, also happy, healthy and prosperous new year.

"W. D. RYAN."

"Santa Fe, N. M., January 15, 1918.

"Gus Mayer, Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis:

Members of the State Federation of Labor of New Mexico extend to your convention their hearty congratulations and wish for your body a prosperous meeting. May much good result both for the U. S. A. and the laboring people.

"H. B. KARR, President New Mexico State Federation of Labor."

Secretary Green: The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is now holding a convention in Philadelphia, Pa. I have taken it upon myself to prepare a message from this convention, which I wish to submit for your approval before sending. The message is as follows:

"Indianapolis, Ind., January 17, 1918.

"Mr. Wm. Dobson, Secretary Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, Hotel Walton, Philadelphia, Pa.:

"Delegates attending International Convention United Mine Workers of America, now in session in this city, extend to delegates of your convention meeting in Philadelphia fraternal greetings. We express the hope you may have a harmonious and profitable convention. May your actions tend to promote the interest of your own organization especially and that of the entire labor movement generally.

"WM. GREEN, Secretary United Mine Workers of America."

The convention endorsed the message and the secretary was instructed to forward it to the convention in Philadelphia.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Harlin, chairman of the committee: The Committee on Resolutions is prepared to submit a partial report to the convention. The delegates have been given copies of the printed resolutions and the secretary of the committee when reading the resolutions will refer to the pages upon which they are printed so that delegates can follow the report of the committee. A number of resolutions have not yet been acted upon by the committee. In some instances we desire additional information. When we act upon these resolutions they will be reported to the convention.

Delegate Paul Smith, District 12, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 48.

Sublet, Wyo., December 10, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

At our regular meeting held on Thursday, December 6, 1917, the following resolution was adopted:

We, as members of Local Union No. 2752, located at Sublet, Wyo.,

Resolved, That if there is any increase in wages granted in the East, that the same shall be granted in the West and all of the United Mine Workers of America.

**E. WARD,
JOHN B. SMITH, President,
JAS. ROBERTSON,
Resolutions Committee.**

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the various districts in the Northwest.

Chairman Harlin: This resolution comes from Sublet, Wyo., and while it makes reference to the West, I think it means specifically the Northwest. This local union in Wyoming apparently desires that the agreement of the Interstate Competitive Field be recognized as the basing point for the settlement in Wyoming, Montana and Washington, the three Northwest districts. The Interstate agreement is the basing point invariably for the Southwest, Iowa, Michigan and in other Western districts. When an agreement was signed in Colorado a little less than a year ago with the Victor-American Fuel Company it provided that Illinois, Oklahoma and Kansas would be the basing point for Colorado.

In the Northwest there have been on occasions some discrepancies between the increase granted there and that secured by the Interstate Central Competitive Field, so that the miners from Wyoming apparently desire to have the Interstate Agreement recognized as the basing point for their wage settlements. We haven't an interstate movement in the Northwest. Some time ago we organized an association known

as the Rocky Mountain Association of Miners, but in spite of its somewhat high-sounding title it did not accomplish the things we expected it would. I had something to do in promoting it, but I am frank to confess it did not succeed as I had hoped. It was decided that in this convention the delegates of Wyoming, Washington and Montana would be asked to meet in conference during or following this convention. The purpose of this conference will be to provide some plan to bring about the co-operation necessary in the Northwest, with a view of having increases granted in the East recognized as a basis of settlement in the Northwest.

This resolution ought to be referred, as suggested by the report of the committee, to that conference of the Northwest delegates. I am quite sure they will be able to take care of their own affairs and they will probably be able to agree upon some basis of settlement that will allow them to secure the increase granted the East and Central West. I do not think this resolution requires any discussion in the convention, inasmuch as it can be attended to by the conference to which I have just alluded. For that reason I suggest the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolutions No. 58, 147 and 157, dealing with the subject of private guards and gunmen, were covered by one report as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 53.

Fayetteville, W. Va., December 5, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There is an army of mine guards and private gunmen, other than the state deputies provided as peace officers in the absence of the state military, which are maintained by the coal operators of West Virginia, as we believe, for no other purpose than to retard and hamper the growth of our organization, and

Whereas, The investigation by the Industrial Relations Committee, in the year 1913, proved that we were law-abiding citizens, and,

Whereas, The Honorable Governor, H. D. Hatfield, at that time recommended that the guard system in West Virginia be abolished; and, believing as we do, that the guard system is not only a menace to society, but a hindrance to the upbuilding of humanity as well; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates in convention here assembled, draft resolutions and appeal to the Honorable W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, to immediately take steps to have the mine guard system abolished in all coal mining fields in this United States of America.

Respectfully submitted for your consideration by the members of Local Union No. 2898, located at South Fayette, Fayette County, West Virginia.

L. M. McNEIL,
M. L. HITCHCOCK,
W. W. STEVENSON,
Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 147.

Carneyville, Wyo., January 4, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It has become a custom for employers of labor, during strikes and industrial disturbances, to import irresponsible and dangerous persons for the purpose of intimidation and cruelty towards our workmen and their families; and

Whereas, It has become manifest that the persons so imported under the guise of honest labor are invariably men of criminal tendencies, and not infrequently ex-convicts, whose sole aim is to institute a reign of terror among the homes and families of our workmen by the perpetration of brutal crimes and gross impositions upon and against our brothers; and

Whereas, Said persons are not infrequently commissioned as public officers at the instance of the employers of labor in order to better facilitate their brutalities against our brothers, done and perpetrated under the direction and with the approval of unscrupulous employers; and

Whereas, Such persons constitute a menace to the well-being of all honest laborers and their families; and

Whereas, It appears necessary for the proper safeguarding of the welfare of our brothers and for the better protection of their homes and families and for the future security of all industrial workers of the nation that the importation of such characters, whether strike-breakers, so called, hired assassins or pretended workers, be forever prohibited. Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the convention that the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America take such steps as will insure the passage and enactment by the Congress of the United States of such laws as will prevent the transportation, in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any territory or in the District of Columbia, of persons to be engaged or used in anywise in connection with any strike or other industrial dispute or disturbance, either as strike-breaker or otherwise, and that the officers of the United Mine Workers of America employ such means as will best effectuate the aims and objects of this resolution and use such means as will insure the early presentation to Congress of a measure that will forever rid the lives and homes of our workers of the menace of outrage and murder; and be it further

Resolved, That the membership of the United Mine Workers of America be made acquainted with the purposes and objects of this resolution and of the proposed measure that they may be better able to promote the promulgation and passage of such proposed law.

HENRY CANDRON, President.

JOHN TENNANT, Secretary.

Resolution unanimously adopted by Carneyville Local Union No. 2742, U. M. W. of A.

RESOLUTION NO. 159.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Privately hired gunmen are dangerous, are a menace to peaceable working men, are unlawful; and the use of them by cor-

porations and employers is an unwarranted usurpation in a free country; therefore, be it

Resolved, That when privately hired gunmen are brought to any place for the purpose of intimidating peaceable members of this organization, that the entire membership quit work until the offensive privately hired gunmen are removed.

GEO. KARNES, President,
JACOB F. BIRZEL, Sec'y,
Local Union No. 644, Hillsboro, Ill.

The committee offered the following as a substitute for Resolution 53, Resolution 147 and Resolution 159:

Be it Resolved, That we reaffirm our position as expressed in past conventions wherein we condemn the use of armed guards by private corporations and the importation of professional strike-breakers, and we instruct our resident International officers and the International Executive Board to continue their efforts to have Federal legislation enacted prohibiting same.

The substitute offered by the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 55.

Witt, Ill., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The U. M. W. A. has, at different times, secured for its members increases in wages, but the wages secured have been taken away from us in the way of having to pay higher prices for the necessities of life, owing to the food gamblers and the vast army of middlemen exploiting the consumer;

Whereas, Statistics prepared after searching investigations have been made show that the cost of living has gone up quite a good deal more than wages have gone up, and apparently will continue to do so as long as we, as producers, permit the present anarchistical system of distribution of the nation's food supply to continue, making a few rich, while on the other hand working people go hungry, and which has

resulted in many an instance in food being destroyed for the purpose of price boosting, and at the same time men, women and children have begged and gone hungry for these things; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the U. M. W. A., through the officers and delegates assembled, go on record as favoring organization as consumers, and that we recommend to our members the Rochdale plan of co-operation, so successfully carried out in Great Britain; and be it further

Resolved, That we direct our officers to take steps to wage a campaign of education and to encourage the establishing of stores based on the Rochdale plan, and that they take whatever steps they think will be the most successful in accomplishing this end.

Signed in behalf of Local Union No. 1893, U. M. W. A.

ALLEN S. HAYWOOD, President.

FRANK H. BEASLEY, JR., Secretary.

The committee offered the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 55:

We concur in the spirit of this resolution and recommend that we reaffirm our position of four years ago wherein we endorsed the Rochdale system of co-operation and referred to the various districts the question of assisting and encouraging the co-operative movement.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Haywood, District 12: We realize that every raise in wages we have had has immediately been taken away from us in the way of high cost of living. I can say without fear of contradiction that the mine worker's condition today is no better by one cent than it was ten years ago. Today is the time we should wage a vigorous campaign against exploitation. We have the food gamblers of the nation talking patriotism, but if you take the "pay" out of that patriotism there will be nothing left. We know that not later than last August food was dumped into the river and into the ocean. Our little co-operative store had some experience. We ordered a carload of potatoes. We found the car was being held in Chicago with other loaded cars. Somebody, for some reason—to fatten his pocketbook, I presume—was responsible for

holding those potatoes. When they arrived at our store they were frozen. We wrote to Mr. Hoover about it, but received no reply, and we have no record that anything has been done about it.

If it is desired to conserve food and people are in earnest about it they will arrange for the food to go from the producers to the consumers and give the middlemen jobs in the mines, on the farms and in the factories helping produce things to keep the army supplied. The government has not taken any vigorous steps to prevent the abuse I have spoken of. The price has been set to the retailer and the wholesaler knows how much he is allowed to make at the government's price. The co-operative movement in Britain in this war has proved its value to society. The government, in fact, has gone so far as to recognize that the people of Britain had been forced to organize co-operative societies and have increased their membership tremendously since the war. If it had not been for that movement the profiteers would have fattened their pocketbooks.

You can accuse me of being pro-German, or pro-anything else, but I will not back up profiteering. I am going to fight the enemy in this country exactly as I fight the enemies outside of America. The same enemies are here today and are going around advocating that the miners work sixteen hours a day to relieve the coal shortage, and they would not work eight hours a day themselves sitting in office chairs. It is necessary to reduce our hours and get increases in wages. It is just as essential that we organize on the buying end and make our increase in wages what they ought to be—something that will bring more comfort to the homes of the working men, the only real patriots in the country. I hope you will adopt a plan to establish a bureau of information in our organization and send out literature on this important question.

Delegate Brown (Wm.), District 17: The plan contained in the resolution is something we have fought for in West Virginia for quite a number of years. No one in West Virginia feels the effect of the high cost of living more than us colored people, because we do like our food. Wherever there is a proposition that interests the American workingman, the American negro, and especially the West Virginian under the auspices of the United Mine Workers, will advocate such a policy and will stand by it. We are determined not only to use our energies

to fight any one who raises his hand against our democratic nation, but the American negro of West Virginia will raise his hand against any one who does anything that affects his stomach just as he will against the kaiser.

The miners of West Virginia in their last convention drafted resolutions similar to the one just read. The United Mine Workers of West Virginia too long have waited, not only to carry out the policy of doing away with thugs who oppress us, but have waited too long to do those things that will better their conditions in others ways. Now we have decided that the American white men, backed by the American negroes under the auspices of the United Mine Workers will rise and ask for immediate relief in this food question, because our stomachs need better food. Of what use is it for our honored President to recognize a resolution that will fix a time for a commission to act? We want immediate action, because our stomachs can't wait. Not only are the colored miners of District 17 awaiting the action of this convention, but the entire delegation and the entire group of miners who have struggled so long and who have been helped by you to reach a decent standard of living want action.

Today we are represented in this convention by a large delegation, and we are as grateful to you for what you have done for District 17 as any delegates here. Now let us go back to West Virginia knowing that a satisfactory resolution has been adopted, not to take effect next month or next year, but immediately. I am not in favor of going back to District 17 and District 29 with a resolution that will not give us immediate relief. The American negro and the West Virginia negro has expanded under the advances that have been given us, but he will be better satisfied when you help us build stores in West Virginia and all over the United States where the material man, whether black or white, will get the benefit of the wages he spends.

Delegate Pollock, District 19: During the great strike in the Nineteenth district last summer the greatest enemies we had in my city were the merchants and the preachers. I took it upon myself to inform those two classes that when we whipped the operators I would turn my attention to them. I did that. The first day of January I started a co-operative store in my city, and today I can furnish evidence to show that

I have reduced the cost of living to the workingmen 45 per cent. You men are to blame for the conditions under which we live. I want the convention before we adjourn to go on record condemning the outrages that are being practiced upon the American people.

Delegate Hoffman, District 21: This is a subject in which I have been interested for a number of years. After the strike in Pennsylvania was won with the aid of President Roosevelt conditions were investigated and the miners were given an increase in wages that amounted to ten million dollars a year, but the price of coal was raised a sufficient sum to give the operators one hundred million dollars. This co-operative movement will benefit the conditions of the miners. I believe we are the strongest organization in the United States and we should set the example to the others. We should lead in this movement. Every wage increase we have received has been offset by the increased cost of living. We ought to make a united effort to remedy this condition before we are driven into it by drastic means. We can never hope to better our conditions unless we can control the price of food to some extent.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), District 12: I am in favor of the report of the committee, because next to the trade union itself I believe the establishment of a co-operative movement in all its branches is of more importance to the men who work for their living than any other organization there is in existence at this time. I know of no place where it is more needed or where it will do more good than here in our own country. The only way anything can be done permanently, intelligently, and on a basis of fairness with the necessities of life, in arranging for buying the things that you must buy in order to live, is by organization. That is the only way to deal with the employers intelligently or to have any degree of permanency assured.

We used to denounce the employers; we used to have investigations and pass resolutions condemning them, but as long as we stopped at that we made no progress, we did not get any better conditions. It was only when we established an organization, when we developed the intelligence and the fighting resources of our people and compelled them to grant us recognition that we received any consideration. And it is just as true of the commercial interests of our nation as it is of the employing interests. A corner groceryman will steal a dollar from a working man

when he can do it legally just as quick as an employer will; he will steal as many of them and he will steal from as many people as the employer will. We have investigated them and have passed resolutions condemning them, and in the face of this, in the face of the fact that every one agrees they are taking more than they ought to take, they are going higher and higher except where some strong influence backed up by an organization requires them to do something near what is right. We are going to have the same kind of organization here before we can deal with the question of the cost of living intelligently and put it on a basis that will allow us to get our living at the prices that should obtain.

How many of you know what made possible the Russian Revolution? They had no trade union movement, the employers would not stand for it; they had no permanent organization on a large scale politically, but they had twelve million heads of families in the co-operative movement and the power of that organization, with the knowledge and the experience they obtained in dealing with every phase of commerce and industry, enabled them to overthrow the old government. Every man who knows anything about the success of the Russian Revolution gives credit to the co-operative movement for being the most powerful single influence that made possible its success. In every civilized country in the world—and we must use a question mark now when we speak of civilization—but in every so-called civilized nation in the world the co-operative movement had been started. We have it started in our own country. We are behind every country in that respect, with the possible exception of Canada. In Germany, next to their trade union movement, it was the most powerful influence they had in the interest of the worker, and that was true of Austro-Hungary, of Italy, of the Scandinavian countries, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland.

In the last convention of the British Trade Union Congress, for the first time in its history, a resolution was adopted declaring that every co-operator should be a trade unionist and every trade unionist a co-operator. They instructed their parliamentary committee to work in conjunction with the directors of the international wholesale department to arrange for putting the number of retail stores in each community that would serve that community, and then provide that every working man in that community should trade in that store, thus reducing the cost of unnecessary rent and clerk hire. In Springfield, Ill., there are

375 grocery stores. One day we sat down and figured that we could put a grocery within a block of every residence of that town and only need 33. You can figure out the saving in rent, clerk hire, delivery service, etc. They had about 342 unnecessary grocery stores; they had to buy 342 lots, 342 stores, stocks for these stores, delivery trucks, telephones and labor. When the workers paid their bills they were paying a share of that unnecessary cost. There are just as many middlemen over the number needed as there are grocery stores, and there are as many unnecessary wholesale men as there are middlemen. In addition to that, under the present arrangement, there is no law that prevents them from charging every penny they can compel the workingman to pay, either through ignorance or lack of knowledge, for the cost of his living.

There is only one way you can deal with this question and it will not be an easy job. It takes just as much intelligence, just as much patience, tact, good judgment and courage to stay in a fight to establish a co-operative society as it does to establish a local union in a non-union field. You have every employer to fight, you have every business and financial interest and every crooked politician, but you can make a success of it if you give a little time to it. Organize, use good judgment, stay on the job and stick with the institution. This has been done in at least sixty stores in Illinois. Some of these stores have been more successful than others, but it has been demonstrated beyond any possibility of doubt that it is not the fault of the co-operative movement when a store fails, it is either weakness in the organization, lack of knowledge, neglect, incompetency, or worse. Wherever a store has been handled intelligently it has been successful. The last statement of the Gillespie store showed they had paid something like \$3,000 in dividends and interest on the money invested. The very fact that a co-operative store was established in Gillespie reduced the cost of living at least 10 per cent to everybody in the town. It reduced it even to those who did not belong to the co-operative society, for the business men knew the larger the prices they would charge the greater the dividends of the co-operative store and the sooner the customers would leave them and go to the co-operative store.

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, for the first time in its history, the co-operative movement in our country

was endorsed unqualifiedly, whole-heartedly, with no reservations or evasions, and it was decided that the American Federation of Labor would get behind the movement and do everything in its power to establish and build it up. They said it was just as necessary to have a co-operative movement to protect ourselves from the merchants as it was to have a trade union movement to protect ourselves from the employers. If you had a co-operative movement you would not need Hoover, and Hoover will never be able to do for you what you will be able to do for yourselves through the co-operative movement.

In the degree that you establish your own co-operative movement you add that much strength and intelligence to the trade union movement, you make it easier to fight against injustice and make progress. I hope every worker will take the question up seriously. Establish your retail stores, and as soon as you have enough of these stores to make a wholesale department a success that department will be started. As soon as you have a substantial wholesale department you can start manufacturing and you will go the road every other co-operative movement has gone. When we get that far there will be less opposition from the other side and we will have double the strength we have now; it will be easier to make progress and we will get to the place where the workingmen will secure what they are really entitled to.

Delegate Conners, Local 792: I know the co-operative stores are all right, but what are you going to do with the truck store? That is the biggest evil we have in America. In lots of camps in Illinois, and I presume in other parts of the United States, they have them. If you are raising a family and have two or three boys coming up you will have to deal in the truck store or you will get no show to work. The men are put up against the "sticker" question and when pay day comes 10 per cent is taken off the dollar for advancing money. Why doesn't the government make those stores quit as they did in England? England said, "No, we want no truck stores," and they were done away with. I am working in a place where they pay every Saturday night. I was put on the road in a place where I had work, because I was on the committee and was active. Now I am at Norris, and we are paid every Saturday night. I had twenty-seven dollars coming one week and they gave me \$3.38. I said I had more coming, but they had me charged with

powder, rent and fuse. Thousands of men in America are being ruined by company stores.

Delegate Smith, Alabama: I would like to ask the committee if they have provided for a campaign of education in their recommendations. If you are just reaffirming a resolution adopted four years ago—and we haven't made any progress under that—it seems to me we need some other resolution that will provide for encouraging those stores. The resolution does provide for an extended campaign of education in favor of co-operative stores.

Chairman Harlin: The committee recommends that the matter be referred back to the various districts. We cannot organize co-operative stores in this convention. You must take this back to your districts and take it into your local unions and your localities. The district can do more to help the co-operative movement than we can in this convention. The districts can take the matter up with the various local unions and do what they can to foster the co-operative movement. You have discussed the high cost of living. We deal with that in a separate resolution. I believe the only sensible thing we can do is to reaffirm our position of four years ago. It is upon the amount of interest the individual miner has in the co-operative movement the success of the movement depends. I think you can understand that as readily as I can and see the logic of the position of the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Greenway, District 11: I favor the resolution as it reads. Too often have we as districts branched out in the co-operative movement before the people were educated to the proper extent. The result has been failures that have injured the co-operative movement. We need a campaign of education all over the land. Whenever we get the proper education we will be able to maintain these stores. If we had the proper medium of education to supply literature and the true facts about the co-operative movement we would be able to establish and maintain stores that would be of benefit to the miners and to the public generally. We do not have to talk about the high cost of living—we can feel it when we put our feet under the table. It is only through education the co-operative movement will ever be made a success.

Delegate Sabo, District 5: I believe it is necessary for this International convention to provide some means to protect the membership

in the various districts through the co-operative movement. In the local I represent we went into the co-operative store business last November. We took this up because every time we got a nickel or two advance in our wages our brother merchants took a quarter away from us. Since we started the store we have sold \$3,160 of stock. We have 212 members. When we started the store we had some very intelligent and active men connected with it. After the coal company found out what we were trying to do some of our very active members dropped out. They had big families dependent upon them and they did not want to lose their jobs. It was not because they did not see the benefit of the co-operative movement, but they had to save their jobs. I think the International should protect the membership. Committees should be appointed to go through the various districts to educate the members in regard to the co-operative movement. I hope this convention will do something in that respect. We have not only the coal companies to fight but our brother merchants as well. They are now charging us from 35 to 60 cents a pound for meat. As soon as we open the door of a co-operative store it reduces the cost of living. The merchants are opposed to that. When we opened our store they reduced things and tried to force us out of business. When we tried to interest our members they said, "It is a good thing if it is run right. If you get the right man at the head of the store it will succeed." They never question the honesty of the man at the head of the private store. I sent resolutions to a convention of District 5 some years ago requesting the district to take up the co-operative movement, but the resolutions were thrown into the waste basket. Now the International convention is referring this matter to the district. I think it is time the International convention should do something.

Delegate Franklin, District 15: The International organization ought to do something to give real instruction to the members in regard to the co-operative movement. In Colorado we are suffering the same difficulties the other districts have suffered because of the high cost of living. We have succeeded in organizing the greater portion of Colorado and bringing our people, the people of my race, the American negroes especially, into the United Mine Workers. As American citizens and United Mine Workers we are loyal to our country and to our organization. We feel the organization ought to adopt some resolution that will

bring down the cost of living. In Colorado we pay a higher price for the necessities of life than any other State in the Union. For a quarter of a century the operators of Colorado have been holding the laboring people by the neck, but, thank God, the workers are getting together and breaking the hand of power that has dominated so long in that State, the hand of the Welborns and the Rockefellers. That iron hand of power today in Colorado is being loosened, and it is being done by placing the organization on a firm foundation. We need education through the United Mine Workers' Journal and in other ways. The Journal is printed in three languages now, but I think a portion should be printed in Spanish.

Delegate McGuinn, District 12: I am heartily in favor of the resolution. I would like to have it go even farther. I have had some experience in the co-operative movement. I happened to be one of the men in a co-operative store that went broke. I will give the history of that store to the delegates and clear up some things we have been criticised for.

A co-operative store was started in Eldorado, Ill., on the 15th of November two years ago. The most active members in starting the store were men who were looking for jobs. They raised \$1,750 to start the store. This money was turned over to a manager, a man named Matthews, an ex-International organizer. The Board of Directors were at loggerheads. The manager was a good fellow. They turned the money over to this distinguished gentleman. He went to St. Louis and bought from the wholesale houses there, brought the stuff to the co-operative store, got a lot of his friends to help knock the tops off the boxes and throw the stuff on the shelves with no cost price or selling price marked on it. He was in the store from the 15th of November till the 9th day of February, and by that time there was \$2,200 indebtedness on the store. There was a special meeting of the stockholders called to show the actual condition of the store. This distinguished gentleman got up and reported to the stockholders that when they paid up their store bills on pay day the store would be 250 per cent better off than it was in the beginning. Now, I want to show you how he performed.

He bought canned goods for 7½ cents wholesale and sold them for

5 cents; he bought a bucket of fish that cost 2½ cents a pound and offered to sell it for 12½ cents a pound. The consequence was he did not sell any. He paid 14 cents for coffee, paid the freight and drayage on it and sold it for 15 cents a pound. And yet he made the stockholders believe he was making 250 per cent! When I happened to call his hand and asked how he was doing it by paying 7½ cents for an article and selling it for 5, he said he was selling below cost to induce the stockholders to patronize themselves. They fell for it. He was supposed to be under bond, but he was in the store for several weeks without furnishing the bond. He gave the coal company he had worked for as reference to the bonding company. Immediately after he got his bond it was discovered the store was broke. I was selected as the goat. I went into the store on the 8th of November and borrowed from the stockholders something like \$120. The next morning a sight draft of \$228 came in from the Butchers Supply Company of St. Louis. He was overdrawn \$33 at the bank. The butcher's outfit was covered by a chattel mortgage. The sight draft remained in the bank three days. I went out and borrowed \$210 to take it up. Nobody knew what he paid for the outfit. There was no record of it. He bought a rendering kettle for the butcher shop. When it arrived the door was broken off and he accepted it. When the inventory was taken he had 100 pounds of candy in the store and one barrel of flour. On Christmas Day or just before the holidays he had fifty cases of oranges for that small co-operative store. About forty-eight cases of the oranges spoiled. He bought ten bags of sweet potatoes. Every bag was opened and from a peck to a bushel taken out. The rest froze and had to be thrown out. There was a bill sent in from the St. Louis Produce Company for \$256. There was no record or bill to show he owed it. I wrote the firm and demanded an itemized statement. They sent me another bill for \$266 due. I demanded an itemized statement. They sent me an itemized statement and got the bill down to \$200. I presume they got by with those things time after time for he kept no record. He allowed one family to have credit to the amount of \$109.80 and they never paid a penny in the store.

A delegate arose to a point of order and stated that the question before the house was not the Eldorado store.

Delegate McGuinn: I am showing why the resolution is not strong enough.

President Hayes: The chair rules that the delegate is in order. This is a discussion of the mistakes and successes of the co-operative movement. Delegate McGuinn is discussing the mistakes.

Delegate McGuinn: The family did not pay a penny to the store. Traveling Auditor Sharpe came to Eldorado and I told him to come over and I would show him what I had in the store. I told him I did not think there was any way we could get a record that the man was crooked. The only thing I could find was a slip of paper in the accounts register where he had paid one member of his family \$6 cash for helping put the stuff on the shelves. He was not the only one who helped. There were several others. The statement has been made that McGuinn got away with a pocket full of money. They said I stood responsible for \$600. The secretary of our local union accepted the job of boss. I was treasurer. The traveling auditor came down and appointed me to fill his place until some one was elected. Consequently I had to make out the check-off sheet. The wholesale people took advantage of that and foreclosed. I happened to have \$600 in my pocket to pay off the debt, but that was in checks that were worthless. I never got a penny for running that store for six months. To be exact, I was there five months and three weeks. When they ran the attachment on the store I called the board of directors together and turned the \$600 over to them. The secretary and myself were under bond. The directors wanted to pay me my salary first. I said, "No, if there is going to be any loser in this case I will be the loser." The meat cutter had never got any money from the time I went in and a clerk who had been there from the time the store opened up had not drawn any money while I was in the store. Consequently I was lucky that they closed it up or I would have had the \$600 debt left hanging over me. A traveling salesman told me in the presence of the clerks that he knew this man was paid by the merchants of that town to break up the store. That was a salesman of the Smith Baking Company. It looked very suspicious to me. The man was wise enough to cover up his tracks and leave no records. I had to write the wholesale house to see how much he paid for this stuff.

I believe in adopting a resolution providing for a committee to make an investigation of a man's qualifications and see that he is bonded wherever a co-operative store is started. That will protect the manager

and it will protect the interests of the stockholders if they haven't intelligence enough to protect themselves.

Delegate Moyer, District 6: I would like to move that we table the substitute so we can get action on the resolution that was sent in by Local Union 1893. (Seconded and carried.)

President Hayes: The resolution is before the house.

Delegate Haywood moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 58.

Hazel Kirk, Pa., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The members of our Union District No. 5, in the Pittsburgh district, being in direct competition with non-union fields, Fayette and Westmoreland counties, and who have had a bitter struggle years to maintain and keep our organization in District No. 5, therefore be it

Resolved, That the International convention now assembled assist us in organizing Fayette and Westmoreland counties both morally and financially at the earliest possible date.

FRANK BUTLER.

Local Union No. 1477, Hazel Kirk, Pa.

The committee recommended that the entire matter be referred to the International Executive Board.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 67.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Issaquah, Wash., December 3, 1917.

Whereas, It is claimed that a large number of Chinese laborers are needed in this country to relieve the labor shortage; and

Whereas, We believe this statement is being used to get an opportunity to use Chinese labor to lower existing standards of labor; and

Whereas, We know that the introduction of Chinese labor in this country would result in a lowering of existing standards; and

Whereas, The existing shortage of labor can be met by the establishing of fair working conditions in all industries; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Union No. 2747, U. M. W. of A., most emphatically protests against any and all proposed amendments to existing immigration laws that will admit of any greater freedom of entry for Chinese labor.

Presented on behalf of Local Union No. 2747.

CHAS. SHORT,
Secretary-Treasurer District No. 10, U. M. W. of A.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Short, District 10: I would like to ask that, in addition to having the endorsement of this convention to the resolution, it be submitted by the officers to the American Federation of Labor and have it transmitted by them to the labor lobby in the present Congress. There has been an attempt, for several months, that has the backing of Mr. Rockefeller and a number of the great predatory interests of this country, to allow the importation of Chinese labor. They claim there is a labor shortage in this country, and they have conducted a campaign of advertising for labor in sections of the country where there is no shortage. They claim they require 20,000 laborers in the shipyards, yet only three blocks from our headquarters in Seattle there is the largest shipyards in the Northwest, and each morning you can find from 200 to 500 men applying for work. I am sure this resolution, with the endorsement of this convention, will be of great assistance to the labor lobby now in Congress to defeat the proposed amending of the immigration laws to allow the importation of Chinese labor. I hope it will be immediately submitted to the labor lobby in Washington.

Delegate Rees, District 18: I have no doubt this motion will be adopted unanimously by the convention, but some few words by myself

may not be out of place at this time. I am a Canadian and know something about the Chinese question. There is an understanding between the Canadian government and the Chinese government that is something to the effect that 200,000 Chinese be transported from China across Canada to work behind the lines in France. There is wide-spread agitation in Canada, owing to a shortage of labor, that a number of those Chinese should be put off in Canada to do work there. There is a \$500 head tax for the supposed prevention of Chinese coming into Canada, but, notwithstanding the head tax which is collected to a large extent, there are a number of Chinese coming in both openly and clandestinely. This has affected your organization in Canada.

The reason I arise is to have this convention know, and by knowing move against the business element of Canada that is attempting to have these Chinese dropped off in Canada at this time. To my mind there is no need of the Chinamen who are supposed to be sent to the war zone dropping off in Canada at this time. If the government arranges some method of co-operation, such as was spoken of recently by Walker and others, I am convinced the Chinamen will not be needed in Canada. We have all kinds of men there at the present time who are not doing any useful labor. With this in mind I think we should strenuously oppose, both in Canada and the United States, the dropping off of these Chinamen at this time. Some of the districts in the United States haven't this menace at all, doubtless, and I arise to warn you who have not this menace to help us who have to fight it.

Delegate Sembo, District 2: They want the Chinese here and they don't give us enough cars to keep us at work. If they give us enough cars there will be no shortage of coal. Each mine and each local ought to have a list of the number of cars they receive and the number they need.

Delegate McCleish, District 12: I move that this convention endorse the resolution of Secretary Short and that our secretary be instructed to communicate with the American Federation of Labor and the labor lobby.

President Hayes: The report of the committee provides for that.

Delegate Haywood, District 12: I believe this matter ought to be

gone into in a serious way. My recollection is that when the patriotic capitalists of Britain, at the time of the Boer war, shipped in Chinese labor to take the place of white labor in South Africa the Chinese were paid much less than the Boers and the Britishers had been working for. Now I understand that no mention is to be made of the importation of labor during the war. I think this is a rather ticklish affair, when China apparently is lined up with the Allies. However, I have no objection to any man from any part of the world going any place in the world to work for a living, but I do object strenuously to gathering uninformed workers from all over the globe and bringing them into a country to keep the employing class down and reduce their standard. I am going to object as best I know how when this is done.

I am informed that in some parts of Canada where soldiers have volunteered to go and fight for democracy the Chinese have taken their jobs and are working for less wages. We have professors and big employers advocating Chinese labor as a solution for the labor shortage. Their solution, from my point of view, is a plan to get more profits and pay the people less wages. The standards of living of a Chinaman are away below the American standard, or the standards of the white men of any race. Wherever the Chinaman works today it is under conditions that white men will not work under. We must face these facts. Theoretically they should be allowed to come in here, but we have to contend with the employing classes, and I believe our government is sincere in the statement that the status of the workers shall not be reduced. If that is so I think they will prevent these people being shipped here to lower wages.

This is such an important matter that if labor falls asleep you will be left when the war is over. You must be loyal to your country, but we have enemies to fight at home as well as the enemy abroad. I have here an article from the Painters' Journal which says that men are working in Chicago on government jobs for 30 cents an hour, although their ordinary scale has been 72 cents an hour. I have one of these men working in the mines with me now.

Chairman Harlin: The only purpose of the argument, so far as I can see, is to endeavor to impress upon the convention the importance of this question. The committee has concurred in the resolution—and

it is a very sweeping resolution. I believe the average man doesn't appreciate the importance of this Asiatic question, because he doesn't realize just how many millions of Chinamen there are in China or appreciate what they could do to the standard of living in the Occident, the western nations, if they were allowed to come in freely. A school teacher, in trying to impress upon the minds of her class the number of Chinamen there were in China, said: "Every time one of you children winks your eye a Chinaman dies." A little later she saw Tommy in the corner winking his eye energetically and asked what he was doing. Tommy said, "I was killing Chinamen." The resolution is very sweeping; there is no opposition to it, and I think if we comply with the request of Secretary Short, of the Washington miners, and send it to the American Federation of Labor and the labor lobby we can very well afford to vote unanimously for the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahan: I want to ask the chairman of the committee if Canada will be included in that resolution?

Chairman Harlin: We cannot legislate upon the question; we are only stating to the world the position of the United Mine Workers, and our fellows in Canada can use the moral effect of our action in trying to prevent the lowering of the bars in Canada to permit the importation of Chinese labor. The effect, after all, is only moral.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 69 and Resolution No. 128, dealing with the same subject, were covered in one recommendation of the committee, as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 69.

Buxton, Iowa, December 24, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We ask this international convention to adopt these resolutions and to appoint a committee to wait on Mr. Herbert Hoover in regards to this matter and report back to the convention, as this matter is very important to the rank and file of our organization.

To the Honorable Herbert Hoover, Federal Food Administrator, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:—Whereas, The members of Local Union No. 1799, of the United Mine Workers of America, of Buxton, Monroe County, State of Iowa, and comprising an aggregate membership of 900 miners and employes in and around the mines of the Consolidated Coal Company, a subsidiary company of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, with a daily output of nearly 3,000 tons of coal, and a population of nearly 5,000 in Buxton and vicinity, take this method of voicing their protest against the profiteering practiced by the various storekeepers and merchants of this locality; and

Whereas, The recent advance granted to the miners in the Washington conference, for the purpose of stimulating production and enabling our members properly to provide for themselves and their families, is being systematically filched from them by the merchants in this locality, who, after the advance was granted, immediately increased the selling prices of their commodities to such an extent that the raise in wages was more than absorbed, thereby rendering the advance ineffective as a means of accomplishing the purposes for which it was designed; and

Whereas, We believe it is within our power to take such action in food control as will definitely allay the industrial unrest, thereby stimulating production, stabilizing industry and placing business on a sound, economic basis; and

Whereas, The United States Government, by establishing and enforcing fair and equitable retail prices on all commodities, will demonstrate to our people the fact that the government intends to protect the public from those who, with deliberate intent, are taking advantage of the unusual conditions created by the war to exploit the people; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Local Union No. 1799 of the United Mine Workers of America, of Buxton and vicinity, representing nearly 5,000 men, women and children, dependent on the coal mines for their means of livelihood, desire to assure you that our interest in the welfare of the nation is second to none, and that we stand ready to do all in our power to assist the government in the successful prose-

cution of the war. We realize the importance of a maximum production of coal at this time, and, handicapped as we are because of so many of our members being called to the fields of battle, we assure you that we stand ready to exert ourselves to the uttermost to bring about the results so much desired; and, be it further

Resolved, That as long as individuals or groups of individuals are permitted to exploit the people by charging exorbitant prices for the necessities of life, just that long will it be impossible for us to guarantee to the government the results which are so necessary in this, the hour of the nation's need.

We therefore urge upon you the immediate necessity of taking such action as will effectually curb the activities of the unscrupulous merchants and speculators who place self-interest and private gain above the public weal.

We further urge you to appoint a man in every coal camp to represent you and to see that the government prices set by you are rigidly lived up to; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the local press and a copy spread upon our records for future reference.

J. C. HUNT,
J. G. RODGERS,
THOMAS LIGHAN,
Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTION NO. 128.

Ward, Iowa, December, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We ask this convention to adopt these resolutions and to appoint a committee to wait on Mr. Herbert Hoover in regard to this matter and report back to this convention, as this matter is very important to the rank and file of our organization:

To the Hon. Herbert Hoover, Federal Food Administrator, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir—The recent advance granted to the miners in the Washington conference for the purpose of stimulating production and enabling our members properly to provide for themselves and their families, is being systematically filched from them by the merchants in the mining camps. The merchants, after the advance was granted, immediately increased the selling prices of their commodities to such an extent that the raise in wages was more than absorbed, thereby rendering the advance ineffective as a means of accomplishing the purpose for which it was designed. We would urge an immediate representative in each camp or sub-district to see that the government prices are rigidly lived up to.

H. B. DYHRMAN,
JAMES BUCKLEY,
THEO. BOURLARD,
Committee.

The committee recommended the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 69 and No. 128:

Whereas, The Honorable Herbert C. Hoover has been appointed Federal Food Administrator with power to regulate and control the price of foodstuffs; and

Whereas, Through the instrumentality of said Food Administrator retail prices have been established and regulations enforced affecting the sale of food supplies that have been of great benefit and assistance to our people during the past months, when we have been called upon to meet the abnormal and trying conditions created as a result of our entry into the great world war; and

Whereas, We have evidence at hand to prove that notwithstanding these efforts to remedy the injustices practiced in the sale of food supplies, there are still many unscrupulous individuals who do not hesitate to coin our country's need to their own private advantage, and nowhere is this more true than in many of the isolated mining communities of our country; and

Whereas, The unreasonable and exorbitant price of the necessities of life prevailing in many of these mining communities have brought

forth protests from the local and district branches of the United Mine Workers of America in every section of the country; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the International Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, urge the Hon. Herbert C. Hoover to use the authority vested in his office to investigate the conditions complained of and to take such action as will prevent the further exploitation of our people by the unprincipled merchants and speculators who, like the vulture that hovers over the field of battle, would use this as the opportunity to fatten himself and his kind at the expense of the need and the suffering of people called upon to meet the emergencies of war.

The substitute offered by the committee for Resolutions Nos. 69 and 128 was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 77.

Black Diamond, Wash., December 8, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believe the time has arrived when there should be closer relations between unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

Whereas, We believe that the best way to bring this about is by the exchange of transfer cards between all local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Twenty-sixth Successive Constitutional and Third Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, in convention assembled, That the delegates to the next convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to act in favor of the above resolution.

Submitted by Local Union No. 2257, Black Diamond, Wash.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 77:

That we affirm our position as expressed in past conventions wherein our delegates to the American Federation of Labor have been requested to work in favor of a more liberal exchange of transfer cards between

the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 79.

Fayetteville, W. Va., December 27, 1917.

The Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, On August 1, 1917, the International Executive Board granted autonomy to District No. 29; and

Whereas, Since that day the duly elected district officers, including district board members, besides their other respective duties, have been actively employed as field workers and organizers with the most satisfying results; and

Whereas, These results were obtained and could have been obtained by, first, because the International organization bore the financial burden; and, second, because said district board members were thoroughly familiar with the almost unique conditions, geographical, political and social, that prevailed in District No. 29, augmented by a natural civic pride in addition to their thorough conception of true unionism and the principles of the U. M. W. of A.; and

Whereas, There are still approximately 10,000 unorganized mine workers in District No. 29, recognized as a great menace to the existing organization with its threatening army of mine guards maintained by the operators; and

Whereas, Notwithstanding this fact, the International Executive Board has decided to discontinue further financial support to District No. 29 after December 31, 1917, and thus practically likewise will discontinue the employment of district executive board members as field workers and organizers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record as being in accord with the sentiments expressed in this resolution, and the delegates hereby instruct the International Executive Board to provide the funds for the

maintenance of at least four board members from District No. 29 as field workers and organizers to work in said district, but their selection to be left to the discretion of the president of District No. 29.

H. J. WOOD,
W. E. STULL,
DAN STEVENSON,
Committee.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 79 be referred to the International Executive Board.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 84.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The International conventions are held preceding the district conventions; and

Whereas, Such a procedure is putting the cart before the horse and does not give a true representative feeling of the miners in the districts concerned on questions of national importance which come before the International convention; and

Whereas, Resolutions on questions of national importance being endorsed by the district conventions before the International conventions take place would carry more weight and would be more truly representative of the democracy of the organization; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, urge that such arrangements be made so that all district conventions precede the International conventions in the future.

LOCAL UNION NO. 376.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 84 be referred to the various district organizations.

Chairman Harlin: I want to say in behalf of the committee that we did not feel it would be the proper thing to legislate on this matter in this convention. I personally do not want to interfere with the

autonomy of the district organizations in matters of this kind. I don't know that it would be better for some districts to have their conventions before the International convention. Some districts, notably Ohio, hold their conventions prior to the International convention; others argue that they want to hold them after the International so they can amend their district laws to conform to the changes made in the International Constitution. We find it most expedient in our district to meet in the summer time. I think the habit can very well be left to the wisdom of the district organizations that legislate for themselves in matters of this kind.

Delegate Bell, District 6: I believe this is a subject that should be brought up in this convention. If that is done the districts will be prepared to take the matter up and discuss it.

Delegate Arscott, District 12: If we let this go back to the districts it will be two years before it can become a law, if the various districts adopt the resolution. I think it will not come at an opportune time for us to act upon it. The original resolution ought to be adopted.

Delegate Hamlin: I think it is better to let every district legislate for itself along this line. The men in a district know the conditions better than the men who have not been there.

Delegate Smith (Paul), Secretary of the Committee: Recognizing the autonomy of district organizations we are bound to recognize the fact that they have absolutely authority to decide when and where they want to hold their conventions. This is a matter that concerns the district organizations entirely. For that reason the committee recommends that it be referred to the various district organizations. They, and they only, have a right to say when their conventions shall be held.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 88.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Our international organization is progressing rapidly year by year, and is now in the most prosperous stage of its career,

and through its strength it has become a force in the nation that must be seriously considered, yet we are slow in obtaining some very important and material things, such as pensions for old and disabled miners. No provision has been made for them in their old age, yet they served society well. We find many of them injured or maimed for life, through a lifetime of service in the mines, and the only hope or place of refuge for them when they become incapacitated from work is the poorhouse; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the international organization, at the next convention, draft such measures providing for pensions for miners in their old age, and present the same to the United States legislature for prompt action, and also to take such steps within our own organization that will bring about immediate results.

JOHN E. MILLER,
SHERMAN DAVIS,
JAMES MUNDY,

Committee.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution 88: Inasmuch as this matter will be covered by the report of a special committee appointed by the last convention to deal with the subject matter, this resolution and several similar resolutions are referred to the Committee on Old Age Pensions. Your committee has taken no action on the subject and will not until the special committee makes its report.

The report of the committee was accepted without formal motion.

RESOLUTION NO. 89.

Klein, Mont., December 28, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolutions drawn up for introduction at the National Biennial Convention held at Indianapolis, Ind., January 15, 1918, by Joint Committee of Local Unions No. 2866 and 3574, and endorsed by the above local unions.

Resolution No. 1.—On account of our country entering into this

world war, and so many of the membership of the United Mine Workers of America have volunteered or have been drafted to serve in different capacities to serve this country; and so many different societies approaching the membership for donations, and the membership responding so liberally either collectively or individually, and the organization in general does not get credit for donations that it has so liberally given to the various societies for the upkeep of places of recreation for the men who have so willingly responded to their country's call; and

Whereas, We realize that this great organization of ours aims higher than mere recreation for men; and

Whereas, We realize that this organization wants to serve its membership and others who have responded to their country's call at the front in the form of first aid to the injured; be it

Resolved, That the national officers be empowered to levy an assessment of 25 cents per month on its membership for the duration of the war, and the funds derived therefrom be used to equip and support as many ambulances as the 25-cent assessment would allow, with the U. M. W. of A. emblem on; and be it further

Resolved, That the National Red Cross Society be approached on the subject relative to equip and maintain ambulances at the seat of war.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following substitute for Resolution No. 89:

We, the United Mine Workers of America, in convention assembled, hereby testify our appreciation of the splendid humanitarian work that is being done by the Red Cross.

We feel that in making the question of supporting the Red Cross a matter of community interest the correct policy has been pursued, and we are gratified to know that our membership have responded liberally in their respective home communities to the need of this splendid institution, and we now urge upon our members everywhere to continue to give in full measure their ungrudging support to an institution that stands out in the red glare of world war as an emblem of mercy.

and through its strength it has become a force in the nation that must be seriously considered, yet we are slow in obtaining some very important and material things, such as pensions for old and disabled miners. No provision has been made for them in their old age, yet they served society well. We find many of them injured or maimed for life, through a lifetime of service in the mines, and the only hope or place of refuge for them when they become incapacitated from work is the poorhouse; therefore, be it

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A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Chairman Harlin: Speaking for the committee, I want to say that, notwithstanding the fact that we have prepared a substitute for the original resolution, I feel like paying a small tribute this morning to the spirit that actuated the men of Klein, Mont., in submitting their resolution to this convention. We have not approved of their resolution because we feel it is not the practical way to support the Red Cross movement. We have endeavored in our substitute resolution to point out that we feel the question of supporting the Red Cross should be a matter of community interest. I know the miners have responded liberally. In my home district some of the locals have levied an assessment of 1 per cent. and are contributing that portion of their earnings to the Red Cross. That amounts to \$1 and as high as \$1.50 a month. I venture the assertion that if the people of the United States would all support the Red Cross with that degree of generosity there would be ample funds to take care of the splendid work in which the Red Cross is engaged.

I have had it pointed out to me that we would acquire considerable prestige if we would equip ambulances for service in France, each ambulance to have the emblem of the United Mine Workers on it. Let me point out that men who contribute to such a cause should not do so to acquire prestige. We can all support the Red Cross regardless of race, color, creed or class prejudices. I believe we should adopt the substitute offered by the Committee on Resolutions. The Red Cross stands above reproach, its integrity cannot be questioned, and I urge upon our membership to give their full measure of support to their various local movements that have in view the support of the Red Cross organization.

The motion to adopt the substitute offered by the committee was carried unanimously.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

THIRD DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., Thursday, January 17, President Hayes in the chair.

Secretary Green read the following telegram:

Philadelphia, Pa., January 17, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Greetings:—Weavers' Union, Local No. 72, United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the A. F. of L., on strike sixteen weeks. Five thousand loyal strikers. Manufacturers trying to starve weavers back to their looms. Outside financial help needed. Do your utmost.

GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE,
152 West Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The report was continued by Chairman Harlin and Secretary Smith, as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 91.

Des Moines, Iowa, December 21, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believe Congress has taken a step detrimental to the workingman of this country in passing prohibition laws, as it increases taxes on the poor, that are already overburdened; throws thousands of men out of work; does away with a good market for the farmer's grain and deprives men of their personal liberty; be it

Resolved, That this convention denounce the action of Congress and pledge our support against such action.

TOM MAXWELL, President.

JOHN MARCHANT, Secretary.

Local Union No. 3656,

Committee.

The committee recommended nonconcurrence in Resolution No. 91. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 97.

Bayard, W. Va., December 26, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That we, the members of Local Union No. 2478, demand for District 16, comprising local unions in Maryland and West Virginia, a uniform scale on tonnage, yardage and dead work, outside and inside the mines.

Resolved, That every mine comprising twenty-five or more union workers get a charter of their own for that particular mine.

Resolved, That we demand the fulfillment of the West Virginia law, viz.: That scales be placed on all tipples, a penalty to be imposed for failure to do so.

Resolved, That we beg of the International Board the privilege to retain Wm. Diamond as president of the Sixteenth District.

Resolved, That owing to the exorbitant prices charged by company stores and other businesses we urge the International Board to issue propaganda papers pertaining to the co-operative store principles and benefits.

Resolved, That we demand the recall of Judge Dayton of Phillipi, W. Va., as a judge who is an enemy to organized labor.

Resolved, That we pledge our loyalty to the principles of the U. M. W. of A. and urge your help to keep spreading unionism all over the states.

E. M. SCHELL,
E. C. GUTHRIE,
ELMER FORSYTH,

Resolutions Committee of 2478.

The committee recommended reference of Resolution No. 97 to the International Executive Board. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee referred Resolution No. 109 to the Committee on Constitution.

RESOLUTION NO. 110.

Gebo, Wyo., December 28, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It has come to our notice, through circular letters, of protest from national organizations, that there are complaints going to the Fuel Administrator, also to national headquarters of U. M. W. of A. as to the members of our organization lying idle when the mines are working, which puts a shadow of doubt as to our patriotism in the organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That on complaint of idleness of our members causing a lessening of production by coal companies, there be a Federal investigation to ascertain the facts and see whether it is our men at fault or the company; and, be it further

Resolved, Said investigators have full power to remedy all troubles of like nature. JOHN KNOWLES, Recording Secretary, ,
Local Union No. 2671.

Adopted by Local Union 2671, December 28, 1917.

The committee recommended nonconcurrence in Resolution No. 110.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Simonds, District 12: This matter should be investigated. The company I am working for sent a letter to the Fuel Administration saying that since we got a raise in wages we are making too much money. The fact of the matter is the company is making too much money. They want to curtail the money being paid the shift men. I am working in a machine mine. Mr. Jeremiah, who used to be an officer of our organization, is superintendent. They never have enough day men. If a room falls in, before they will clean it up they will let men go home. They haven't enough tracklayers or enough of other classes of labor.

I think we have a right to demand that the Fuel Administration investigate the charges made against us. I think we are as patriotic and as good citizens as any other class, and the reports sent the Fuel Administration are not true. I don't know whether they have been sent by Mr. Kraus or by Mr. Jeremiah. Myself and my buddy have worked steadily. I think the miners have a right to put their position before the people and before the administration. John P. White understands the situation and it is well to have a man in that position. We have a right to refute such statements as I have mentioned by affidavits and demand a personal investigation.

Chairman Harlin: The committee has no fault to find with the intention of those who submitted the resolution, but the committee must be governed by considerations of practicability, to say the least. We do not see how anything of practical value can come out of such an investigation. We do not believe the miners have been charged with responsibility for the coal shortage, or that such charges have been given any consideration by the authorities in Washington. The fact is that Dr. Garfield, his staff and the Federal administration generally know full well the miners are not responsible for this condition. They have complimented us already for the efforts we have put forward wherever possible to meet the war needs of the government by supplying coal. If a Federal investigating committee should go out, even in the absence of any specific charges, and the personnel of that committee were such that they did not agree with the objects and aims of the miners' union, they might find something to base a report on that would condemn the miners' organization. I don't know that I am in favor of having Federal investigators tell us whether we are right or whether we are wrong. The Senate already has a committee investigating labor problems and the supply of the things necessary to the conduct of the war. They are conducting an extensive investigation of the coal situation, probably the most important question that confronts the government and the American people today.

Because of the coal situation we have just received notice of the most drastic order probably ever issued by the government of the United States. They know it is the inadequacy of transportation facilities that prevents the coal miners furnishing enough coal to supply the needs of the country. No practical value would come as the result of

the adoption of such a resolution. I think if you will look into the matter sensibly you will see that the only thing to do is to concur in the report of the committee.

Delegate Bayless, District 17: It is not a month since we received a circular from our International. The local instructed me to write to Secretary Green and tell him he had received wrong information in regard to our place. He answered and said the operators and the Fuel Administration had registered this complaint. I believe it would be a good thing for this convention to concur in the resolution.

The motion to adopt the recommendation and report of the committee was lost.

Delegate Pascoe: I move to adopt the resolution. (Seconded.)

The reason I did not vote for the committee's report in this respect is because we have had some trouble at our mine in regard to this matter. A few days before I came to the convention a man who had been initiated in our local, who had formerly been a cigar maker, was appointed a federal watchman on the top of the mine. He gave us to understand that when we missed a day's work, or a fraction of a day, we would have to report to him; that he was going to keep tab on us. I believe the reason the resolution is brought here is because of what they saw coming in the future, because of the contract I hold in my hand which says that any employe throwing the mine idle shall be fined automatically. There are times when we come out of the mines, after completing our day's work or sometimes our rooms are caved in or something prevents us from working. There are other times we come out for reasons we do not wish to give. We want our liberty as we had it in the past. For that reason we should seriously consider the resolution. We have a number of two-by-four lawyers in our local and we have appointed some of those men to also take statements of men who are idle and give their reasons to our committee. When it comes to a fight of this kind the local wants to be prepared to protect its members.

Secretary Smith: Your committee did seriously consider this resolution and we could make nothing more or less out of it than that it would mean that the miners' international convention would be in here pleading their own innocence before they were even accused. Every one

knows that the shortage of coal is due to inadequate railroad facilities and not due to the miners of this country being unwilling to do their bit. I thought the convention understood what this resolution really meant. As Chairman Harlin has pointed out to you, a Federal investigation by a certain kind of investigator might seek to place some blame upon the members of our organization in certain communities he might investigate. This resolution says: "That there be Federal investigation to ascertain the facts and see whether or not our men are at fault." In case the investigator thought our men were at fault the resolution gives him authority "to have full power to remedy all troubles of like nature." If, in the mind of the investigator, it is necessary, it would mean nothing more or less than conscription in the coal mines. That is why the committee recommended non-concurrence in the resolution. It places too much authority in the hands of the investigator whom we have no authority to appoint. I hope that now the convention sees the danger of adopting a resolution of that kind, it will be non-concurred in.

I want to call your attention to the fact that, except in some isolated communities where men do not have the information, our members know that the senate is now conducting a rigid investigation, the whole trend of which has gone to show that the shortage of coal is due absolutely to inadequate railroad facilities. Nothing in the investigation so far has shown that the miners were not doing their duty. It is an accepted fact that if the miners are furnished with a sufficient number of cars they will produce more coal than is actually needed to carry on this war to a successful termination.

Delegate Forbes, District 11: I favor the resolution in a modified form, and desire at this time to offer as an amendment to the resolution that after the words "therefore, be it resolved," the following be inserted: "That the International Executive Board or the International officers send out to the various local unions blanks for the purpose of each local union, at the end of each pay period, inserting the number of men who have been deprived of work for various reasons that can be attributed to the fault of the coal companies."

We did that in Indiana at our last district board meeting, because the Indiana Coal Operators' Association for some time past had been compiling statistics obtained from the various mines each day. The

management of each mine has reported to the secretary of the operator's association the number of men they claim are slacking. Their figures show that in Indiana 20 per cent of the men are laying off. They call them individual slackers. I am inclined to believe these figures are incorrect, and the district executive board in its last meeting sent blanks to the local union to be filled out and sent into the district office showing the number of men idle because of shortage of track, broken machines, water in the mine, and other things that caused them to lay off. We will show that 35 or 40 per cent of the men are deprived of the opportunity to work when they want to work. The operators do not say anything about these things, but they harp on the "individual slacker." If the International sends out such blanks we will be in the position to show the percentage of men who were deprived of the opportunity to work when they were able and willing to do so.

Delegate Cathcart, Local 894: I move that the resolution be tabled. (Seconded, but not carried.)

Delegate Osborn, Local 621: I want to ask, if the officials of our Federal government, our fuel administration and our international officers are acquainted with the fact and know why more coal has not been produced, why we have been continually bombarded with letters from the international organization?

Delegate Savage (G. W.), District 6: I move that the subject matter be referred back to the Resolutions Committee to bring in some resolution covering the question. (Seconded.)

Delegate Walker (J. H.), District 12: I believe if any action at all is taken in this matter the motion of Delegate Savage should be adopted. I do not yield to any one in my desire to do all that lies in my power to assist our government in prosecuting this war, but I do object to the mine workers being singled out as the only men that are going to have an investigation made of every act they perform, whenever anybody elects to say they are not patriotic. The adoption of the resolution practically means that one thing. If it were possible to have a thoroughly competent committee, with an equal number of representatives of labor and the employers on it, to investigate every unpatriotic act, investigate the corner grocer who is overcharging our

man, investigate the employer who is taking advantage of his employees, include all these things within the scope of the investigation and provide for a committee composed of men who will give labor a square deal, I would be in favor of the proposition, but I am opposed to requesting that the mine workers be singled out and whenever a coal operator or any other employer who does not like them cares to say they are unpatriotic in any of their acts an investigation will be made by some committee, whether friendly or unfriendly. I would not put it past some coal operators and some employers to put some of their spotters in our ranks to do something to bring our organization into disrepute. I don't think they will stop at anything when it serves their purpose to do it, and the employers who are fighting organized labor today are going to every extreme to prevent the upbuilding of the union.

I have no hesitation in saying, from observation and experience in a great many places in our nation, that the workers are 100 per cent better patriots than the other class. I have no fear of a real investigation. I have no fear of what will be found by a committee composed of fair minded men. I don't want one poor, misguided devil, or some person who is not favorable to us to investigate and make any such report. If an employer refuses to give men and women the wages they are entitled to, the wages that will enable them to live as American citizens should live, if he employs children, if all these things would be taken into consideration and the men branded as unpatriotic—if this were found to be the case, I would favor such an investigation.

Secretary Green: I am sure that every delegate in this convention fully appreciated that it is the intent of the authors of this resolution to attract attention to what they believe is an unfounded complaint on the part of some people representing the Federal government and the coal operators of this country, but in their efforts to attract attention to what they believe and what we believe is an unfounded charge, they advocate an action that would defeat what they are seeking to remedy. We must be careful not to take such action as may fail to accomplish the very purpose and intent of the resolution. We need to proceed cautiously and consider well our action. I feel that the Committee on Resolutions acted very wisely in refusing to concur in this resolution. I am sure if the delegates to this convention understood the resolution

fully, its scope, its intention and what is involved, they would not fail to heartily agree with the action of the committee.

There is no question in the minds of your representatives, the international officers, that the coal operators in many sections of this country, in order to cover up their own shortcomings, their own failure to rise to the needs of the occasion, are attempting to transfer the blame to the shoulders of the men who mine the coal. They are attempting to deceive the Federal government. You men fresh from the mining camps of this country, fresh from the places where coal is mined know full well that if the coal operators of this country would do their duty, would respond as patriots, and if the railroads of the country would do their full duty we could almost bury this nation in a foot of coal. There would be no necessity for these far-reaching drastic orders that are now being issued to conserve the coal supply if that were done, because if the men were given an opportunity to work the coal would be mined. The men cannot mine the coal unless the mines operate and unless the railroads haul coal from the mines.

There may be some criticism directed toward the International for sending circulars to the local unions when complaints of this kind are made. What are we to do when the Federal authorities at Washington, clothed with almost unlimited authority, and the coal operators as well continually complain that individual men in different localities refuse to work? Is it proper and right that that information should be kept by your International officers? Or do you think they ought to transmit the information direct to the membership? That is the reason why the circulars were sent out, so that local unions would know that these complaints were made and so that they could give the International officers the information they were entitled to as to the conditions in their respective localities. The International officers would then be in possession of facts in order to counteract the charges made.

This resolution provides for an investigation. By whom? By a representative of the Federal government? If so, who is going to be that representative? Does it occur to you that the representative of the Federal government might be a man who is antagonistic to the men who mine the coal? It seems to me, as Delegate Walker has well said, that if an investigation is to be made it ought to be made by a com-

mittee upon which is represented the interested party who is being investigated. And if that investigation is to be made it ought to be made in a most thorough and exhaustive manner so that all the underlying causes might be ascertained and the facts made known to the people at large. The danger of this resolution is contained in the last resolve, which says: "Resolved, Said investigators have full power to remedy all troubles of like nature."

Are we ready in this biennial convention to transfer authority to some investigator we don't know to remedy all matters? Are we ready to transfer that authority to an investigator to issue all orders and to decide these matters that so vitally affect our well being and happiness? Are we willing to blindly say before we know who the investigator will be that we are going to give him full power in advance to do as he pleases with us? That is what the resolution says—that is the danger of the proposition. So, my friends, to safeguard your interests, to protect your welfare, it occurs to me this resolution should be referred back to the committee or it should be defeated so that a correct expression may be given the sentiments that are in our hearts and our minds.

Delegate Doyle, District 21: I am in favor of the substitute; I think it will bring about the desired result. Early in December when the country was clamoring for coal, in the anthracite field, of Arkansas, where I work, there were 100 flats of coal on our tracks and it was not sent to the people of Little Rock where it was badly needed. I think the miners of this country are able to defend themselves and show to any investigators, no matter how antagonistic they may be to us, that we are right. If you will give us three days' work each week we will produce more coal than Uncle Sam needs; give us two of the other three days and we will produce enough coal for Europe. It has been proved beyond any doubt in the field where I work that since the government has taken over the railroads we have worked four and five days a week. During the two months preceding the taking over of the railroads by the government we got six days. Everybody in our part of the country was clamoring for coal. We went out two days in a half month and got to work two hours. I think we need an investigation, but I think the best results will be secured by referring the resolution back to the committee.

Chairman Harlin: I want to say a brief word for the committee. If the motion offered by Delegate Savage is adopted and this resolution is referred back to the committee in the hope that the committee will concur in the spirit of the resolution as expressed in the last resolve, so far as I am concerned you might just as well select another committee. If the mine workers in this convention are prepared to turn over the miners' union and its affairs, body, boots and breeches, to the Federal government and an investigator we do not know, I am not prepared to do that as a member of this committee. We do not disagree with the intent of those who submitted the resolution. I am no more afraid of an investigation than is my friend Delegate Doyle, but the arguments advanced by Delegate Walker and Secretary Green stated fully the position of the committee. You delegates have demonstrated to me a disposition to concur in this resolution. You are sent here by your locals to listen carefully to the things that may be placed before you and to deliberate wisely in the interests of the United Mine Workers of America, and before you take a position that will deliver the men you represent back home in the mining camps of this country to an investigating committee, the personnel of which you know nothing, which may be composed of those who oppose everything you believe in, before you do that, my friends, you ought to consider mighty carefully your action or you may be called upon to stand up and assume the responsibility for that action when you go home, when the full meaning of what you have done becomes known to the miners of America.

The committee in nonconcurring in this resolution have no apology to offer for its action. Whether you refer this back or not you cannot get me to take a stand concurring in that last resolve. You might as well know that now as later. With that knowledge, with the information that has been given, I want you to vote upon this resolution knowing the responsibility that was placed upon you when you were sent to this convention to represent the people of your home communities.

Delegate Savage (G. W.), District 6: I voted for the committee's report. I object as strongly to that clause in the resolution as any delegate in this house, but I believe since the delegates have been informed of the importance of the resolution we ought to sustain the motion to recommit the matter to the committee. I believe the committee will be able to bring in a report to this convention that will cover

the propositions that have been discussed here today and show to the public that the miners of this country are patriotic and will work all the time they have an opportunity to work.

Since I have been in this city I have heard men on the streets criticising the miners because they are convened in this convention. They figured that if the 1,500 miners in this convention were at home mining five tons of coal apiece it would supply sufficient coal to warm the houses in Indianapolis, and it would not be necessary to close schools, churches and playhouses. They do not figure that in Ohio last month the miners worked less than 50 per cent of the time. Many of our mines worked only five days during December. I believe this should be brought to the attention of people generally so that no man will be misled in reference to the causes for the fuel shortage in this country. I believe the committee can cover that in a resolution.

Delegate White (J. P.), District 13: I regret I came into the hall after some action had been taken on this resolution. I listened very carefully to the statement of the chairman of the committee and am inclined to concur fully in his position. As the representative of the United Mine Workers in the Fuel Administration for the past few months I feel it would be exceedingly unwise and wholly inappropriate to recommit this resolution to the committee. Their recommendation bespeaks the aims and purposes of the mine workers. There is no one in authority at Washington who doubts the loyalty of the mine workers in doing their bit in this great crisis. This resolution itself does not fix the responsibility for the allegations set forth therein, and to recommit it to the committee would be to admit a doubt; therefore the committee's recommendation to nonconcur in the entire program of the resolution is absolutely correct and fundamentally sound.

Every governmental authority, from the President down, has commended the great body of the mine workers of this country for the magnificent manner in which they have responded to the national needs. To do anything except what the committee suggests would be to admit there is grave room for doubt. I have watched with considerable patience the numerous attempts made in Washington by individuals who are proposing programs that will mean, if carried out, the dissolution of the hopes and ambitions of the men. They seek by allegations to

Place the responsibility upon the shoulders of the mine workers for the awful conditions that are now confronting our country. I have refused to subscribe to such allegations. I have handled every labor question that has come into the Fuel Administration and I have been able to satisfy the Federal government that the miners were doing their full duty.

Why seek to secure an investigation of ourselves and give the country a doubt as to whether we are doing our duty or not? I admire the position of the chairman of the committee when he says they will not bring in any other report than to nonconcur. No one has been able to indict the loyalty or devotion of their country to the miners, and until there is some authority that we can take cognizance of that does that it will be folly to investigate ourselves or do anything looking to that end. Probably a great many of the delegates do not know that in some of the great mining regions of this country there are thousands of our members walking the streets of the mining towns out of employment because of the deplorable condition of transportation and the drastic orders that are being put into effect from time to time to relieve the people. This can in no way be attributed to lack of loyalty on the part of the mine workers. Every day some individual who is out of harmony with the impulse of the men in the mines is complaining to some one in authority in Washington that individuals refrain from attending to their work, but they never take any time to explain how often these men journey from their homes in all sorts of weather to try to perform their work, and they are obstructed in their patriotic purpose because of falls in their places, because power facilities are not adequate and other things prevent them from working. And then when the reasons are sent in there is no explanation as to why these men did not work.

The President of this mighty Republic has sent a message of greeting to you and regretted his inability to address the mine workers in this great convention. Not a single word is contained in that communication of the President that would indicate that he doubted your loyalty in the slightest degree. Dr. Garfield never yet has indicated that the mine workers have not responded to every recommendation he has made to meet this national crisis, and he, too, sent a message over his own signature and regretted his inability to attend personally

and address the convention. He pointed out how loyal he believed you to be and how you responded to every suggestion you made looking toward a greater supply of coal. Since August 14, according to the testimony of Dr. Garfield before the senate committee, there has been lost to the mine workers of the country more than 38,000,000 tons of coal, due to car shortage alone.

I regret that the recommendation of the committee was not concurred in, because I feel that if we recommit this to the committee we will admit to the world that there is some element of doubt in our mind that we are doing our duty. I know the mine workers are responding in a magnificent fashion during this national crisis. I will read telegram that has just come from Dr. Garfield. I am sure that if he told we were not doing our duty he would have the sublime courage that characterizes the distinguished family he comes from to tell us in plain American terms what our duty is. He asked me to convey to the convention now, as a result of the recent order, the following:

"Please state to the convention that the order closing down industries for five days will not slow down the mines. I am making provision for that and also include in my appeal a request that labor be not allowed to suffer during the five days or the subsequent Mondays affected by my order. I feel confident that the great masses of employers throughout the country will regard this as a necessary incident of the war and not shift the burden to labor."

Is there any man in this convention who is going out to seek an investigation at the hands of investigators who does not prematurely place on the shoulders of our organization the stigma of failing to meet the responsibilities that are thrust upon us by the war? The chairman of the committee has expressed my sentiments precisely, and until there are more tangible reasons given for embarking upon such a course as is recommended by the resolution there is only one way open to this convention. If I had been here in time to participate in the vote that defeated the committee's recommendation, and I had voted with the prevailing side, I would move a reconsideration of the vote taken and then I would move to submit the report and recommendation of the committee as the expression of this convention.

Highgate Falls, District 12: We might as well have this out while

We are at it—there is no use putting any polish on it. I feel that to refer this back to the committee, in the face of the statement made by International Board Member Bobby Harlin—a man I know is big enough and broad enough to consider any measure well before he passed judgment on it—would be a reflection upon the integrity and sincerity of your committee. The man that made the motion to refer this back understood that the committee was determined that the spirit of this resolution would not be concurred in, and I think he acted wisely. I don't think it is necessary at this time for a convention of mine workers to question their own loyalty and charge themselves with something that demands an investigation. I don't believe in doing that. Had there been charges from a source that would make the public believe we were guilty of disloyalty we would have demanded an investigation. Nobody questions the loyalty of this organization. It has been proved that the coal shortage is caused by an inadequate car supply. You never go into court and charge yourself with something or start defending yourself without making people believe you are more or less guilty. If we adopt this we will be doing that.

I did not understand at first that the motion was to non-concur in the report of the committee. I thought it was to concur and so I stood up, but I tell you now this matter should be well considered. Delegate Walker understands that the committee is absolutely right. They understand that the spirit of the resolution is not going to be concurred in by the convention. Now, let us vote it up or down. If you are in favor of the investigation and believe it is right to question your own loyalty, why, have the investigation; if you do not, say so. Whenever definite charges are made we will demand an investigation of the right kind and have something to say as to who shall investigate. This does not say who will investigate. How do you know who will act for the government in an investigation of this kind? You know it will not be one of your own fellows. The committee studied this thing well before they reported. Give them credit for what they have done and don't refer it back.

Delegate Lister: This resolution reminds me of a young friend of mine who was walking along the street and saw a nice dog in the shade of a tree. By his side lay a juicy pork chop. The dog would get up and smell of the pork chop and then go and lie down. The

man said: "Ain't that dog having a good time." Wouldn't it be a good thing for that dog when he has nothing to do to turn around and hunt for flees upon himself just to keep busy? We have suffered at the hands of investigators; we have taken too much power from our own hands and given it to other people. That is what we are trying to do now. When we vote for such an investigation we will be voting for sorrow upon our shoulders. We suffered from these things in West Virginia; we know what they are and we want relief from the situation that confronts us there every day.

Delegate Henderson, District 19: We had quite a jangle over this question. In District 19 we have been organized about eight months. The National sent board members down there and they grouped us together and organized us. It appeared to me when the chairman read the resolution that the intention was to have the operators put out the agitators of the union when they try to uphold the cause we have fought for. The district this came from may be similar to ours. While we do not have idle mines in our place, in the neighboring mines the man who stands up for his rights is worked out of his job. He has to walk the streets hunting for work. We take these matters up and in some instances we cannot get any redress. I believe some investigation ought to be made. The operators put the men out of a job and they walk around while their families suffer.

On the other hand, I don't want to vote anything on the miners of this country that will be a hardship. I don't want to cast any reflection on the members of the committee, for we are all United Mine Workers and when we settle the question let us do so in the interests of the men. When we go home to our own fields I hope we will be able to tell the men we have done the best thing for them. If it is the best thing to vote the resolution down, let us do that; if it is not the best thing to have the investigation, let us vote it down, but let us all vote for the same thing. However, I don't believe we ought to put our case in the hands of any man outside our organization: I think we have men in the organization who are competent to look after our affairs. I did not vote on the resolution because I did not understand it thoroughly. If this resolution tends to bring hardships upon the miners of this country I want it voted down.

President Hayes: In view of what has been said I feel that I should say a few words upon the subject. I did not think at the time the question was voted on the committee's report would be repudiated. I want to make it plain to this convention that your International officials time and again have made it known to the American public that the cause of the coal shortage or the coal famine in this country was due in no wise to lack of patriotism on the part of the miners, but, on the contrary, that it was due entirely to a lack of cars and lack of motive power.

A statement was made here concerning the circular letter sent out by your International officials. We did receive complaints from the operators and from some critics of our organization that in some few localities individuals were absenting themselves from work. In order that there might be no criticism of our people, in order that we might be able to show from the records in our office that we took cognizance of every complaint made, we sent out the circulars in question. These circulars were sent out particularly to inform the membership of our great organization of what the critics of the union were discussing. I feel that this resolution should be voted down and that the report submitted by your committee, which gave the matter very careful study, should be adopted as the act of this convention.

Delegate Mercer (G. L.), District 12: I move you that we reconsider the action of the convention on the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

President Hayes: The committee's report is now before the convention.

Delegate Fishwick, District 12: I move to concur in the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

RESOLUTION NO. 112.

Des Moines, Iowa, December 28, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There is a growing tendency on the part of many mine bosses and superintendents to aggress on the rights of their employes and attempt to break down local decisions and customs that have stood

for years, thus making it necessary for our local and district officers to negotiate for settlements of questions, which, according to our agreements cannot be changed without the mutual consent of both parties; and

Whereas, Such practices provoke men to such an extent at times that they lose sight of the fact that their country needs and demands the greatest possible production of coal at this time, and strike rather than have such questions reopened or changed in defiance of their wishes; and

Whereas, It is more disastrous to the welfare of our country at this time for a person to incite men to strike than it is for one to incite men to riot; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Twenty-sixth Consecutive Session and Third Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, That a committee be appointed by our International President to draft a bill making it a crime, punishable by imprisonment in the Federal penitentiary, for any manager or boss of any industry to manage their employes in such a way, or who willfully abrogates or ignores existing contracts to such an extent as to incite their employes to strike; and be it further

Resolved, That the United Mine Workers of America put forward their very best efforts to have such a bill enacted into law by the present session of Congress.

A. H. BURKE,

Local Union No. 318, District 13.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution No. 112.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Burke, District 13: We have a penalty clause in our agreement that absolutely prohibits us from striking, regardless of what the operators do. The only method we have had in the past to redress our grievances was the strike. We must have law or we must have some other method of settling such grievances as this. The agreement says specifically there shall be no local demands made that are not in the contract. In many instances the operators pay no attention to the

agreement, but attempt to break down any part of it that seems to hinder them. If we raise any question about it they say we are traitors to our country. There is no reason why they should not be punished for abridging our rights in such cases. I realize that it will be a very hard matter to get such a law through Congress, but I also realize the fact that the employing class have political power to get laws to protect them. Why should we not have laws that protect us in the same way? I would not be ashamed to ask the congressmen from our state to favor such a proposition as this, and I feel our legislative committee would not be ashamed to make such a request of our law givers. If they are our law givers, let them give us laws similar to those they have given the other fellow.

Delegate Parker: We had a condition in our mine that led the men to strike. The board member came down there and settled the matter.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 124.

Adena, Ohio, December 28, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolution of Local Union No. 1987, located at Adena, Ohio, District No. 6, to secure some kind of help for old miners who have worked inside of mines twenty-five years or over. We are referring to a pension for these men.

JOHN MARTAN, President.

JOHN KAVASNE, Delegate.

The committee recommended that no action be taken, as the subject-matter contained in the resolution would be covered in the report of the special committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 132.

Des Moines, Iowa, December 31, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States has declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary; and

Whereas, There are large numbers of alien enemies employed in the coal mines of our country, and if a conspiracy among alien miners would occur it would be a serious menace to American arms, and in order to prevent as near as possible any valuable information respecting mining reaching the enemy, be it

Resolved, By the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, That the National Executive Board be and hereby is instructed to discontinue the services of any and all alien enemies who are serving as officers of our union. And that no papers, books or documents respecting mining or the affairs of our union be printed in an alien enemy language during the war, as herein referred to.

G. H. EDMUNDS,

Delegate L. U. 318.

Secretary Smith: The committee non-concurs in the resolution. An explanation for so doing will be made by the chairman of the committee.

Chairman Harlin: We appreciate the spirit in which this resolution is tendered and we do not desire our action to be construed as an intention on the part of the committee to give aid and comfort to the enemies of our country; but we appreciate the fact that a great many men have been born in the countries with which we are at war who have not been in this country long enough to become citizens. A great many Bohemians, Slavs and Czechs have given expression on many occasions of their loyalty to the United States, and a great many of them are serving in some local capacity and in some districts may be district officers. If there had been a qualification that provided that these men should apply for naturalization papers before becoming officers of the Mine Workers' Union we might have given it added consideration with a view to concurring in the resolution. These men now in this country are loyal to the United States but because they have been born in some part of the dual monarchy of Austro-Hungary they might be classed as alien enemies, although we all know where their sympathies lie.

We want this explanation to be made in order that our motives may be clearly understood, not only by the delegates, but by the general public, to whom I presume this information will be conveyed. Understanding, as you do, our motives in the matter, I think you will find it the part of wisdom to concur in the report of the committee. We make this re-

port with due consideration for the motives of Delegate Edmunds in submitting the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 138.

Cumberland, Wyo., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

At our regular meeting, December 27, a committee was nominated to petition the convention of the United Mine Workers of America to draft resolutions on employment of females in metallurgical industries, railroad mines and all industries where physical energy to accomplish the result of such occupation as being contrary to their sex and future generations. Be it

Resolved, That the convention assembled ask the National Bureau of Labor to prohibit employment of such nature to be performed by the female sex.

DESIRE GASPARD,
GEORGE HY SMITH,
ANGELO MORRICO,

Committee.

The committee recommended, in lieu of Resolution No. 138, the adoption of the following substitute:

We, the United Mine Workers of America in convention assembled, take this opportunity to make the following declaration relative to the employment of women in industry.

First, we hold that the present alleged shortage of labor has been grossly exaggerated, and that if the available male labor power of our country were efficiently utilized, and the workers were assured fair living wages and decent conditions of employment, there would be no need at present for the employment of women at hazardous and laborious work.

Second, we maintain and deplore the fact that certain private industrial interests have taken advantage of the present war situation to justify their employment of women workers to do hard, rough, common

labor, and we do not hesitate to charge that in almost all instances the sole motive for so doing has been to reduce existing standards of life and secure the cheapest labor possible.

Third, we recognize that the women of America stand ready and willing to make any sacrifice needed of them to help our country win the war, and we appreciate to the full the value of the effort they are able to contribute to the common good; but a decent respect to the motherhood of our country compels us to protest the employment of women in rough railroad construction work and at similar laborious and hazardous employment. We know that no necessity exists that would justify the action of those who are responsible for this condition, and we ask the Department of Labor to conduct an investigation of prevailing labor conditions to the end that our women are protected against those who, under the guise of war necessity, would degrade our womanhood by employing them at work to which the female sex is unfitted.

Chairman Harlin: This resolution provides that the question of investigating the conditions where women are employed in industry referred to the Department of Labor. I learn that at the very time we were acting upon this resolution the Department of Labor was taking action also. I do not want to suggest there was any kind of mental telepathy between the committee and the Department of Labor, so I say it was a coincidence. The Department of Labor has now created an advisory board. Six men and one woman have been named by Secretary of Labor Wilson to form the advisory council. John Lind, former governor of Minnesota, is chairman of the council and representative of the public; labor is represented by John B. Lennon, of Illinois, formerly treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and John J. Case of Pennsylvania, formerly a member of Congress, and I think well known to the anthracite delegation in this convention. The woman member of that committee is Agnes Nestor of Chicago, president of the Woman Trade Union League, member of the Defense Council of the Women's Committee and formerly president of the Glove Workers' Union. We have an interesting press dispatch from Chicago this morning which states that the newly created labor administration announced today that it would be the policy to prevent the introduction of women into positions for which men are still available and to prevent any reduction in wage scales in the employment of women instead of men. The cor

structive thought incorporated in this resolution has already been acted upon by the Department of Labor. I think, however, it would be well to set forth the position of this organization relative to the employment of women in industry. We know that men have been trading on this supposed war necessity in order to work for their private gain; they are endeavoring to coin the needs of the nation to their own advantage, and we ought to state in unmistakable terms the position we occupy in such a matter. The committee has sought to speak for the mine workers of America and give their position in regard to women employed in hazardous labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Hayes: I feel that the convention is very anxious to hear the distinguished visitor who has just come on the platform. She is a pioneer in our movement, a woman who has been with us for many years and has helped in all the great strikes that have occurred for years past. She needs no introduction to this convention of the United Mine Workers of America. I am now going to present the grandmother of the movement, a young lady of eighty-seven, Mother Jones.

ADDRESS OF MOTHER JONES.

I want to say, boys, that I am glad I have lived to see this gathering of the miners in this country in this hall today. Years ago no one ever dreamt that this great mass of producers would meet in the capital of a great state. I am not going to throw any bouquets at you—I am not given to that at all. I did not expect to speak in this convention. I came here more to look it over until the officers of West Virginia came back. For the first time in the history of West Virginia we have good officers; that is, we have honest, clean, sober men. They don't make any crooked deals with the high class burglars—and if I catch one of them doing it I will see that he is hung so he will not make another.

I want to call your attention, as I have often done, to a few illustrations of what is taking place the world over today. History tells us that away back in the days of the Roman Empire they were gathering in the blood of men who produced the wealth, just as they have been doing up to this time. Back in that time the Roman lords said, "Let us go down

to Carthage and stop the agitation there." They went down and all they arrested at that time they sold into slavery or held them. They do pretty much the same today, for the courts put you in jail, which is worse than any slavery. The Roman courts said to one young man, "Why do you carry on this agitation? Don't you know it is dangerous?" The young man said, "No, I didn't know it was dangerous, but I will tell you why I carry it on. I belong to a class that has been robbed, plundered, murdered, maligned, vilified, jailed, persecuted all down the ages, and because I belong to that class I feel it is my duty to awaken that class to their condition. The earth was not made for a few, but for all God's people." I wish I could imbue every man in this hall today with the same spirit that had possession of that Pagan slave. Mind you, he was not a modern Christian, he was a Pagan slave, but he was teaching Christ's doctrine to his brothers.

We are in a war today, the nation is facing a crisis and you must not look at it with indifference. Never in the history of the American nation has the government assumed such a responsibility as it has on its shoulders now. Don't think this war will end tomorrow, not at all. And if we are going to have freedom for the workers we have got to stand behind the nation in this fight to the last man. There may be those who want peace. I don't want peace on any terms, I am not willing to take it or concede it. Perhaps I was as much opposed to war as any one in the nation, but when we get into a fight I am one of those who intend to clean hell out of the other fellow, and we have got to clean the kaiser up. Now, mind you, I don't mean the German people, I mean the kaiser, the dictator; I mean the grafter, the burglar, the thief, the murderer—the men of that type will have to be cleaned up.

I heard you talking about the responsibility for the shortage of coal. There is no shortage of coal. The miners of this country are willing to dig coal day and night if the nation needs it. But there is a shortage of common sense in making the other fellow give up the cars. The miners are willing to dig Sunday, Monday, or any other day, but they can't get the cars. Without anybody knowing anything about it I took a trip from Charleston to Cincinnati. I got an old sunbonnet, put it on and went into every yard. I looked over the yards and saw cars by the hundreds laid away instead of being given to the miners. The miners in Cabin Creek worked only six hours in one week, and in Paint

our. And then somebody will come forward and blame it on me. Let me tell you the miner is the best citizen there is in the country. The miners in the Fairmount region haven't had cars, and the coal cannot be blamed on them. I counted sixty cars coming as I came along and they were all sidetracked. The coal is not taken from other roads and attached to those cars where they are needed? You cannot do business up in the country. You have got to do it out through the country. Sitting off steam in Washington won't settle the question; you need some people out to do the work. Not the fellow working in the city. That kind of gentleman don't know anything about the situation in the mines. There is a fellow among the coal miners who understand the situation and can furnish the coal. The President has taken over the railroad, then, let us have cars. But cut out the watered stock, and own the railroads we are not going to stand for watered stock. We have been robbing us long enough and we will attend to it now. We are not going to bother with it now.

A miner in West Virginia is perfectly willing to work day and night if the government needs him. The miners cannot produce the coal if you don't give them the cars to dump it into. The trouble lies with the railroads. What we must do is to settle down to one thing—keep the peace in the mines, not a single strike. Let us keep at one thing and not to strike the kaiser off the throne. Let us settle little by little without conflicts, because the nation is in no condition to do big things today. Never in our history has the President had so many things to contend with. Not Washington, not Lincoln, not a President ever sat in the presidential chair has gone up against it like the one who is there today. I am not in the habit of paying tribute to any man as a rule, but I will say that the first time in your history that a man has been recognized as good citizens of the United States has been in the person of the chief executive of the nation. When he wrote to you he recognized that you are the bone and sinew of this nation, for without you the nation would perish. So I say I pay my respects to you. He took a stand that no President ever did before. His proposition for the settlement of the Colorado strike when it was so dangerous for the nation. I don't believe even President Lincoln knew how dangerous it was, but he sent out a proposition and

to Carthage and stop the agitation there." They went down and ~~and~~ **all** they arrested at that time they sold into slavery or held them. ~~The y~~ **They** do pretty much the same today, for the courts put you in jail, which ~~is~~ **is** worse than any slavery. The Roman courts said to one young man, "Why do you carry on this agitation? Don't you know it is danger-~~ous~~ **ous**?" The young man said, "No, I didn't know it was dangerous, ~~but~~ **but** I will tell you why I carry it on. I belong to a class that has been robbed, plundered, murdered, maligned, vilified, jailed, persecuted all down ~~the~~ **the** ages, and because I belong to that class I feel it is my duty to awake ~~n~~ **n** that class to their condition. The earth was not made for a few, ~~but~~ **but** for all God's people." I wish I could imbue every man in this hall today with the same spirit that had possession of that Pagan slave. Mind you, he was not a modern Christian, he was a Pagan slave, but he ~~was~~ **was** teaching Christ's doctrine to his brothers.

We are in a war today, the nation is facing a crisis and you ~~must~~ **must** not look at it with indifference. Never in the history of the American ~~n~~ **n** nation has the government assumed such a responsibility as it has ~~on~~ **on** its shoulders now. Don't think this war will end tomorrow, not at ~~a~~ **all**. And if we are going to have freedom for the workers we have got ~~to~~ **to** stand behind the nation in this fight to the last man. There may ~~be~~ **be** those who want peace. I don't want peace on any terms, I am ~~not~~ **not** willing to take it or concede it. Perhaps I was as much opposed ~~to~~ **to** war as any one in the nation, but when we get into a fight I am one ~~of~~ **of** those who intend to clean hell out of the other fellow, and we have ~~got~~ **got** to clean the kaiser up. Now, mind you, I don't mean the German people, I mean the kaiser, the dictator; I mean the grafter, the burglar, ~~the~~ **the** thief, the murderer—the men of that type will have to be cleaned up.

I heard you talking about the responsibility for the shortage of coal. There is no shortage of coal. The miners of this country are willing to dig coal day and night if the nation needs it. But there ~~is~~ **is** a shortage of common sense in making the other fellow give up the ~~cars~~ **cars**. The miners are willing to dig Sunday, Monday, or any other day, ~~but~~ **but** they can't get the cars. Without anybody knowing anything about ~~it~~ **it** I took a trip from Charleston to Cincinnati. I got an old sunbonnet, ~~put~~ **put** it on and went into every yard. I looked over the yards and ~~saw~~ **saw** ~~cars~~ **cars** by the hundreds laid away instead of being given to the miners. ~~The~~ **The** miners in Cabin Creek worked only six hours in one week, and in ~~Paint~~ **Paint**

Creek not an hour. And then somebody will come forward and blame the miners! Let me tell you the miner is the best citizen there is in America. The miners in the Fairmount region haven't had cars, and the shortage of coal cannot be blamed on them. I counted sixty cars of coal this morning as I came along and they were all sidetracked. Why are engines not taken from other roads and attached to those cars to take them where they are needed? You cannot do business up in Washington, you have got to do it out through the country. Sitting down blowing off steam in Washington won't settle the question; you have got to have some people out to do the work. Not the fellow working for a dollar a year. That kind of gentleman don't know anything about it. Pick men from among the coal miners who understand the situation and they will furnish the coal. The President has taken over the railroads. Well, then, let us have cars. But cut out the watered stock, because if we own the railroads we are not going to stand for watered stock. They have been robbing us long enough and we will attend to that later on—we are not going to bother with it now.

Every miner in West Virginia is perfectly willing to work day and night if the government needs him. The miners cannot produce the coal if you don't give them the cars to dump it into. The trouble lies with the railroads. What we must do is to settle down to one thing—no more strikes in the mines, not a single strike. Let us keep at one strike, a strike to strike the kaiser off the throne. Let us settle little grievances without conflicts, because the nation is in no condition to deal with those things today. Never in our history has the President had such things to contend with. Not Washington, not Lincoln, not a President who ever sat in the presidential chair has gone up against it like the man who is there today. I am not in the habit of paying tribute to public officials as a rule, but I will say that the first time in your history you have been recognized as good citizens of the United States has been by the present chief executive of the nation. When he wrote to you he at least recognized that you are the bone and sinew of this nation, for without you the nation would perish. So I say I pay my respects to President Wilson. He took a stand that no President ever did before. He offered a proposition for the settlement of the Colorado strike when it looked very dangerous for the nation. I don't believe even President Wilson realized how dangerous it was, but he sent out a proposition and

the miners accepted it. You have been a little free from strikes since, but not from internal agitation and conflict. Now, boys, I want to tell you we have got to stop and bury all internal bickering and rise like men to meet the danger to our nation. This is no time to fight to see who will be officers. You know when there is wrong there is no one in your ranks who will fight it more openly than I will, but I feel this is a time to give an example to workers all over the world.

I congratulate you on this magnificent convention. Talking to a mine owner today we discussed a few questions. He said, "I want to show you what organization does. In 1902 we had a convention of miners in West Virginia. In 1918 we had another. I stood in that convention and surveyed the men who were there representing some 30,000 members. As I looked at them I saw the change that had come about. The men in the convention this year got down to business, discussed vital questions; there was no conflict, each brought out his views, he got a hearing and then all agreed finally. That is the outcome of organization, education and agitation. They were not drinking; they were attending to business."

I was in that convention and we didn't have any temperance cats howling around there; we didn't need them. The men had learned self-respect since they got shorter hours, did away with the pluck-me stores and got their pay in Uncle Sam's money instead of corporation scrip. They did not have to buy Armour's rotten beef from the company store. At one time I was staying at a miner's home after holding a meeting in 1901 with the enslaved army that was in the mines at that time. The mother got up in the morning and opened a can of Armour's choice roast beef. She started to put it in the buckets of the boys and found three fingers in the can under a layer of beef. Farther down she found part of a hand. I got it and took it away with me. We were going to have a meeting in the opera house in Montgomery the next day. I showed the men what they had to pay for in the pluck-me store. It was Armour's choice roast beef, mind you, and three fingers of the worker had been chopped off. They don't have to do that now. If they got a can of that sort of stuff they would hit the pencil pusher over the head with it, but in 1901 they had to take it or they were blacklisted. They are not blacklisted now, they have an organization behind them.

Another thing they have now is schools for the children. That convention in Charleston last week taught me one great lesson. There were men there from along the Kanawha River that were in bondage fifteen years ago. Often I had to go around in those days to hold a meeting with them in the dead of night. Now I can go in the daytime in all but a few places. We cannot do that in the Pocahontas field yet, but we are going in there one of these days, and I tell you when we do there'll be hell let loose. We want them to understand we are going out. America is fighting for democracy abroad and we are going to fight at home, so that when we lick the fellows abroad we will have here at home a nation with laws that will not be set aside by the Supreme Court. When that day comes the Supreme Court will not be telling you you are criminals. The Supreme Court doesn't know what it is to suffer. In Washington, where four or five of them were discussing the great issues of the day, an old fossilized fellow who had been dead forty years before he was born said, "You know that the miners and the workers spend their money in saloons." I let him shoot off his hot air a while and said, "How much of your money did they ever spend? How much of their money did you spend? You spend a lot of it, because you have a stomach four miles long and two miles wide. If the miners do take a drink once in a while they need it. They have to go into the mines and work in water day after day and watch the roof for fear it will come down on them, watch for poisonous gases, and in West Virginia in some places they have to spend fourteen hours a day, or did some years ago. You know nothing about these things. You have been living off the life blood of your fellow-man and you have no conception of what he has to contend with."

To go back to the war. We will stay with Uncle Sam. He is the best uncle you ever struck. There is no other uncle in the world like Uncle Sam, and the convention must express its deep appreciation of President Wilson, who is the first President that ever sat in the executive chair of the nation who recognized this body of workers. It isn't anything but what he should have done, but he is the first one that did it, and for that reason I want to pay my respects to him. If we are going to have any difficulties let us go to the national government and put our case before them before any strike is called. Let us dig the coal and let us demand that we get cars to fill with the coal. You know there

is a game being played because Uncle Sam has taken over the roads. The pirates are onto the game and they are trying to embarrass the government. I will tell you what we will do. We will line up an army in West Virginia, capture the cars, get the engineers and firemen to run them down to the mines, load them and run them to Washington and New York.

You have a young president here; he is very young yet, but I want to tell you something. I want you to stand behind President Hayes and help him, and don't harrass him any more than you can help. Let us stand together as one man behind him. There never was an hour in the history of organized labor when it was so essential for us to bury the hatchet, stand together and fight this battle of the nation to a finish as now. And when we have won, if they don't give us a square deal we will fight then. I want you to stand behind your president and do everything you can. He is young now, but before he gets through he will grow old. You have got a secretary who is one of the most able men in America in the industries. I have been watching him carefully. I watch them all and I know them all from A to Z.

I was traveling all night and I was fussing all day yesterday. A fellow asked me if I didn't think it was time for me to die, and I said "No, I have a contract to clean hell out of you fellows and I cannot stop until I have helped civilize you." Now, be good boys and let us make this fight of our nation a fight to the finish. Show the world there is one grand body of men in America that stands loyally for the flag. You must understand that the men who watered the clay for seven long years with their blood, with blistered feet, weary backs and throbbing heads, they did it in order to hand down to you the noblest emblem ever handed down during all the generations of man as an evidence of the belief in social justice and industrial freedom. I happened to be one of those who walked over the clay those men watered with their blood to give me a vision of freedom. Their memory is dear to me. Every star in that flag was bought with the blood of men who believed in freedom, industrial freedom, particularly. Now it is up to us to carry on the work. Organize, organize, organize.

There is a system of industrial feudalism in the State of West Virginia but before another year ends the backbone of that damnable

stem will be broken and men will rise beneath those stars and stripes they should rise, free for the first time. We propose to put the famous gunmen there out of business. We will make them find other occupations. You are robbed and plundered to pay these gunmen that are hired to keep you in industrial slavery. If it takes every man of the 500,000 miners in this country to march into West Virginia we propose to drive out that feudal system that survives there. It is an outrage and an insult to that flag. They may as well prepare for business, for we are going to do it. The president of the Winding Gulf sang said in Washington, "Don't you know that Mother Jones swears?" I was asked, "Do you swear, Mother Jones?" I said, "You don't think I'm hypocrite enough to pray when I'm talking to those thieves!"

Now line up and stand with the government. No matter who says what, you fellows, every man of you, stand together, and when the fight comes over across the water, if we have any kaisers at home we will line up. We will have the guns and our boys will be drilled. We will do business then and we will not ask to borrow money to buy guns. We will have the guns Uncle Sam paid for and we will use them on the rates and put a stop to slavery. We will give the children of the future a chance to grow. We will teach the people of all the world what that flag stands for and we will not be betrayed by the workers. Let us pledge ourselves in this convention to stand beside the President until the battle is won. I would advise every one to join the Home Guards. Some one would ask why I recommend that. I recommend that because when they call out their army to crush the workers and destroy the future of the nation we will have the guns and we will turn them on the common enemy, not the workers. You have a chance today that has never come in the history of this country before and I want you to take advantage of it.

I had an appeal made to me that touched me more than anything has in years. A company of the boys were going abroad from Bentley, West Virginia. The mother of one of the boys fainted. Her boy, with tears in his eyes, gazed at her. In spite of that the last thing he said was, "Mother, keep up the union until we come back and then we will all be one." There never was a grander appeal made by men who had been in slavery and bondage and had just accepted their chance. When they made that appeal I got a new light. I saw those

boys going over the ocean to fight the battle for freedom, and they said, "Keep the boys together until we return and then we will all be one." So I say to you, boys, keep up the education and the agitation.

I know there may be some who will find a little fault with what I am going to say, but let me make this appeal to you: Instead of going to poolrooms and playing poker with mine owners or with any one else, get a book and read and study and prepare yourselves for the future. When you have an idle time, when you feel your brain is rested, get food out of some economic work by some master mind. When you play poker with a mine owner and you win money from him it is a bribe and he gives it to you for that purpose. I know some of you will condemn me, but I am onto the game. Stay at home and bring up your children to be good citizens. Your wives and children are the best companions and home is the best place in the world.

I want to say to you, President Hayes, if you send any organizers into the field where I am and they play poker games, if you don't take them out I will lick them and put them out. I complained about one and you took him out. The fellow lost \$35 playing poker one night and I lodged a complaint against him. He wouldn't lose that money, it would go in on the pay roll and you would pay it. Now, I am warning you, and I want to tell you, Mr. Hayes, if you send any leeches and bloodsuckers into West Virginia we will send them out. We won't put up with them. We have got good men; there is no organization in the country that has as good men as the miners have, but they seldom get on the pay roll. Those men have got to work if they come into the field where I am or I will put them out.

A motion was made to print the speech made by Mother Jones.

President Hayes: That will be done without a motion. I have known Mother Jones for a number of years, I have worked with her in various fields, and she has always had the respect of the international organization. For seven years she worked under my direction as an organizer and the only orders I ever gave her was to go where she pleased. She always did that and she always said what she pleased. She is a free lance in this movement and I think the "young president" will profit by her suggestion.

So far as the organizing staff is concerned, it compares favorably with any other organizing staff in the country. I don't think Mother Jones intended to reflect upon the many good men on the organizing staff. If there is any man among the organizers who is not honest and who does not perform his duties, he goes off that staff. In the case she referred to the man went off the staff immediately when she reported to me. I want to make that clear so that there will be no misunderstanding in the minds of the delegates to this convention as to where I stand upon the question she brought to your attention. I appreciate the splendid work Mother Jones has performed in the interest of this movement. She has rendered valiant service and in behalf of the delegates I desire to thank her for her address this afternoon.

Mother Jones: I worked under President White from the time he became president until he resigned and never at any time did he tell me what to do or where to go. There was only one time in the whole history when he said to me, "Mother, would you go into West Virginia and see if you can straighten out the boys?" I went in, but that is the only time he ever said a word to me in all the years I worked under him. I want now to express my appreciation for the kindly and courteous manner in which he treated me. If other presidents who preceded him had done the same the miners would not have been required to spend the amount of money they did in organizing some of the States and fewer lives would have been lost. We have harmony in West Virginia and we are certainly indebted to President White for that.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was continued, as follows: •

RESOLUTION NO. 143.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It appearing that on the first day of July, A. D. 1917, the Gallup American Coal Company took over and purchased all the property of the Victor American Fuel Company in New Mexico, there was at that time a contract existing between the United Mine Workers of America and the Victor American Fuel Company which was, by the terms thereof,

to endure for the period of three years. Every man in the employ of the Victor American Fuel Company on the first day of July was a member of the United Mine Workers of America, totaling in number about six hundred fifty. Immediately on the property coming into the hands of the Gallup American Coal Company, on the first day of July, they repudiated the contract of the United Mine Workers and drove its members from their camps and employed to do this work ex-convicts and criminals wherever they could find them. Later, on the 31st day of July, they selected some thirty members of our organization residing at Gallup, N. M., three miles from the camps of the Gallup American Coal Company, and who were at all times conducting themselves as peaceful, law-abiding citizens of the United States, and imprisoned them in violation of law and in a manner calculated to humiliate, degrade and injure the feelings and excite terror in the hearts of these honest American citizens; and after confining them for several hours with a machine gun trained upon them and under loaded firearms trained upon them by disreputable characters from several States, they were deported from their homes to a town some two hundred miles distant. Many of these men own property in McKinley county and some had lived in said county for thirty years; and they were told upon their deportation by the sheriff of said county that if they ever returned they would be murdered; and since the perpetration of said outrage the officers of the law of said County of McKinley, in the State of New Mexico, have flatly refused to perform their duty in bringing about the punishment of such unlawful conduct; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that we condemn the outlawry, brutality and un-American conduct set forth in the foregoing statement of facts relating to the so-called deportation from the town of Gallup on or about the 31st day of July, and the conduct of the Gallup American Coal Company and its outlaws employed for that purpose. Be it further

Resolved, That we urge that steps be taken to prevent a repetition of such conduct and to preserve our country and its institutions in safety from such attacks; and it appearing that the sheriff of McKinley county New Mexico, R. L. Roberts, alias James Walton Roberts, and George R. Craig, Esq., the prosecuting attorney for the Second Judicial District of New Mexico, are favorable to such proceedings as are herein condemned. Be it the former by actual participation in the deportation, the latter by re-

sing to prosecute those who did; that a copy of this resolution be printed and mailed to each labor organization in the State of New Mexico.

E. E. VAZONEY, President,
JOHN DELERENTI, Recording Secretary,
CHAS. BURLES, Financial Secretary,

test:

LEO. P. GALVIN,

Fin. Agt. and Representative of U. M. W. of A. in New Mexico.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 143.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 161.

to the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The sacrifice of lives and property are necessary in order to win the war for Democracy, and believing, as we do, that lives are more sacred than privately owned surplus property, and far more sacred than enormous profits to a few; and believing as we do, that the exigency of this time demands the conscription of both property and men; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the United Mine Workers of America, in National Convention assembled, That we urge upon Congress and the President, that they immediately apply the principle of the selective draft to surplus private property, to surplus private incomes and to war profits.

GEO. KARNES, President,
JACOB BIRZEL, Sec'y,
 Local Union No. 644, Hillsboro, Ill.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 161.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 162.

to the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It is the duty of miners, and it is expected of them, that they prove their loyalty to their country by the production of all the

coal possible to produce; and in too many instances their known loyalty puts them in a defenseless condition in some respects, suggested as follows:

In many mines bad conditions, and often dangerous conditions obtain; frequently and generally these conditions are imposed by the operators upon the men, in direct violation of state laws; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the United Mine Workers of America, in National Convention assembled, That Fuel Administrator Garfield be advised regarding this important matter; and that when specific complaints come to him regarding violations of the mining laws, that he investigate, and then immediately use his power to the end, that the mining laws are enforced.

GEO. KARNES, President,
JACOB BIRZEL, Sec'y,
Local Union No. 644, Hillsboro, Ill.

The committee recommended reference of Resolution No. 162 to the various districts. The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 164.

Benton, Ill., January 7, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Food Commissioner Hoover has proclaimed to the United States for the preservation of food so much so as to proclaim meatless and wheatless days, and we, as mine workers, are in a unit with Mr. Hoover, and to bring these conditions about Mr. Hoover should get busy and bring it to bear upon the operators of this country that the greatest saving proposition among the miners of this country is that they should know the evening before whether they shall work the day following. All miners know that it is a great expense and waste when they get their dinner pails prepared and go to the pit head and find there is no work and have to return home.

Whereas, It is a custom of the operators of this district to make

this arrangement, but Local No. 1959 has no way of knowing whether they will run or not until they get to the pit head;

Whereas, We as miners know it is a great waste of food for the miners to get their dinner pails prepared and go to the pit head and find there is no work and return home and the contents of your dinner pail is wasted for the reason a man eats his dinner so often cold that he would rather have a hot dinner, if it was nothing but a dish of soup, than to eat a cold dinner; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Mr. Hoover, the food administrator, be informed of the conditions we work under; and also this convention take this into consideration and take some action to the betterment of the conditions that confront us and the district in which it exists.

J. C. PRICE,
Resolution Committee.
Local Union No. 1959.

The committee recommended reference of Resolution 164 to District No. 12 organization, as it dealt with a local matter.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 168.

Hanna City, Ill., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Our government is at war and we hereby reaffirm our allegiance to our government and are willing and ready to stand by it in any capacity that we are needed to carry this war to victory, but realizing there is a move on foot for universal compulsory military training, and believing that such military training is not in harmony with the traditions of our government, or will conserve the best interests of the laboring class; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Union No. 661, U. M. W. of A., is opposed to

such military training and that our organization use all of its influence against any legislation looking to universal military training.

Adopted by Local Union No. 661, U. M. W. of A., January 2, 1918

W. H. THRUSH, President.

JOHN P. CARPENTER, Secretary.

WM. CRAGGS,

JOHN McVICKER,

H. SWADINSKY,

FRANK SNODGRASS,

Committee.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 168.

Chairman Harlin, in explaining the attitude of the committee, said in part: I believe that most of the delegates know there is a move on foot in this country to take advantage of the present war situation to perpetuate military training in the United States. We are fighting this war against war. We are fighting this war, we are led to believe, so that there will be no more war, and we do not want to agree to any proposition that would provide for the perpetuation of military machine in this or any other country following the end of the war in which we are now engaged. Yet we find men like Mr. Taft and young Mr. Rockefeller on the platform taking advantage of the situation and endeavoring to have a bill enacted by Congress that will saddle upon the American people the curse of perpetual military training.

This resolution is in favor of standing by the government in any capacity it may be needed to carry this war to victory. That precludes the possibility of any man misunderstanding the position of the miners organization in adopting this resolution. It provides, however, that we go on record as opposing military training as an institution. I think we ought to issue this declaration so that it may be known by the world that while we stand behind the government in the prosecution of this war we believe in the declaration of our President that it ought to be fought in order that all future war may be eliminated and the curse of militarism swept forever from the face of the earth. That is the position of the committee. I want to make this explanation so there will be no misunderstanding of our position by those who may disseminate the

views of the convention to the outside world. It is not that we are opposed to the present war policies. We believe, with Mother Jones, that until we defeat the great machine of militarism that is fighting in the interest of the German government and her allies we should fight. When that is done we hope the universe will be freed from the curse of militarism.

Delegate Phillips, District 12: I rise to object to the resolution. It is needless for the miners of the international union to affirm their loyalty or their patriotism. I don't believe in concurring in the resolution, however. I would rather it would be submitted to a committee to make a report on this subject. It is a serious problem and we are facing problems today that will have to be met. As a delegate from Egypt—Southern Illinois—I desire to say the Illinois miners will go down in their pockets and help any one who is fighting for his country.

Delegate Savage: Of what use is it for us to fight militarism in Germany if we are going to establish it in this country when the war is over. I don't believe free American citizens will stand for it, but if the workers will sit idly by something may be slipped over on us that we are fighting against now. I believe if there is a bill introduced in Congress now for the purpose of establishing militarism in this country the international officials should be instructed to voice the sentiments of this convention in no uncertain terms. I think the local unions all over this country should bring this matter up in their meeting and forward their protest to Washington against any such movement. If we simply pass a resolution, put it into our minutes and lay it on the shelf, it will do no good. We should insist upon making our protest felt. We should let it be understood that the workers of this country are opposed to militarism in any form. We are standing by our government, and will stand by it to eliminate militarism from the face of the earth, but let us not prepare to bring it back into this country after we have settled the war in Europe.

Delegate Doyle, District 19: I heartily concur in the committee's report. If I understand the reason the United States went into this war it was to fight against militarism; in other words, to put down both kaiserism and militarism. The bill prepared in California seeks to establish militarism right here at home. If we are going to fight for

democracy let us do so and not allow any unscrupulous set of capitalists or exploiters go to Washington and put on the statute books a bill that will be equal to the power the Kaiser is exercising in Germany. Uncle Sam can get all the soldiers he needs and all the support he needs, not only from the mine workers, but from every other labor union on this continent. I served three years in the army and I know what it means, but if the United States needs me to shoulder a gun and fight again in Flanders I am willing to go, but I don't believe a law should be placed on the statute books that creates militarism in this country. There is a kaiser in the United States and we may as well admit it. There is a kaiser of militarism in Germany and there is a kaiser of capitalism in America, and if we sit idly by and allow something to be enacted in Congress that will place power in the hands of the kaisers in America you will regret it when the war is over. If you destroy both kaiserism and militarism you will be in a position to establish industrial democracy, if not in the world, at least on the American continent.

Don't let these fellows slip anything over on you. You talk about the slacker! Why, the slacker is decent alongside of this viper that is seeking to write into the records in Washington such a damnable law as has been spoken of. That is the most dangerous viper this country has ever had to contend with. That is why I say the report ought to be adopted, and when we go home now let us not forget that we ought to at least notify our congressmen and senators that the United Mine Workers of America oppose at all times putting anything on the statute books that looks like militarism or kaiserism in the United States.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried with one dissenting vote.

The convention was adjourned under the rules to convene at 9 a. m., Friday, January 18.

FOURTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 18, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, January 18, President Hayes in the chair.

President Hayes: I desire at this time to read a very interesting telegram I received relative to the prevailing coal shortage:

Charleston, W. Va., January 17, 1918.

Frank J. Hayes, United Mine Workers, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Yesterday one hundred eleven out of one hundred sixty-two mines in Kanawha District were idle, throwing eight thousand seven hundred men out of employment. Clarksburg-Flemington district one hundred seven mines out of one hundred forty-three idle, throwing seven thousand four hundred forty-seven men out of work. Loss of one hundred four thousand eight hundred tons of coal account shortage in railroad cars. This continues daily and there has not been the slightest improvement since the government took control of the railroads. Food prices mount higher and great unrest exists in coal fields as men who want work and cannot get it see their ability to purchase needed food for their families reduced one-half. This is the most serious matter confronting the United Mine Workers convention.

SAMUEL B. MONTGOMERY,

Commissioner of Labor, West Virginia.

Secretary Green: It seems that the order of Dr. Garfield will prevent the printing of the daily minutes during the time the convention is in session for the next five days. We will not be able to distribute any of the minutes before Tuesday.

Vice-President John L. Lewis in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS.

Delegate O'Neil, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 18, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Gentlemen: We, your Committee on Officers' Reports, beg leave to submit for your consideration the following report:

PRESIDENT HAYES' REPORT.

President Hayes in the beginning of his report calls attention to the fact that he assumed the presidency of the organization on October 25, 1917, upon the resignation of ex-president John P. White, who had submitted a comprehensive report of his work up to the time he had resigned. However, President Hayes' report deals with the most important events of the past two years and all of the work of the organization's officers subject to review by this convention.

He also calls attention in this section of his report to the appointment of John L. Lewis as Vice-President and the unanimous endorsement of his action in this matter by the International Executive Board.

The Committee on Officers' Reports concur in this part of the President's report.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in unanimously.

BITUMINOUS WAGE AGREEMENTS.

The Bituminous Wage Agreement negotiated March 9, 1916, at New York City and covering the period from April 1, 1916, to March 31, 1918, carrying with it Universal Mine Run as well as an advance in wages was adopted by a referendum vote of the membership.

The Committee concurs in this section of the President's Report.

This portion of the report of the committee was concurred in unanimously.

SUPPLEMENTAL BITUMINOUS WAGE AGREEMENTS.

In reporting the bituminous wage agreements to this convention we have the unusual condition as a result of the war of two supplemental wages agreements; one negotiated at New York City, April 12, 1917; and one negotiated at Washington, D. C., October 6, 1917, carrying with them the largest increase of wages ever secured in an agreement before by the Mine Workers of this country. Neither of these agreements were adopted in the usual manner by submission to a referendum vote or special convention because they were supplemental agreements and negotiated in the interim of an agreement period.

The Agreement negotiated at New York City, April 12, 1917, was accepted on behalf of the United Mine Workers of America by the International officials and the respective district officials of the districts affected.

The Committee on Officers' Reports concur in this section of the President's report referring to the supplemental agreement dated April 12, 1917, and commend the officers of the organization for their accomplishment at this time.

The portion of the report of the committee dealing with Supplemental Bituminous Wage Agreements was concurred in unanimously.

WASHINGTON AGREEMENT.

The Washington Agreement dated October 6, 1917, was negotiated by the representatives of the Operators' and the Mine Workers of the Central Competitive Field, viz.: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Western Pennsylvania together with the International officials, but is subject to ratification by this convention and contains the following provision:

"Fourth: Subject to the next biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America, the Mine Workers' representatives agree that the present contract be extended during the continuation of the war, not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918."

As fully set forth in the report of the President, at the time the contract was negotiated the United States Government had assumed a large measure of control of the mining industry of our Nation. Primarily the Government of the United States assumed this control as a war emergency measure; having fixed the selling price of coal and in order to prevent illegal strikes or lockouts and to stabilize this most necessary industry during the period of the war, granted an increase in the selling price of coal sufficient to meet the advance in wages granted under the terms of the agreement upon the acceptance of the following conditions by the Mine Workers, the Operators and the Fuel Administration:

"Whereas, Stoppage of work in violation of the agreement has become so serious as to menace the success and perpetuity of the U. M. W.

of A. and our joint relations, this conference instructs the respective district executive boards to meet the operators in their various districts for the purpose of agreeing on a penalty clause, where none now exists, and if necessary meet to amend and strengthen existing clauses so as to make the penalty more effective in preventing strikes and violations of agreements.

"All fines provided for in all agreements shall be automatically collected, and any operator failing to collect and forward to proper parties such fine shall pay a penalty of \$2 for each employe subject to be fined, the same to be collected and retained in the miners' district organization. And in no case shall any fine be refunded except by mutual agreement of the accredited representatives of the operators and miners."

"It is further agreed that where any employe enters suit in the civil courts to recover any fine collected in accordance herewith the district organization shall reimburse the operator for expense incurred on account of such suit."

The Committee on Officers' Reports concur in the President's report on this important matter, commend the officers of the Union for the work accomplished in this agreement and earnestly urge the ratification of the same by this convention.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports, which concurred in the action of the International organization and the various district organizations that entered into and ratified the Washington Agreement.

Delegate Howat, District 14: Does that include the adoption of the Penalty Clause?

Delegate Murray, Chairman of the Committee: Yes; it approves of the adoption of the penalty clause.

Delegate Howat, District 14: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I am glad to have this opportunity to again register my protest against the automatic penalty clause. I suppose that any man who opposes the automatic penalty clause at this time will be called a traitor, disloyal to his country and also disloyal to his organization. The miners here, I suppose, will be told in connection with this ques-

tion, as with other questions that come before the convention, that in order to be patriotic they should vote to adopt the automatic penalty clause in the Washington Agreement; or, in other words, vote to give the coal operators of this country an opportunity to steal your hard-earned wages at any time a mine is closed before an investigation is made to see who is responsible. And if you fail to vote for that or oppose the proposition you will be told you are not patriotic.

I want to say to the miners of this country that I don't propose to be hypnotized or hoodwinked or deceived by the cry of patriotism in this question. We have ideas of our own, the same as our international officials have, and the same as those who have been international officials in the past. It is high time the coal miners of this country should begin to think a little for themselves instead of being continually bulldozed by the officials, or many of them, as they have been in the past. I want to tell the miners in this convention today that if you men only knew it or if you only realized it, your own ideas are just as good as the ideas of your district or international officials. You have just as much brains, just as much intelligence as the officials of your organization, because you are the men that elect them, and they came from the picks just the same as you men did.

As I said before, I hope the miners' delegates here today will not be deceived by the cry of patriotism; I hope you will use your own good judgment when you vote on this question of the automatic penalty clause. A man does not have to vote to enslave himself; a man does not vote to place himself absolutely at the mercy of the coal operators of this country in order to be called a patriot. The men who will vote on this penalty clause, which I claim is one of the dirtiest impositions on the miners of this country, should think well and realize the great injustice you are doing the mine workers of this country if you adopt it. We fought and struggled and sacrificed for many years to try to make free men of the coal miners of this country, and now at the end of all these years we find ourselves enslaved and at the absolute mercy of the coal operators. Many of the mine foremen of the country today abuse and bulldoze the men. They say, "We dare you to go home! You are afraid to go home!" and the men are afraid to go, for if they do three or four dollars will be stolen from their wages. I do not call it

a fine; I say they absolutely steal the coal miners' money through **this** automatic penalty clause.

The men who expect to tell you to vote this outrage on yourselves never expect to work under this penalty clause that has been imposed on the mine workers of this country. I was speaking to a delegate from one of the districts and he said there was a man near his home who had a little mill of some kind. He laid off a day each week to work in that mill and the operators stole a dollar a day out of his wages. Another told me the operators had notified him they would take a dollar a day out of his wages for every day he attended this convention. In District 14 a mine was closed down a few weeks ago because of the death of a young miner's mother. He laid off with some of the others to attend the funeral. The company he was working for stole some of his wages for doing it. We haven't got that money back yet—I cannot call a strike to get it back. In another case the miners went out three mornings in succession, paid 20 cents carfare and were sent home because they would not stand for the mine foreman and superintendent imposing new conditions on them. On the fourth morning the men decided that, rather than work for a man of that kind any longer, they would quit, drew their time and left their employment. As a result of that the men went to the coal company's office and demanded their time. Twenty per cent. of the men were given their time and no fine was deducted. The other 80 per cent. could not get their money until pay day. When they got it they found the company had stolen \$11 apiece out of their wages.

I hope the time has not come in the history of this country or in the history of the United Mine Workers of America when a bunch of honest workingmen cannot quit without having their wages stolen from them, when the pit boss or superintendent gets so unscrupulous and unfair he is not fit for good union men to work under. You will be told that the men could get their money back. When will they get it back? When I go home I expect to bring suit against that company to get the money for the miners. The mine is shut down and the men have quit. The men from whom the \$11 apiece was stolen, or a great majority of them, have for some time been working for other companies. Some are working on railroads and some in machine shops. They have absolutely quit the employment of the company.

I hope to God the miners here today representing 400,000 honest union men will not be influenced by the eloquence of officials or the plea of patriotism that will be made. I hope the miners of the country will stand up in their manhood and serve notice on the officials of this organization—myself included with the rest—and serve notice on the coal operators that after all these years we have fought and struggled and sacrificed to make free men of ourselves, we don't propose to take a backward step of this kind at this time. You don't have to do anything of that kind. Stand up like men and serve notice on the coal operators of this country that you don't propose to place yourselves at the mercy of a class of men such as we know the coal operators of this country to be. They tell you men today in different parts of the country that they like you now, that they are good fellows and they will once in a while set up a cigar; but, let me say to the miners here today that the coal operators of this country love you just as they did years ago when you were fighting to establish your organization in this country and they would wipe your union out of existence tomorrow if they had the power to do it. They like the union men of this country today just as the operators in Colorado and West Virginia like them. They will like you, gentlemen, when you make them like you. Now let us make them like us a little bit more by voting down this damnable penalty clause that has been imposed on the mine workers of this country.

This is no personal fight with me, because some of the men that made this agreement are the best friends I have in this country. Probably they did the best they could, or what they considered the best they could; I don't know; but I am speaking my sentiments here today as I have always done. I have always opposed the penalty clause, especially one that will allow the operators to steal the hard-earned money of the coal miners. I wouldn't want to trust my money to the coal operators of this country, because they have been robbing us all our lives and you know it. I hope the miners will consider this question well, and when you come to a vote don't be deceived or hoodwinked by the plea of patriotism, because this is one of the most unpatriotic pieces of legislation ever imposed on the working men of this country. What crime have the mine workers committed? What have they done that they should be singled out from all other classes of labor, held up to the world and branded as disloyal and unpatriotic to their country to

the extent that it is necessary to have a penalty held over their heads to make them work. And then they say your are patriotic!

This penalty clause is an outrage, a disgrace and an insult to your organization. It is a reflection upon every United Mine Worker in this country, and this will be thrown up to you in years to come; people will say, when you coal miners talk of being patriotic, that in order to be patriotic you were compelled to have a penalty held over your heads to make you work and be loyal to this government. Let us stand up like men today when we vote on this question and proclaim our freedom, declare to the world that the United Mine Workers are not disloyal, but that they are the most patriotic class of people in America today, barring none. It has been admitted by your international officials that the coal miners of this country are patriotic and that they are willing to do their share. If the coal miners of this country really are patriotic—and I maintain they are—why in the name of God should you be singled out from all other classes of labor in America and have a penalty held over your heads to compel you to work? The coal miners don't require any penalty clause held over them to compel them to work; they are ready to do their share in order to win this war, and they are not required to have a penalty clause such as has been imposed on the coal miners to make them work.

Think this over and see if it is fair that the United Mine Workers of America should be held up to the world and branded as disloyal citizens, singled out from all other classes of labor in this country to the extent that you have to vote to give the coal operators an opportunity to steal your hard-earned wages in order to compel you to work. It is an insult to our organization, and I hope the mine workers here today will regard it as such and register a unanimous vote against a proposition of that kind. Serve notice on the coal operators of this country that you have not been deceived by the cry of patriotism; serve notice on them that we are patriotic citizens and we do not need a penalty clause hanging over us to compel us to work.

I say again this is the most unfair proposition ever imposed on any class of workingmen in this country. In two or three instances in our district the miners went to work and found the wash shanty where they had to change their clothes eight or ten degrees below zero. They re-

refused to change their clothes under such circumstances. Their pit clothes were all wet and dirty, and because they went home with their pit clothes on another dollar was stolen out of their wages. You should call this proposition by its right name — it is not a fine; they just deliberately stole your hard-earned wages, that is all. I know you will be told that in order to convince the people of this country you are patriotic you should vote to adopt this proposition. I hope you will stand up in your manhood and proclaim to the world that you are patriotic citizens to the extent that you are not required to have a penalty hung over your heads to compel you to work. Show the people you are patriotic and willing to do your share without a penalty clause being hung over your heads.

In the Southwest we found no fault with the miners of the East, except the penalty clause they wanted. That was their business, not ours, if they wanted to accept it, as long as they did not impose it on the miners of the Southwest, where we did not want it because we knew how unfair it was to the coal miners of the country. We went to Kansas City and met our operators after the penalty clause had been adopted in the East. We fought it out and served notice on the operators of the Southwest that we did not propose to agree, after all the years we fought to make free men of the coal miners of this country, to a proposition of that kind. We broke off negotiations finally and a strike was declared in the Southwest. Former President White and Dr. Garfield urged us not to call a strike. That was before Brother White had resigned as International President. We had a meeting in Kansas City and suspended the strike order. We met with the coal operators again and after a two days' session, when we were about to break off negotiations again and put the strike order into effect, the operators finally agreed with us, with the automatic penalty clause eliminated.

Up to that time not a word had been said by an international official or district official of this country, not one word had been said by Dr. Garfield or any other man telling us we had to agree to a penalty clause satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator of this country. When we ordered the strike in the Southwest Dr. Garfield and the International officials knew the fight we were making, but not one word came from any of them to the effect that a penalty clause satisfactory to the Fuel

Administrator had to be agreed to; but we did receive a telegram from Dr. Garfield to the effect that if we were unable to reach an agreement on a penalty clause we were to come to Washington. That was all. We got together and reached an agreement. Then the coal operators of the Southwest issued a public statement to the press saying the penalty clause was satisfactory and was equally fair to both sides. About one week after we signed our agreement we received a telegram from Dr. Garfield stating our penalty clause was not satisfactory to him.

I want to say to the coal miners in this convention that I am just as fully convinced of this statement that I am about to make as I am that I stand here today. If the coal operators and the miners' officials of the Southwest had reached an agreement on the penalty clause without calling any strike or without ordering a strike the order from Dr. Garfield or from the President of the United States would never have been issued to the coal miners of this country to the effect that they had to agree to a penalty clause satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator. When the Washington Agreement was made Dr. Garfield knew absolutely nothing about penalty clauses. I don't say that with any lack of respect for Dr. Garfield, for Dr. Garfield had no experience in the coal industry. He did not interfere with the penalty clause in Washington, as has been stated here; the miners' officials and the coal operators did that.

After we won out in the fight in Kansas City to make free men of the coal miners of the Southwest instead of slaves, and not until then. Dr. Garfield's proclamation was issued to the coal miners of the country to the effect that the penalty clause must be satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator or we would receive no increase in wages. It was necessary for Dr. Garfield, in order to show he was not discriminating against the men in the Southwest when he told us a penalty clause would have to be agreed to that was satisfactory to him, to also apply it to the mine workers of the country. If he had not done that it would have been a clear case of discrimination against the miners in the Southwest. If we had reached an agreement on the penalty clause in Kansas City in accordance with the Washington Agreement that proclamation would never have been issued. Your district officials could

have agreed on some other penalty clause, or you could have disagreed on it, and that would have been the end of it absolutely.

We went to Washington, and after we returned home to Kansas City former President White resigned and accepted the position of assistant to Dr. Garfield. When I reached Kansas City on my return home I saw an article in a Kansas City paper to the effect that former President White had said the automatic penalty clause was absolutely fair and should be accepted. I feel it was very unbecoming of former President White, after resigning his position as president of this organization to act as assistant to the Fuel Administrator, to issue such a statement to hamper us in our fight with the operators of the Southwest, or to give the operators renewed encouragement.

My position was that after the coal operators signed up that agreement with us in good faith, then went to Washington and there repudiated the agreement they had their signatures attached to, and told Dr. Garfield he should not give us any advance in wages unless we would agree to the automatic penalty clause, if the miners of the Southwest had done their duty then, they would have stood up and told the coal operators that they would make them pay every cent of that increase out of their own dirty pockets and let the public keep their money.

I don't know anything more that I could say on this question. I have told you men how I feel about it. The coal miners in my own district know how I have always felt about the automatic penalty clause. I am glad that the coal miners in my little district—and I wish to God I had 150,000 members down there so it would have some effect when I called a strike—I am glad the coal miners in my little district have their eyes open and realize the great injustice that this automatic penalty clause does the coal miners of this country. I feel quite satisfied that if all the people of this country would hear the talks to the coal miners in this convention today, if all the international presidents we have ever had and all the district officials, with all their eloquence, they could not induce more than one or two of the eighty-four delegates from my district to vote for that penalty clause.

I hope you will think well when you vote on this question. Let organized labor in this country, as well as the coal operators' associa-

tion, know that the miners are alive to their own interests, that ~~that~~ they cannot be hoodwinked and deceived by the cry of patriotism when ~~when~~ considering a question of this kind. What point have we got to when the coal miners of this country are required to vote to give the dirty coal operators an opportunity to steal their hard-earned wages every time a mine is closed, if the operators say they did it even before the mine foreman closed it? If you have to vote for a clause of that kind in order to be called patriotic, I wonder what we have come to! I hope to God the coal miners will stand up like men and serve notice on the coal operators of the country that you are not deceived and hoodwinked by the cry of patriotism, and serve notice that you intend to stand up as free men and as American citizens. Serve notice on them that while we resent this penalty clause we proclaim to the world we are as patriotic as any class of people in America; but we don't propose to vote to enslave ourselves or give the coal operators an opportunity to steal our hard-earned wages in order to be called patriotic.

I know I will be vilified and condemned and accused of being disloyal for what I say, but I will stand alone if necessary and serve notice on the people of this country, but more especially the coal operators, that I will never vote to agree to let them steal any more of the coal miners' wages than they have done for these many years.

Delegate Murray, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—It is a mighty nice thing for the president of a district organization to stand up in a convention like this and appeal to the sentiment of this vast delegation of coal miners as President Howat has done. No matter what President Howat may have to say about the eloquent orations of those who will defend the Washington Agreement, or about their discussions of the patriotism of the delegates attending this convention, let me say to you, my friends, that the officers of the coal miners' organization that negotiated this contract never did so for the purpose of hampering the progress of the coal miners' union in America.

Your committee briefly reported to you the action of your representatives in the New York conference on April 12, when the New York Agreement was negotiated. It is true, as President Howat said, that there were no provisions for a penalty clause written into the

New York Agreement of April 12, but this great American government of ours was not then involved in a gigantic world-wide war. The government at that time had not published the American casualty list and the penalties American citizens were paying for democracy's sake on the ocean and at the battle front in France. The Washington Agreement was predicated upon a war-time condition. The report of your President states very eloquently to you that when we went into that conference our great country was engaged in a world-wide war, and your representatives in that conference had to predicate their judgment in those negotiations upon a war-time condition.

Now to get to the penalty clause. It is true the representatives of the Mine Workers' organization agreed to a penalty clause; it is true we entered into a contract with the coal operators in Washington, and it is also true that in the negotiation of that contract we told the world, we told the Kaiser and his cohorts, that the coal miners were willing, if you please, to be penalized if they violated an agreement that was honestly and sincerely made. The representatives of the Federal government, despite any statement President Howat may make, asked for something to be done in that meeting that would have a stabilizing effect upon the coal industry of America. We insisted that the maximum amount of an advance be granted the coal miners, and we succeeded in securing for them the largest increase in wages that was ever brought home to them in any single conference in the history of the miners' organization. We did pledge to our government that if the miners violated the contract they ought to be penalized.

This agreement, my friends, was entered into in good faith and it ought to be respected by its beneficiaries, just as much as each and every citizen of this country should be required to respect the laws of the country. Did you ever see a man come before a body of men and advocate that if you violated a civil law you should not be punished for it? Did you ever see a man come before a body of men and say that if you violated an individual agreement made with another party to build a house or something of that sort, you should not be punished for violating that agreement? Those agreements, my friends, are made in absolute good faith, and the same contract, no matter what President Howat may say, also provides penalties for the operators.

A number of delegates in the audience asked the speaker to *sit* down.

Chairman Murray: The very men who are now asking the speaker to sit down in this convention go out on the street corners and advocate freedom of speech. We are not going to be prevented from exercising the right to express our opinions on the floor of this convention. I have no personal issues in this matter; I am discussing this agreement in its broader phases. The coal miners' organization today, as is shown by that Service Flag hanging over your heads, has approximately 19,258 of its members either drafted into the national army or on their way to France, and to prevent those direct actionists from controlling the situation and throwing the coal mining industry into a state of chaos I am saying in defense of those boys who have left my home and the homes of other coal miners of this country that absolutely everything must be done in this convention to protect their interests while they are fighting the battle of democracy.

It is all right to say "Sit down," yes, that is all right; but despite any statements that may be made to the contrary the respective district agreements provide the methods of adjusting disputes, and if those disputes are brought up in the regular manner they will be adjusted to the entire satisfaction of practically every coal miner in this country. I say that for my organization. I say also that we have penalized the coal operators in the Pittsburgh District in the past two months.

There were renewed requests for the speaker to sit down.

Vice-President Lewis: Let the chair explain to the house that this is a deliberative assembly, called for the purpose of discussing upon a basis of merit these great problems that now confront us. The chair wants to assure every delegate here who desires to be heard on these matters that he will be given every opportunity for an expression of his sentiments. I want to ask this convention for its co-operation in discussing these problems and in maintaining an orderly assemblage. We cannot, if we are intelligent men, dissolve ourselves into a disorderly aggregation of men with no rules. We must give consideration to the views of those men who are officers and who are trying to discuss this matter in a logical manner. I ask you to refrain from inter-

Rupting speakers, and every delegate here will be given the same opportunity.

Chairman Murray: You will note that it is the fourth clause of the Washington Agreement that is now under discussion on the floor of this convention. It provides that the entire contract, including the penalty clause, shall be subject to ratification by this convention. This portion of the contract provides that if you discuss the penalty clause in this convention you cannot very well afford to separate the issues and not give some consideration to the fact that it also necessitates a discussion of the increase in wages. The fourth clause provides that:

"Subject to the next biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America, the Mine Workers' representatives agree that the present contract be extended during the continuation of the war, not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918."

That is, that so far as your interstate penalty clause is concerned, along with the increases granted you this penalty clause will continue for the duration of the war. It is absolutely a war measure, a measure prompted by a sincere desire to stabilize the coal mining industry of America. The contract is predicated absolutely on a war-time condition, and to prevent needless sacrifices on the battlefields of France and wherever our coal miners in the great American army may be fighting.

There is no more ardent advocate of reform in the coal miners' movement than I am. There is no coal miner in this convention that more ardently desires reform than I do. Two weeks ago, when we were unable to secure an agreement before our joint board, I tell you frankly when the operators defied us and I considered we were right I closed a mine down by order of the district executive board. I contend that the operators, despite the terms of this agreement, cannot wrap the American flag around their bodies while they exploit the coal miners of this country. As one officer of a district I say that no coal operator within my jurisdiction will be permitted to steal any money from the Pittsburgh District coal miners.

Give absolutely fair and impartial consideration to the proposition as it has been presented to you, but remember that a very weighty

responsibility rests upon the shoulders of every delegate attending the convention. The eyes of the world are centered upon us, and the dependents of 4,000,000 men who have been struggling for three years on the battlefields of Europe and whose bodies are now under the sod with no other mark of identification than a little white cross on the hillside and plains of France, those men's dependents are viewing with deep interest your action in this convention. Bring home to yourselves the fact that you have to calmly deliberate on this proposition and say to the American people and say to our allies that it is your desire to stabilize the coal industry. Give all the coal to this country and to our allies that you possibly can. Prevent the necessity of needless sacrifice on our battlefields by keeping the transportation on land and on sea in motion.

My friends, we all know of the great measure of sacrifice that will have to be made by the men who have gone into our army. Don't let us permit our prejudice and passions to govern, but let us say to ourselves that if those coal miners who are going to France are required to make sacrifices, even to the extent of giving up their lives for you and for me because it is asked of the American government, then, my friends, remember that you also have a duty to perform. Your patriotic duty is to take care of the interests of the men you have sent to the battle front, your duty is to preserve their interests while they are fighting for you, your duty is to prevent any needless sacrifice of their lives.

If you keep those things in mind and also remember that while you are discussing this penalty clause—this clause that I helped to negotiate and that your officers helped to negotiate—you are also discussing the wage increases that were granted you in Washington. If you vote down the penalty clause you automatically suspend the operation of the Washington Agreement which provides for this substantial increase in wages. It all comes into the discussion—you cannot separate the issues. If you feel, after giving this matter calm, cool and deliberate consideration, that it is worth your while to send back to the boys at home the word that they enjoy the right to direct action without the necessity of taking up grievances as provided for in their contract, vote this down and tell the coal miners that at the same time, while voting down the penalty clause, you recognize the fact that you are giv-

ing up your increase in wages. I think the coal miners will pass a very severe judgment on the delegates to this convention if that is done.

That is about all I have to say in connection with the matter at this time. I sincerely hope that this great convention, this vast delegation of coal miners, representing the interests you do, will give calm and serious consideration to this all-important question and that when you have done so you will with wonderful unanimity of opinion respond to the call of your government and vote for the adoption of the Washington contract.

President Hayes: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—This is no time to appeal to the feelings of men; this is a time that requires calm, serious thought on the part of this great delegation. There is a great responsibility resting upon the men in this convention. The eyes of our country are turned toward us, and I trust we will act wisely and sensibly in solving the problems that confront the miners of our country.

I listened with considerable interest to the address of Delegate Howat from Kansas, but I failed to hear him say anything about the good features of the Washington Agreement. I failed to hear him mention the fact that as a result of the Washington Agreement the miners of this country today receive a wage that compares favorably with the wages of any other craft in our country. I know how popular usually an issue of this kind is and I know what sort of an address a man can make on the subject. I am aware that there has been oppression on the part of coal operators; every delegate in this convention has suffered from such oppression and it is easy to arouse the delegates on a question of that kind; but let us consider all the facts and let us, when we close the discussion, arrive at a fair, reasonable and honest conclusion.

I think I know something about the philosophy of the United Mine Workers of America. I think I know something about the trade agreement. It was as the result of the trade agreement and the collective system of bargaining, promulgated by the United Mine Workers of America principally, we grew to be the great organization we are today. And I say to you, my friends, that if this organization is ever destroyed it will

be destroyed from within and not from without. I know the history of other organizations that had no respect for wage agreements, that did not believe in collective bargaining. What is the history of those organizations? What was the result of their policy and their philosophy?

For example—and I say it in no spirit of reflection—the Western Federation of Miners, now known as the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, in the beginning of their career advocated disregard of contracts, advocated continual strikes to redress their wrongs, pursued a policy somewhat like Delegate Howat has been pursuing in Kansas for these many years, with the result that today the Western Federation of Miners, the metalliferous miners' union of this country, is practically out of business. I don't think the United Mine Workers can afford to take a position against any contract at this time that has for its sole purpose the disciplining of our members, the few who seek to embarrass our nation in the present crisis.

As has been well said by the chairman of the committee, Brother Murray, this contract was made under war conditions. We were called upon to rise to the occasion, to do something to increase coal production and to do everything in our power to eliminate strikes in violation of our wage agreements. It would be idle for me to get up in this convention and say there have not been strikes in violation of our contract, because the records of our office are full of communications in regard to such incidents. It is because of such incidents in various parts of our jurisdiction that we were practically compelled to agree upon some measures that will insure steady production of coal during these trying times. My friends, are we sincere in our profession when we make these trade agreements? Do we make them with the intent of breaking them? Do we intend to keep the faith? And that is all the Washington Agreement asks the miners of this country to do—to keep the faith—and there is no time more appropriate when they ought to keep the faith than the present time when our country is engaged in a death struggle with the Central Powers.

There should be no fear of this clause. No man is penalized unless he violates wilfully the agreement we are pledged to observe. The penalty clause is nothing new in the history of the United Mine Workers. For years there have been penalty clauses in various agreements in

districts under our jurisdiction, and those penalty clauses were placed there because some few men in some few localities utterly disregard the terms of the contract. If this organization is to endure, if it is to become the institution that we want it to become, the largest labor institution in the world, if it is to maintain that proud position, we must do nothing contrary to the policy that has made us as great as we are today.

I do not want to use patriotism as an argument, my friends, but coal is so vitally necessary to the success of this war that you must, in our discussion of this question, point out the need of an uninterrupted coal supply. We must guarantee the government that we will do everything possible, everything within our power, to secure the maximum production of coal. I understand there are 1,500 children in danger of perishing, poor children, because their parents are unable to buy coal. Beginning with today the factories of our country close down for a period of five days. Millions of toilers throughout the entire country will suffer the loss of wages because there is not sufficient coal to keep the factories going. If I know you men aright—and I have been with you all my life—I feel you will not be found wanting in the present crisis and that you will respond to the call of the President of the United States to do your bit as the soldiers are doing theirs in order that we may win this war.

I want to visualize this thing, I want to drive it home. Italy, one of our allies, is today begging and pleading for coal. It was because of the lack of coal that the Central Powers were successful in a large degree in their recent drive against the Italian forces. The French coal mines are largely under the control of the Central Powers at this time and the only available coal supplies are to be found in Britain and America. Munitions plants cannot operate, railroads cannot run, our boys in the cantonments cannot be kept warm—thousands of them have died of pneumonia in the last few weeks—unless we produce the necessary amount of coal. I know when you realize these things you will weigh well your action in this convention. The President of the United States calls upon you to carry out the terms of the Washington Agreement. I feel that the miners will make their sacrifices in this war, that they will not be found wanting, and as testimony to that fact I need only point to that service flag with its nearly 20,000 stars. These

stars show that the brothers and sons of many of you in this delegation are in the army. When we know these things I don't think we will allow ourselves to be carried away by passion, by feeling or by selfishness. This is an age of sacrifice and every loyal American must make his sacrifices now in order that liberty, freedom and democracy may triumph in all the civilized nations of the world.

If you repudiate the Washington Agreement today you will repudiate the wage scale contained in it. We would not have been able to secure the wage scale we did had we not agreed to a penalty clause. When we were asked to adopt the penalty clause Delegate Howat's district particularly was pointed to as showing the need of such a clause. Delegate Howat, as the president of District 14, even though our country was engaged in a life and death struggle, even though thousands of poor people were in danger of freezing to death and millions of our boys are going to the cantonments and across the sea—Delegate Howat, provincial as he is, could only see the penalty clause. He thought that would make him popular with the men of the Southwest, so he advocated a strike, he advocated a repudiation of the Washington Agreement which gives you the highest wage scale in the history of mining in this country, a strike that would have meant the paralysis of industry in the Southwest and the suffering and death of thousands of innocent women and children. These are facts, my friends, and you have to consider them in determining this problem here today.

I think your representatives are entitled to credit rather than to censure for boosting this wage scale twice during the period of a contract that did not expire until April 1, 1918. And I want to say to you in this connection, as president of this organization, that we are going to maintain the standard we have secured as a result of this war. Is this penalty clause such a wonderful thing? Would you rather have the wage advance contained in the Washington Agreement, or would you rather surrender it and do away with the penalty clause?

A delegate said, "Yes."

President Hayes: I don't think the great rank and file back home hold that view. I believe from the expressions I have heard in a great number of districts I have visited that the men appreciate what has been gained for them in the way of wage advances. This agreement

hurts no man—and I want to emphasize that—who wants to do right, who wants to obey a contract that we have given our faith and our word to obey. Are we men of our word? Can we keep the faith? Have we not always maintained that we kept our contracts inviolate? There is sufficient machinery provided for in every trade agreement to settle every dispute that arises in and around a mine. There is a way provided for in our contracts to settle grievances, and I know they can be settled in that way, and especially should they be settled in that way when your country is calling for coal.

My friends, that ought to appeal to your reason and not to your passion and not to your feeling. It is not always the man, it is not always the labor leader that appeals to your feelings that serves you best. It is the duty of a labor leader, as I understand it, to state the facts as they are, free from sentiment and free from passion, with only the thought in mind to serve his fellow-men rightly and sanely. I do not care to talk more at this time, but I want to say as one representative of the International organization that I take my full share of responsibility for the Washington Agreement, and I am proud that I had a part in making it.

Delegate McCleish, District 12: Brother Chairman and Delegates—You have heard from two district officers and our International President. Now I want to tell you, from the viewpoint of one of the rank and file, how the members of the entire district I come from feel about the penalty clause. I heard Brother John P. White yesterday state to this convention that the United Mine Workers of America were not unpatriotic, that no blame could attach to them for the coal famine now existing in this country. My reason for objecting to the penalty clause is this: If they thought we were patriotic why did they put a shackle around our necks in the Washington Agreement? I come from a district where we have been fined without a trial. That was done through the automatic penalty clause. That is what it will do for the delegates and the rank and file of this organization if the convention does not vote the proposition down. There is no man in the rank and file of this great organization of ours that is not patriotic, but we don't want to be led by a halter. The rank and file feel at this time that we have been unjustly treated in the Washington conference. We do not censure our officers for what they did; they thought they were doing

the best they could for us when they got the enormous advance. One dollar and forty cents a day is a large sum, but I say with Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty," and keep your \$1.40.

Delegate Dwyer, District 29: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I feel this is an important question and that our organization is at stake in the settlement of it. Delegate Howat would lead you to believe that this penalty clause deprives us of the right to strike. I say it does not. I will agree that probably the incidents he mentions have taken place in his district. Similar incidents have taken place in my district. We have grievances by the hundred in West Virginia, but in our district convention last week we took them all up and agreed to put them up to the United States government. If the result is not satisfactory I will tell those men that according to the penalty clause they have a right to strike and strike until they win. None of you who have spoken have shown me any reason for not ratifying the Agreement. What will be the result if we do not ratify it?

It has been repeatedly stated on the floor of this convention that it is hoped to enroll the 200,000 non-union men in this country in the organization. You have 50,000 of that number in West Virginia to enroll, and if this proposition is not ratified you can't get them. We are now having a strike in the New River field of West Virginia and the International organization is feeding and paying the men who are on strike. They have been doing that for four months and will continue until they win. Some of the members who disagree with me will have to show me that some other course is the best to follow. When a man tells me he cannot strike 100 or more men under this agreement he is mistaken.

Delegate Helm, District 25: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I do not feel that I would be doing my duty if I sat in this convention and listened to the discussion that is now going on without having something to say in regard to the automatic penalty clause. In the Southwest we had a fight with the operators in regard to the automatic penalty clause. We were successful, but later the United States government, through an order from the Federal Fuel Administrator, got into the fight and eliminated the success we had achieved, set our contract aside and forced upon us a penalty clause that had been subscribed to in

Washington by the International representatives and representatives from districts in the Central Competitive Field.

If I understand the report of the committee they commend the officers who took part in that conference and subscribed to the automatic penalty clause. I listened to the reports of the International officers and have listened to the remarks made by leaders of our organization, and all the way through they have placed emphasis upon the patriotism of the miners of this country. They have told you and told the world that any shortage of coal that may exist is not due to the slacking of mine workers, but is due to the inadequate facilities of the railroads. I can never vote to commend the International officers and the men who participated in that conference that subscribed to the automatic penalty clause. I like to see some degree of consistency practiced. I don't want men to say in one breath that the mine workers of this country are patriotic and that they are going to do their full duty in this time of war and then in the next breath say it is necessary to have an automatic penalty hanging over them to make them do that work. If there is a mine worker that is really patriotic he will resent the damnable automatic penalty clause, because when they write into a contract in this time of war a penalty clause they admit by doing so that there is lack of patriotism among the mine workers of this country, and if we sit idly by and submit to it we in a measure will have conceded that we are guilty of being unpatriotic.

If ever in the world the mine workers should resent an automatic penalty clause it is at this time. We should resent it in order to defend our Americanism and our patriotism. These men tell you that car shortages are responsible for thousands of people suffering from lack of coal. Then they come and tell you that is the reason we should have a penalty clause. Has the penalty clause increased the number of cars sent to the mines? Has the penalty clause caused the owners of railroads to furnish more cars to the miners? No. It has been reported by the delegates from many parts of the country that the men have been lying idle because of a shortage of cars. I think they would have done well in the Washington conference if they had pointed out the lack of cars. If they had spent more time in that direction instead of haltering the miners and putting them back into slavery and at the mercy of the operators, they would have done better.

President Hayes stated that the penalty clause is no new thing in the miners' organization. I admit it is not. We had a penalty clause in our Missouri contract in the past, but we made a fight and got rid of it. The coal operators of the Southwest took advantage of the automatic penalty clause and brow-beat and took from our men things they fought years to obtain. Because the operators knew that with an automatic penalty clause they could bulldoze and brow-beat and rob the workers of conditions they had established, a desperate effort was put forth in the Washington conference to again get the automatic penalty clause.

Before the war when we had our automatic penalty clause in Missouri there were times when the coal market was down and the operators could not sell the coal. They conspired then to stir up trouble until they forced the men to strike in order to get the dollar a day penalty. It was more profitable to them to get the dollar a day penalty than it was to operate the mines. That is the reason we fought the automatic penalty in the Southwest, and it was not by any action of the Conference Committee that subscribed to that automatic penalty in Washington that forced the Southwest to take it; it was the strong arm of the Fuel Administrator and the government that got on the job. The Fuel Administrator did not make the statement that the penalty clause must be satisfactory to him until we had made an agreement eliminating it. The Washington conference gave us the privilege of going back into our districts and making penalty clauses satisfactory to the operators and the men making the agreement.

If the delegates want to defend the patriotism of the mine workers of this country they will not leave this convention with an automatic penalty clause hanging over them. If you do you will in a measure have admitted that the mine workers were so unpatriotic that it was necessary to halter them and lead them to their work. It is not a question of direct action, as was referred to by Brother Hayes. I thought probably before he sat down he would compare us who have opposed the automatic penalty to the I. W. W. organization, but he stopped at the Western Federation of Miners. We don't want to resort to the tactics that have been used by direct actionists, but I do claim that the mine workers of this country do not have to submit to the iron hand of the coal operators' associations of this country in order to

proclaim their patriotism. I claim that more can be done by appealing to the patriotism of the mine workers of this country than can be done by any forcible measure such as the automatic penalty clause.

Delegate Fontecchio, Local 731, District 12: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—This is the time for you to consider this question seriously. I am here instructed by my local how to vote on this penalty clause. I am not going to criticize the actions of the International officers in accepting the penalty clause; perhaps they thought it was the best they could do to get the advance in our wages. That was all right, but remember that the ten lousey cents we got as an advance in our wages was the cost of selling us body and soul to the operators. The officers are patriotic, there is no question about it, but they must not make it appear to the public that the rank and file of this union are outlaws and traitors to their country.

In September, 1915, in a mine at Springfield, Ill., the checkweighman tested the scale at the noon hour. It was found the scale was losing 55 pounds on every car. He refused to weigh any more coal until the scale was adjusted. The matter was reported to the superintendent who said, "Oh, that Socialist! Continue to hoist coal anyhow." Yes, they continued to hoist coal that day. The scale was broken. He violated the State law and the State agreement. Of course that antagonized the whole mine. We were losing 55 pounds on a car and we never got it back. We were penalized five dollars each for closing the mine down for four days. I said to Commissioner Clark, "I will admit we closed the mine down, but the scale was broken." "Yes," he said, "I will admit that, but what are you going to do about it?" Now, gentlemen, if the operators are going to do what they please under this penalty clause it would be better not to belong to the union at all. Before you belonged to the union the boss could discharge you. Now he cannot discharge you but he is going to get the money from you.

We are not unpatriotic. The workingmen never were unpatriotic. The workingman is patriotic in peace times, in war time and all the time because he produced and produces always. Under this penalty clause you are tied up and led like a poodle dog. If you want to be loyal and hold the solidarity of your union, refuse to accept the penalty clause, for God's sake. Let us be patriotic, let us work, work, work

and fight for this country, but let us refuse the penalty clause because it is wrong.

Delegate Flyzik, District 10: In times like these we ought to take a general view of the relations the governments of this world have towards our economic and political movement in civilized countries. In order to dispose of this question intelligently it may be necessary to point out to this delegation the methods that some of the other governments used when they entered this world war. I hold here a collection of declarations on this very important matter, made by the workingmen in economic and political meetings in their respective countries at the time those countries entered the war. And perhaps you may be surprised to know that in those countries where the economic movement was weak the workmen had nothing to say in the regulation of wages and hours during this crisis. The military machine took charge of the industries and those that challenged the power of that machine were marched up to the mines and factories and compelled to work at the point of the bayonet.

Germany perhaps had one of the strongest political governments in this world. By that I mean the workmen had the largest representation there, and when the first vote was taken on the question of war, out of 360 workingmen's representatives only 14 remained true to their international principle, the balance of them voting to sustain the government's military program in the war. The workmen of Belgium had met in their economic and political organizations. What did they do? They said to their people, "We want to be true to our international convictions. We are opposed to war, we are opposed to militarism, but what are we going to do under these circumstances? The German military machine is on its way, destroying our lives and properties." Then they passed a resolution that every one of you delegates ought to read. It sets forth their views on international militarism. They reiterated their position taken in time of peace, but in order that they might not be censured by neutral countries not yet in the war. they said, "We are fighting to defend our country, our homes and our lives, and we are going to vote for this war because it will be defensive war against Prussian militarism."

The workmen of Austria had no choice; they were dragged out of their homes and sent to the trenches. If those who remained at home

manifested any hostility towards the policies of the government they were taken into the industries and made to work at the point of the gun. What did we do? Here in America when the government entered into war the labor representatives were sent for and consulted. You have been given greater consideration in America than the workmen in any other part of the world where constituted authority exists, be it political or economic. The government said, "As your representatives we no longer can keep out of this war, but before we enter on it we want to take the laboring forces into our confidence and work out a satisfactory plan. We must keep the wheels of industry moving."

We who live in the far Northwest were not parties at that time to that meeting, but we have kept a very close watch on the messages that were transmitted over the wires of the Associated Press. We saw demands that were presented to the government by our former president, John P. White, going out to our boys in the camps, and when we called their attention to the demands that were made upon the operators containing from one dollar to two dollars per day increase in wages, most of our boys laughed at it. They never expected to get an increase of that kind. They said, "Well, Flyzik, there is one thing the international administration is doing now, they are certainly asking for enough." Some of them entertained the idea that if they got seventy cents a day advance they would be doing well.

Your committees met in joint conference and with the government argued that in order to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion the wages of the men would have to be raised as an inducement to them to work every day. The government said, "All right! We are willing to offer inducements to the mine workers and make the inducements so great that they will work voluntarily and help this government prosecute the war." When the wages were agreed to it was said a penalty must be provided for the agent of the foreign powers, the man who might be paid to represent our alien enemies, who would make himself busy to create unnecessary stoppages of work. It was also stated in that conference that this evil would not be confined exclusively to the workmen, for they were inclined to the belief that the Kaiser has many representatives among the employers as among the workingmen. That fact was demonstrated to you in Brother Walker's address yesterday. So it was decided to provide a penalty clause that would

apply with equal force to both the workman and the employer. That was one reason why the penalty clause was put in the Washington Agreement.

Some of the speakers who are opposed to the penalty clause allege that it takes our economic power away and enslaves us for the balance of our lives. Under this clause you can exercise your economic power at the proper time just as fully as you have done heretofore. I will not burden you by reading the entire penalty clause, one section is sufficient. It says: "Whereas, stoppage of work in violation of the agreement has become so serious as to menace the success and perpetuity of the U. M. W. of A. in our joint relations, etc." It says: "Stoppage of work in violation of the agreement."

Brother Howat has stated that the operators in his district are stealing money from the pocketbooks of the men, fining them because they lose a day attending a funeral or because their clothes are not dry. By that I take it he means the wash houses are not properly looked after. Let me tell you, delegates, that we had a strike in one district recently because the boys were not satisfied with the first breakfast they got. They shut the mine down. As an acknowledgment on the part of the boarding boss that the first breakfast was not adequate he served a second one. The operators attempted to collect a fine under this penalty clause. When the arguments were presented to our conciliation board the local union furnished the district officers with sufficient evidence to prove the boys did not get a satisfactory breakfast till 9 o'clock, and no penalties were deducted from the wages of the 160 men working in that mine. If there is a boss or an operator in your community that abuses this penalty clause the district officers ought to see that it is not done again, and fight the just cause of those who may be imposed upon.

Delegate Howat said men are compelled to leave work occasionally because of insufficient air. We had an experience in a mine where one half the working force went home and the operator sent a list of the names to the State Fuel Administrator with a demand that they pay a fine under this penalty clause. We took our mining laws, appeared before the State Fuel Administrator and showed him that this operator failed to comply with the State laws and provide the required amount

of air to each working place. The men were exonerated from paying any fine and the operator was told that in case he ever did that again he would be fined double the amount. The men went back to work. We were not satisfied with the decision and said, "Under this penalty clause the operator will have to be fined." And he was not only fined but he had to pay compensation for one day's work to each man he sent home. That is how it works in our district.

You come here and you magnify these things which you should remedy at home if you were true to your convictions instead of making a grand stand play here. The trouble is that some of you men mistake the petty boss for the coal operator. He is more of a slave than we are; he has no one to take up his grievances with. I am informed that in order to have more peace and harmony in the coal industry Fuel Administrator Garfield, in conjunction with former President White, has taken up a series of complaints made of the abuses of this penalty clause and referred them, not to the mine bosses and mine superintendents of the respective districts, but to the boards of directors of the various coal companies. They have served notice upon these boards of directors that if they did not see to it that their hirelings ceased to discriminate against some of the active union men and inviting trouble they would be removed and men that would be fair and impartial placed in their respective positions. As a result of that action we have already had some of the so-called industrial autocrats in our district removed.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in order that you may clearly understand your position I want to compare the former penalty clauses in some of the Northwestern districts with the new one we have accepted practically unanimously in the State of Washington. In what I am going to say I will not use the word patriotism as an anesthetic to dope your understanding. The former clause provided for the discharge of any man that caused a stoppage of work in violation of the agreement. Let me tell you what happened during my experience as president of District No. 10. We had bosses that conspired to cause strikes in order to get rid of a few active men. We had individuals in the local unions at times that conspired to cause strikes in order to have active opponents of theirs fired. What was the result? Most of our active men in these local suspensions had to leave the State.

When this was explained to the mine workers of the Northwest and it was shown that the financial penalty clause was not as severe as the discharge clause, and by accepting it the responsibility would be more equitably borne by all of the men who voted to suspend and strike, instead of being borne by the active men alone, it was accepted. I believe it is fair for all the men who vote to shut down a mine to bear a portion of the responsibility, and not the local officers and mine committeemen alone. By this I do not mean that we should give up all our rights to strike. I do not mean that at all, and I hope the time will never come when the economic movement of America will give up that weapon. But you are repeatedly charged with refusing to carry out your agreements. You have charged the operators with violating their contract. What occurs? The middlemen step in to mediate and smooth matters over and put us back to work.

Now I think the time has arrived for us to apply this penalty clause to both the workmen and the operators. It is only a war measure. If you had happened to be in the countries where the political machine regulates wages and hours of labor you would not be sitting in this hall today discussing the penalty clause; you would be back home digging coal, and the government would have done as they did in Austria and Germany, set the wages, conditions and hours, then adjourned Congress until the end of the war. They have robbed the men of their political and economic rights as well.

I am somewhat surprised to hear some of the opponents of this cause stand here and exaggerate the conditions, try to make the men believe they are enslaved, that they have less liberties than they have in the countries they came from. I know, if I were back in the country of my ancestors, Austria, I would be nursing callouses on my shoulders from packing a military rifle. My old father became a citizen of this country by choice and I am able to differentiate between the political liberties and the economic rights I am enjoying here and those that were enjoyed by my father in Austro-Hungary. So when you discuss this proposition suspend your prejudices and view the matter from a business standpoint and a commonsense standpoint. While sentiment may be very popular in this convention in favor of turning down the penalty clause and sacrificing the other concessions in the Washington Agreement, when you go home, no matter how much you may exagger-

our position here and attempt to put it in force in your local
s, you will be met with a little more opposition in the rank and
an those are meeting in this assembly who helped to negotiate that
ment.

n conclusion I want to ask the delegates to view this question
tially. You have no reason for becoming angry; you have no
1 for asking the privilege of free speech yourselves and denying
er men the right to voice their honest convictions. We are going
s you to stand up here, man after man, and register your con-
ious objections to this penalty clause, but strip your arguments
selfishness and hypocrisy when you are doing it.

Delegate Smith (T. J.), District 19: I come from a district that
ing to be vitally affected by this agreement. The delegates of
ct 19 who are sitting here in this convention are deeply inter-
in what your action will be upon the question of whether or not
will ratify the agreement that was entered into in Washington on
ixth day of last October. You see on each side of the hall the
rs of District 19 on which is printed "Our Slogan—a One Hun-
Per Cent. Organization." For a number of years District 19 was
sented in this convention by a small party of delegates. Today we
ere with 70 or 80 delegates from a district that has practically
reorganized, for only a few men strove there year after year to
up the organization. The contract that was negotiated in Dis-
19 was not satisfactory to the men of that district; it did not give
all the things we thought we were entitled to, but did we go into a
ntion and try to repudiate that contract? No. We are working
that contract and putting up with impositions that free men
l not be compeled to put up with. It is the aim and object of all
ncere men in the district from which I come, to build upon the
ation we now have, an organization that will be the equal of any
e organizations from which you men come. As the years go by
listrict will grow larger and larger and the coal production from
l affect the well being of every coal miner in the country.

t seems to me in considering the question of whether or not the
ington Agreement should be ratified we should not pick out one
ular clause that does not meet with our approval. The men of

District 19 suffer under that penalty clause more than the men of any other district. But do we take the position that we have a right to set aside a clause and deny the operators the right to set aside a clause that does not please them? Whenever we take up any other clause of the contract outside of the penalty clause we use the force of our organization to compel the operators to live up to it. Then why should we not make provision to see that the penalty clause is continued? It seems to me, instead of taking a position because the penalty clause has been abused by the operators, to set aside that clause, we should make provision to see that they do not abuse it and that the men are protected by the organization.

If I read this agreement correctly it provides that the men and the operators of the various districts were to meet and agree upon a penalty clause. For what purpose? To see that the agreements are not violated by stoppages of work. Is there anything wrong in that? If there is, why don't you men in the districts you represent see that the penalty is put in operation? The penalty clause was put there by the President of the United States when he issued his order on the 27th day of October, 1917, because he provided that there should be an automatic penalty clause. For what? For a violation of the spirit of the agreement. Not a penalty imposed upon the men because some petty boss or superintendent or the operators' association entered into a conspiracy to make the contract so obnoxious the men will repudiate their organization. In District 19 we understand the operators intend to tear us asunder, but we will stand together.

We have a provision that says if the employes stop work they shall be penalized. There is another clause which says they shall work eight hours or be penalized. Do we find the operators of that district living up to the spirit of the agreement? No. We have delegates in this convention today who are being penalized because they are here. One of our delegation worked over seven hours, and in order to get out to take the train to get here with the other delegates he went to his home, prepared for the trip and came back to town. He found he had been assessed a dollar for not working the full eight hours on Saturday. Are we going to stand for that? No, we are going to adopt measures to see that the penalty clause is put on in a way that will mean that no man will be dealt with unjustly. In my opinion if you adopt the

Washington Agreement and see that the penalty is not abused anywhere you will be doing the best thing possible for the organization.

Secretary Green announced that the convention photograph would be taken immediately upon adjournment.

The usual announcements of committee meetings were made by the chairmen of committees.

Secretary Green: I find an article in the Indianapolis Star this morning that places our organization in an absolutely false position. It reads:

"Congress was denounced by the convention in a resolution offered from Iowa protesting against the enactment of prohibition laws and a subsequent increase in taxes from the loss of revenue and the throwing out of employment of thousands of men, together with the abridgment of personal liberty. The resolution was adopted."

This article is headed, "Denounce Prohibition Laws." Now, as a matter of fact, every delegate in this convention knows that the direct opposite is true and that this convention unanimously nonconcurred in that resolution. The reporter who wrote that made a grave mistake and put this convention in a false light before the American people. The mistake is inexcusable, and I feel that the representative of that paper should make proper reparation by setting forth in his story that he was mistaken when he wrote it yesterday.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day.

FOURTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 o'clock p. m., Friday, January 18, Vice-President Lewis in the chair.

The Committee on Credentials made a supplemental report, recommending the seating of a number of delegates whose credentials had been acted upon after the printing of the report read during the first session. The report was adopted and the delegates named were seated.

The chairman of the committee announced that since the previous report District 18 had made settlement for the two-dollar assessment and the delegates accredited by that district would be seated. The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Lewis announced that the question before the house was the motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports which endorsed the Washington Agreement.

Delegate Lewis (J. C.), District 13: Gentlemen of the Convention—I rise at this time to speak in favor of the committee's report. I have no desire to call for any man to sit down in this convention if he sees fit to differ with me on this proposition. I do not propose to charge any man in this convention with being a member of the I. W. W. movement, an anarchist or a pro-German if he takes issue with this committee; neither will I say "Sit down" to any man who wishes to differ with the committee on the question before the convention. I do not propose to hide behind the American flag in defending the committee's report to this convention; I propose to defend it as one of the fundamental principles of the trade union movement.

I believe that when the United Mine Workers of America enter into an agreement with their employers they should live up to that agreement religiously, and no man is going to suffer under the automatic penalty clause that is true to the principles of this organization and the joint agreement. I speak as one who has lived with an automatic clause in our agreement for ten years, and I speak for the Iowa miners. For ten years the Iowa agreement has carried an automatic penalty clause. That automatic penalty clause was not placed in the Iowa Agreement by representatives of the Federal government, by representatives of the International organization or by representatives of the Scale Committee of the Central Competitive Field. Neither was the automatic penalty clause that is carried in the Des Moines Agreement put there with the American flag behind. It was put in there by the Scale Committee representing the Iowa miners and adopted by a referendum vote of two-thirds of the membership of that district on several occasions. I say to you gentlemen in this convention, knowing the Iowa agreement as I do, knowing what that penalty clause means,

that our men in the mines of Iowa have not suffered as a result of your automatic penalty clause.

While I was not a member of the interstate joint movement, I was in Washington, D. C., in the interest of the Iowa miners when this agreement was put over, and in reporting back to the Iowa miners in the special convention since the adoption of the Washington Agreement there was no fault to be found with the automatic penalty clause. What the Iowa miners in their special convention did was to pass a resolution condemning any man or set of men that shut down the mines in violation of their agreement. And while it may not be popular—and it seems it has not been up to this time—to stand on this platform and advocate the adoption of the agreement carrying with it the penalty clause, I say, in my humble opinion, neither will it be popular for a delegate of the Iowa miners to go back home and tell those men who jeopardize their interests in the wage increase that came with the Washington Agreement.

Those men have had an opportunity on several occasions to voice their sentiments in reference to an automatic penalty clause and it has been adopted on every occasion. The automatic penalty clause is not going to bind our members or enslave them, but it tells to the civilized world that we are willing to stand by our agreement and the only men, in my opinion, that are opposed to the penalty clause or who are going to suffer because of it are those who seek to shut down the mines in violation of the agreement. I stand here and challenge any delegate of this convention to show any district under the jurisdiction of the International Union that has better defended the men than has the Iowa district; and, as I said before, Iowa has carried an automatic penalty clause for ten years. It has never been an issue in Iowa. The delegates in the Iowa convention, when they understood that the penalty clause was adopted only to punish those who failed to live up to the agreement made by their accredited representatives did not protest against it; they endorsed the Washington Agreement.

It has been said that we are the only organization that the Federal government has sought to impose a penalty clause on. I have heard no delegates cite to you where any other organization in this country has received two increases in wages during the life of an agreement. It

is not necessary, in my opinion, to wrap this report up in the American flag in order to put it over. I believe the time will come in this convention when the delegates will be ready to do as Mother Jones told them to do yesterday, use their heads instead of their hands. I care not what any man may say or how much noise he makes; I am going to voice my sentiments in this convention and I am going to say again that the Iowa miners have not suffered as a result of the automatic penalty clause that has been in their district agreement for ten years.

I don't believe there is a great number of delegates in this convention who are willing to go home and tell the members of their organization that they agreed to sacrifice any part of the increase in wages to do away with the penalty clause. The miners of Alabama have said on the banner they have here in the hall that their slogan is 100 per cent. organization. You are spending thousands of dollars yearly to send organizers into the nonunion fields. Do you want to go on record in this convention as telling the world you are not willing to live up to the agreements made by your accredited representatives? That would do more to hamper the work in the unorganized fields than anything else you could do.

I believe the mine workers were treated fairly by the Federal government in our recent advance in wages. We have today at the head of this great nation a man who has been fair to our craft. In my opinion he is the greatest statesman of his time and the greatest humanitarian the world has ever known. He has come to our organization and told us he believes the United Mine Workers of America will stand with him in this struggle. So I say to you it is my humble opinion that it will not be popular for the delegates to go back to the men from the picks and tell them they voted down the Washington Agreement because of the penalty clause that only provides that the miners must live up to the agreement. It would not be popular with the men who have sent their boys to the trenches, and it would not be popular with the mothers who have sacrificed their boys on the blood-stained battlefields of France; I don't believe it would be popular with the widow who has given up her only son, the joy of her home and the pride of her life, to die in the trenches if need be to have the men at home say, "We are going to turn down your agreement because you have an automatic penalty clause in it."

I again challenge any delegate to this convention to show where the mine workers of any district are better protected than are the Iowa miners, and they have an automatic penalty in their contract. Adopt the report of the committee and show to the world that we mean to live up to our agreement in all cases. We must do that if we intend to go into the unorganized fields. Tell the world we are going to abide by our contract, and thereby make it much easier for our representatives to go into the nonunion fields and organize. The Iowa Agreement has this clause in it: "Should any officer of the local union or its members employed in the mine cause any part of the mine to shut down in violation of this agreement where the State law is not being violated they shall be fined two dollars for each day the mine is thus thrown idle." That penalty clause has been in the Iowa Agreement for ten years. You have nothing to fear from the Washington Agreement unless you expect to tell the world you are not a stable organization and do not intend to recognize your contract.

Delegate Amicone, District 6: I feel I would not be doing my duty if I were to sit here and not voice the sentiments of the people at home. The boys at home that I have the honor to represent have bitterly protested against the penalty clause, although they never have been in the habit of calling strikes in the locals. They are willing at any time to do their part; they are willing to work day and night if necessary to do their part and sacrifice anything to do it; but at the same time no one can make them believe they ought to vote to accept the Washington Agreement because they claim that the best they got was the penalty clause.

That penalty clause might work all right in the State of Washington, but we don't want it in the local I come from. We don't care how well it works over there, we don't want it in our local. After the Washington Agreement was signed we had a little mass meeting of the local mines, not in regard to the Washington Agreement, but owing to some agitation that was started by the operators. While the country was at war and the miners were doing all they could the operators were trying to evict some of the men from their houses. We had a mass meeting on that subject and a resolution was passed that if any of the boys were thrown out of their houses all the men would strike. At that mass meeting a vote of protest was adopted against the penalty clause.

One of the committee members said the people who opposed the penalty clause were the ones who were opposed to the local strikes or the ones who did not want to live up to the agreement. We do respect the agreement and we are willing to take our medicine while the country is at war, but the men I represent don't want any one to hold their noses and make them take that medicine. I am not saying anything that the local does not say. We have to deal with bosses and superintendents that have no respect for the agreement, and at times the mine bosses have gone so far as to call us names and punch a man on the nose. Are we to wait to call in the district officials in a case like that? I say No, boys, let us go home. That is the sentiment of the local I represent and they gave it to me in writing so I would not forget.

Delegate Tippet, Local 734, District 12: I wish to speak against the Washington Agreement, not the penalty clause alone, but the whole agreement. I represent 300 men that claim they are patriotic. It has been explained here that the opponents of this penalty clause are the men who want to close the mines by violating our agreement. I want to bring an issue before you and show that men are being affected by the penalty clause that are not striking and have no intention of striking.

When the penalty clause went into effect in our mine we suffered from it, even though we did not strike. While our officers were in Washington making the agreement we had trouble in our mines relative to air. The condition prevailed there for years. We had one man on our records that went to the hospital and the doctors told him his ill health was caused by bad air. That man's hospital bill was paid by the operator. He is now an inmate of the asylum at Bartonville. Whether this last affliction was caused by the bad air we don't know but we think it was. The condition was not improved. Every day some of the entries would come out, despite the fact that we had examiners going around reporting the condition. Something would be done a times, but many times nothing would be done. The men would come out because they could not live in there. We had a penalty clause before this last agreement and the operators would refer to it. Our inspector, James Taylor, was called in and there was nothing said about the penalty clause. In the Peoria district we have always paid a penalty when we laid a mine idle in violation of the contract.

To show that the penalty clause was made for some purpose other than the one stated here I will give the conditions there. We got a new mine manager and better air since the penalty clause was imposed. Now it has gone into effect and by accepting it in our district we receive in addition to the penalty clause sixty cents a day increase. The day we got the increase all the supplies we use went up, too, and it was not long before we were not getting sixty cents, but only about thirty cents. When winter came the air shaft froze and the air became as bad as it was before. The men came out and were informed that the penalty clause would be enforced without any trial. This penalty clause is no good to us. We were working under one that allowed us to bring up our grievances and if we were found guilty of violating the contract our fine was collected. We did not object to that and we are not objecting now, but we do object to a penalty clause that is imposed without a hearing. Therefore, our local not only disagrees with the penalty clause but with the whole Washington Agreement.

The wages we got through the Washington Agreement do not compensate us for the penalty clause or anything else in Peoria. I am not speaking from a patriotic standpoint; I don't believe in camouflaging this proposition here. That word has come into use since the war, since they have learned to paint a battleship to look like a wave and get away with it. The city of Peoria manufactured the caterpillar tank. They were working on orders for our government as well as our allies in France, and the company took it for granted that because they were working for the government the men could not strike. There was no penalty clause, but the men were told they could not organize. Nine hundred men were employed in the plant making these tanks. They were working night and day for the government. They were accused by everybody around there but the government with being I. W. W.s, pro-Germans and everything else but patriotic citizens. The men interpreted the word "government" to be us as well as the operators and everybody else. They remained out nine weeks before they sent a committee of men to Washington. They were not forced to go into that concern by machine guns, they went back there with conditions. The government told the men in charge if they wanted to work that plant eighteen hours a day they could do so, but not with one set of men.

We feel that the delegates here could formulate an agreement that would be as satisfactory, possibly, to Dr. Garfield and more satisfactory to the rank and file of the men who work under the agreement. When the agreement first came out there was a lot of dissension in the field where I work. The men called meetings but they called no strikes. There were no strikes in our locality on account of the penalty clause, but we were informed by our State office that in order to secure the advance in wages they had no choice in accepting the penalty clause, that it was the penalty clause or no money.

Since I have been in the convention I understand from the remarks of former President White that Dr. Garfield had nothing whatever to do with the penalty clause, that our officers and the operators are absolutely responsible for it. Therefore I say the men I represent have just as much of a grievance as they ever had and I therefore wish to go on record as not approving the Washington Agreement.

Delegate Stewart, District 17: I am inclined to believe there is a little misunderstanding, or quite a large misunderstanding among the delegates in regard to this automatic penalty clause. I was not a little puzzled in regard to the automatic penalty clause before coming here. But I believe since I have come in contact with the little slip of paper which I hold in my hand, and which I will take pleasure in reading to the convention, that I understand it better. Some time ago a controversy arose and Dr. Garfield was accused of placing on this penalty clause to prevent our people from striking. Now we find this little statement here: "Let it be understood that even with the automatic penalty clause in effect the officers of the districts can resort to strikes whenever or wherever the regular tribunal provided for in its contract fails to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment of any dispute."

I take it for granted that if the delegates or the men we represent transact business in the local unions in a proper way, when we have a legitimate cause for calling a strike and we take it up through the proper channels of our organization we have just as much right to strike as we had before this automatic penalty clause was put into effect. Was this printed by the mine workers?

President Hayes: The penalty clause applies only to the illegal

ized, sporadic strikes; it applies in no way to an authorized this organization.

gate Stewart: We have been hampered in West Virginia by ment that we could not strike. We have submitted to things e not right and stood for them, but from now on we will under- s penalty clause better. We have suffered things at the hands al operators of West Virginia that we would not have put up had known what I know now. I believe if we go on record isly adopting the contract made in Washington we will be a ourselves and to our fellow workers. We should cut out this g and go hand in hand in this proposition.

llustrate: A man had seven sons who were always quarreling ing among themselves. The old man had a lot of real estate day he came to the conclusion that he might pass out in a few he did not want the sons divided when they came into pos- f the property. He took seven sticks and securely bound them called his sons in and said to the youngest: "If you will break lle of sticks I will give you \$500." The young son could not e bundle and he gave it to each of the others in turn. None of ld break the sticks. The oldest son, a mighty man, said, no man can break that bundle of sticks." "Oh, yes, my boy; eak them." He untied the bundle and took the sticks one by broke them. Then he said, "So it is with you, my sons, if you in the future after your father is gone you will have no one ver you and you will be broken up. Bind yourselves together ower in the world can break you." That is what we want to do. to get together and act intelligently on these propositions; not hing that will hurt ourselves and our fellow-men.

gate Mercer (G. L.), District 12: I have listened to the argu- re with considerable interest. It seems to me some of the dele- not really studying the issue and what it means, or that some are trying to deceive you as to the condition that exists. I have stances cited in this convention in support of an argument he Washington Agreement and the penalty clause, and these occurred long before the Washington meeting was even of. Next to the last speaker on the floor told us about condi-

tions in Peoria, where he said the mines were shut down and the penalty clause was held over them. That was used as an argument against the penalty clause and against the Washington Agreement. Let us see what the facts were in that case.

There were three shut-downs instead of one and they occurred, not after the Washington Agreement was adopted, but in the latter part of June or the first part of July. Although the mine was shut down three consecutive days and although there was a penalty of five dollars for an illegal shut-down in the Illinois agreement at that time, not one man at that mine was penalized. I can say that because I handled the matter myself. The argument is not at all in line with the question before the house, inasmuch as it deals with a matter that occurred before the automatic penalty clause was even thought of. Such statements as that are not arguments on the question before the house but merely serve to veil the issue. It seemed to me that sort of argument should not be used.

I listened to the many talks along this line. The question at issue, as I see it, is simply this: Do we recognize, do we advocate a strike in violation of our joint agreement? If we do, then we ought to be against the automatic penalty clause; if we do not, then we ought not to be against any kind of a penalty clause. I say to you, however, without fear of successful contradiction, that if we advocate a violation of our joint agreement without any penalty being applied to it, then, gentlemen, we are advocating the thing that is against the best interests of the United Mine Workers of America. No organization of labor can long stand that advocates violations of a joint contract. An organization to be successful in the line of trade unionism must stand upon principles of honor and integrity. If we make a contract we ought to abide by it.

I don't hope to be satisfied with the present contract; I don't hope to be satisfied with contracts that will be adopted in years to come, but whenever I agree to a contract I am going to abide by its terms to the end, whatever it may be; then when I reach the end of that contract period and I can with honor go into a battle for a better contract, I am going to do it. That is the policy for this organization to follow. Are we doing what was said yesterday? Are we giving

away all our rights to strike? I say we are not; I say we have not given away, in the adoption of this penalty clause, one right to strike, much less all of them. Did you ever have a right to strike in violation of your agreement? No; there is not a man among us that had a right to strike in violation of our agreement. When we entered into the agreement and affixed our signatures thereto, or authorized our representatives to affix their signatures thereto, that contract became sacred to us, we were in honor bound to observe it in every particular, we were in honor bound not to violate it but to stand for the things we had agreed to by signing that contract.

What does the Washington Agreement provide? It provides that we will be penalized for closing down a mine to enforce some provision in violation of our joint agreement. Have we a right to close down a mine in violation of our joint agreement? Not at all. We never had that right and we are not giving that right away in adopting this. It has been said it was not necessary to adopt the penalty clause. What brought the penalty clause about? I don't like to admit the things I must admit. In the county I live in there are a thousand or more miners. At one time we had twelve mines out of fifteen shut down in absolute violation of the joint agreement. We had a contract providing a scale for day men. Those twelve mines were shut down in absolute violation of the contract—for what? 'Nine hours' pay for eight hours' work. That was absolutely in violation of the contract. For years this organization fought for the eight-hour day. Some of you men and some of your fathers struggled and sacrificed for that.

At one time there were close to 30,000 men idle in Illinois in direct violation of the agreement. We had a five-dollar penalty on at that time. Can you wonder that the automatic penalty clause was asked for? After a long drawn out fight in the middle of a contract we secured an increase of 10 cents per ton on a pick mining basis and \$1.40 a day for day men, the biggest increase ever secured in any joint agreement. That agreement was adopted with this provision: "This agreement will become effective only on condition that the selling price of coal shall be advanced by the United States government sufficient to cover the increased cost in the different districts affected, and will take effect on the first day of the pay period following the signing of the agreement." In other words, that agreement that gave

us the biggest advance we ever secured was given in the midst of a contract period and was predicated on the Fuel Administration allowing the advance in the price of coal to cover it. That allowed the price of coal to be increased to cover the advance to the miners.

Then the Fuel Administration added this provision: "This increase in prices shall not apply to any district in which the operators and miners fail to agree upon a penalty provision satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator for the automatic collection of fines in the spirit of the agreement entered into between the operators and miners at Washington, October 6, 1917." In other words, before we could secure the 10 cents advance per ton and the \$1.40 per day, the increase on yardage and deadwork as well, it was necessary to agree to a penalty provision satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator. That was put in there because some of our people refused or failed to live up to the contract they had agreed to. It is just as well to look these things square in the face. We had our choice of agreeing to a penalty clause and getting 10 cents per ton, \$1.40 per day and an increase on yardage and deadwork in the middle of a contract period, or refusing the penalty clause and working under the old contract. The penalty clause only applies to those of our members who refuse to respect the joint agreement; it will not penalize one man who respects the joint agreement. The man who does not respect our joint agreement is not doing the thing that is for the best interests or for the well being of the United Mine Workers of America.

Delegate Howat, in arguing against the penalty clause, said one man was fined for laying off a day to attend his mother's funeral. Does the penalty clause in the Washington Agreement give any operator the right to do that? Not at all. It provides a penalty for shutting down the mine in violation of the joint agreement. Did the man who attended his mother's funeral shut down the mine in violation of the contract? Did President Howat stand for that in his district? If he did, he should not have done so. Another man was said to be fined a dollar a day for attending this convention. Did he shut the mine down in violation of the joint agreement? If not, is he amenable to the penalty? No; not at all. Then why bring these things into this convention? These things are not covered by the penalty clause and have no bearing in any way upon it.

I say to you men—and I say it without fear of successful contradiction—that no organization can long live and long endure that does not maintain the respect and integrity of a contract once it is made. This organization of ours has grown to its present strength and power in the labor world because of the honor and integrity displayed by it and because of the strict observance of the contracts it has been a party to. It has builded up for itself and its members the respect and admiration of the world. As long as we continue to follow that policy of respecting trade agreements once we enter into them, abide by their principles, stand together solidly, this organization will go on and on, spread into the non-union fields and grow to greater proportions than ever before. If, on the other hand, we do not obey the provisions of our contract when we enter into it, that day, gentlemen, marks the beginning of the end of the United Mine Workers of America. We all know that. We know the history of other organizations. I have followed this matter closely and you will find out that what I say is true. When you make a law you must have some provision for its enforcement. Some of the laws of this organization were not adequate to enforce the contract. It then became necessary for the growth and upbuilding and perpetuity of our organization to take such steps as would lead to that end.

I say to you that when a proposition is put up to me to either agree to an increase of 10 cents a ton, an increase of 15 per cent. on yardage and deadwork and \$1.40 a day for the day men and the adoption of a penalty clause that affects only the man that violates his own agreement, I do not look at the penalty clause very long, because it does not hurt the man who abides by his agreement. The increase granted in the middle of a contract period helps every man who toils beneath the surface of the ground. That was the proposition that was put up to us. I think the action taken was the right action under the circumstances. I have no apology to make for the part I played in it.

If you go back over our contracts from 1897 to the present time you will see that we have received only 23 cents per ton advance. That sum was secured only after many long drawn out battles. You obtained in that period some 84 cents a day for drivers and about the same rate on other day labor. Since the beginning of the present

contract period you have obtained as great an increase on the tonnage price as in the previous eighteen years. You received only 84 cents on the drivers' scale from 1897 up to the beginning of the present contract, and since the beginning of this contract you have received \$2.16 advance. That applies to all the other day wage scales. I say it is something to be proud of, and I am proud of any small part I played in securing it.

Now we must decide whether we are for or against that contract. If we are against the penalty clause it means the 45 cents allowed by the Fuel Administration on the price of coal does not apply. There is the order issued by the President. If the 45 cents increase does not apply, then, likewise, the Washington Agreement giving us the advance does not apply, because it is predicated on the action of the Fuel Administration. As I said before, the penalty clause does not affect the individual cases cited here by some of the speakers; it applies only in case a mine is shut down in violation of the agreement. Surely there is not a man on this floor who contends that we have a right to shut a mine down in violation of the agreement. Not a man will contend we have that right. The penalty clause hurts no one who abides by the agreement, and so long as it does not do that I can hardly understand how we could think of refusing to adopt this agreement.

Delegate Moore (John), District 6: I rise to support the report of the committee. I understand in this large convention there are many different viewpoints, and I want to concede to each one of you the right to entertain your own viewpoint, and I expect the same consideration from you. Like a large number of the delegates here present I am opposed to a penalty clause, have always been opposed to it, and took that position down in the Washington conference, as did a large number of your representatives. We argued for days that it wasn't necessary to have a penalty clause in order to have the miners produce all the coal that is needed in this crisis. After we had held to that viewpoint for hours and for days the other fellow said: "If that is the position of the mine workers and they will not violate the contract, what have you to fear from a penalty clause?"

I discovered in Washington that the district I represent was

the only one that did not have a penalty clause applying to the entire district. In the Eastern Ohio District we had a penalty clause. Up to that time men who closed the mine in violation of the contract were fined. If it was found they were fined unjustly the fine was returned to them. With the exception of the Hocking District we had no other penalty clauses. In the Hocking District they had a clause that provided if the men closed the mine in violation of the contract they would be fined one dollar a day for every day the mine was idle. And, let me say to you, the operators did not steal that money, nor did they get a chance to do it. When a fine was imposed it was turned over to the treasury of the sub-district organization and there it remained. In the balance of the State, where there was no penalty clause, since the Washington Agreement we have agreed to a penalty clause that is an exact duplicate of the Hocking District clause. It means that for two-thirds of the membership of the State, if they are fined, the fine will not go to the operators, but goes automatically to the treasuries of the mine workers and is used by them in any way they decide.

I cannot see how a man can be fined who has laid off one day to attend a funeral or to go to the county seat to do any kind of business. On the day such a man left the mine the other men went to work as usual. If for any reason they closed the mine, that man would not be guilty of any wrongdoing. In one such case where the man was not there to report and the other men laid the mine idle he was fined the same as the other fellows, but when we called upon the superintendent of the mine that fine was returned. Invariably that has been the case.

Somebody said the penalty clause you have been working under in Iowa for ten years and in Illinois for twenty years and in Indiana for longer than that has never been a subject you men have taken offense at before. Now, what does this mean? I know the rule is being abused by some narrow-minded operators, but when the matter is referred to the proper officials in line with our law it is always corrected. Some time ago we had trouble at the mines of one of the largest companies in Ohio. We waited upon the superintendent, but could not effect a settlement. What did the organization do? Inaugurated a strike. The strike was in effect a week. On pay day it

was found that Mr. Operator had taken out of the pay envelope of every man there six dollars—one dollar for each day the mine was idle. Instead of staying where we could get hold of him he beat it over to Washington. We did what we could in order to get the matter settled. Before it was finally settled I wired the Fuel Administrator in Washington to this effect: "The mine workers of Ohio have never surrendered their right to strike and if this fine is not refunded within a reasonable time I will stop every mine owned and operated by that company in this State." This does not take from you men the right to strike, but it takes from some would-be local leaders the right to be the whole thing in the organization.

I have had as much trouble getting some of our boys reinstated who have been responsible for illegal strikes as for any other cause. I have always taken this position, and have always so advised them: "If you have a grievance, even though it hurts, work away with it until we can get on the job. When we get on the job and find it is a just grievance we will put the mine on strike and assume the full responsibility for it." You men have nothing to fear from the men you have elected to represent you. They are your friends and not the friends of Mr. Coal Operator. If there is an officer coward enough not to call a strike when it should be called, when that December day rolls around go to the ballot box and vote for the fellow who will get what is coming to you.

I hope the men in this delegation, and especially the men from the progressive little district of Ohio, will vote for the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports.

Delegate Wilkinson (John), District 21: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—It was with some degree of interest I listened to the remarks of my friend President Howat, of Kansas, this morning, and at this time I want to disabuse your minds of the idea that the Southwest is solidly opposed to the penalty clause or its acceptance under any conditions. Speaking for District 21—Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas—I can say we have an overwhelming majority in favor of accepting the automatic penalty clause. In the Southwest Interstate conference, when we sought to wipe out what to us was an obnoxious clause, we did so because it had been abused in times past by the

operators. In Oklahoma especially, as it applies to my own district, the operators in the summer time would create dissension among the rank and file, bring the men out on strike and then collect the penalty. It was cheaper than working their mines, or at least it was far more remunerative. That was one of the abuses practiced in Oklahoma. We were successful in wiping out of our contract the automatic penalty clause in 1916. After we left the Kansas City conference we had to inaugurate a strike in Oklahoma to wipe out the penalty clause there. After a two weeks' strike the miners succeeded in wiping out the clause that was obnoxious to them.

As far as the Southwest negotiations were concerned, the only point the operators raised in demanding and insisting upon the automatic penalty clause was to whip Kansas into line. The Kansas miners there boasted that during the operation of the 1916-18 contract up to the time we met not a single penalty had been collected by either side, although there had been more strikes in Kansas than in the other two districts put together. Now I think it is time for us all to stand and be counted. If this is going to be a deliberative assembly, an assembly that concedes fair play, I want you to give this matter careful consideration before you act upon it.

The reason why District 21 is in favor of accepting the penalty clause is because Dr. Garfield, the Federal Fuel Administrator, has said he will be sponsor for it. It is the first time in the history of a mine workers' contract that you have had the Federal authorities say they would stand sponsor for a wage agreement. Dr. Garfield has said he would see that justice is meted out to operator and to miner alike. Now, it is true perhaps that we have not had the relief in this connection we thought we ought to have; but we must be mindful of the fact that in inaugurating this automatic penalty clause and changing and revolutionizing the penalties the machinery has not yet been got into proper working order. Like other machinery, it must grind its bearings out before it will work smoothly. I don't want you people to bring into discredit something that has not been given a fair trial.

I want to remind you of the situation in Russia as it is today. There you have liberty and there you also have license, and to my mind strikes are taking license in a majority of instances and not

fighting for liberty. I have inaugurated more than one strike, but I have done so only when I have failed to settle by negotiations. Now if you are so insistent upon strikes, why not do away with the miners' officials and take the matter in your own hands? Looking at it from any other point of view I cannot see how any logical argument can be put up, even by the most radical, as a business proposition, because he gets the \$1.40 a day to pay the penalty if he works.

I spoke of the condition in Russia. You people know that condition well. One of the highest military authorities says the failure of Kerensky was because he neglected to organize his fuel supply and transportation; that he paid too particular attention to the battle front without organizing the lines of communication from behind. When the revolution took place and the government was overthrown the workers were out demanding higher wages and better working conditions. They practically all came out and there was a chaotic state of affairs in that nation. The people in the cities were without food in less than three weeks and the people in the country were without clothes, because the railroads largely burned wood for fuel. There was no one to hew the timber and supply the road. That is typical of how the revolution became a failure, although it was inaugurated for a good cause. I point to this only to try to show you that you cannot bring about by revolutionary methods always the purpose you seek to obtain.

In the Kansas City interstate convention one of the delegates said: "They talk about striking! It is only a short time ago the miners of South Wales came out on strike. They came out on strike in the mines of the government and Lloyd George went down there and sought to get them to return to work." That was in the early stages of the war. Since then the sentiment of those men has changed. In a little mining community in South Wales where there are 119 houses, 137 of the male adult population went to war. That was in the early days when the miners were conscripted. One day in less than two hours' fighting all of those men were killed at the battle front—137 of the male adult population out of 139 in 119 houses! Now that has changed the sentiment of the Welsh miners; it changed the sentiment of the British miners, and today you could not get them to come out on strike. I will change your sentiments when the dead are recorded and the

ded brought home. Let us be mindful of what has occurred in European countries.

President Howat said the miners were the only workers to whom sought to apply the automatic penalty. That is true in every country in Europe, but there the penalty is collected in the civil courts. It was deemed necessary and it has been practically adhered to in European countries. We have had a case pending in Oklahoma since 1915. We did not call a strike because we were afraid it would be successful. Recently we applied to Dr. Garfield and were awarded nearly \$11,000 compensation. That is one case in which we received support from the Federal Fuel Administration.

I believe when this matter comes to a vote you will express your loyalty and your desire to stand behind the government in the prosecution of this war. While sitting in your midst I was thinking of General Pershing when he visited the tomb of Lafayette. The speech made there is one that must stand out in the minds of all liberty-loving citizens. He said: "We have come back to repay the debt." When I look up to that Service Flag and see the stars, each one representing a member of our own organization, they should be looked upon as silent auditors in this convention. It is up to us to pay the debt we owe those men who have gone into the service of their country and our ranks. Let us remember this and vote favorably on the committee's report.

Delegate Carso, Local 2376, District 12: I don't care how many delegates speak in favor of the penalty clause, I am instructed to vote against it and I am going to do so. We got the raise, all right; we got 10 cents on one hand and 20 cents was taken out of the other. I was paying 80 cents a day for board and as soon as the contract was signed up in Washington they raised it 25 cents a day. How much do I get? There isn't a man in this hall or anywhere else that is more patriotic than the men I represent. But we can be patriotic without having a halter around our necks.

Delegate Duncan, District 23: I think time is being wasted and money belonging to the miners of the country is being spent here in deliberating over a question that we are not empowered to modify. If you are a politician in the United Mine Workers' organization and

looking for a soft job, or even trying to perpetuate myself in office for a long time I would get up here this evening and appeal to your passion and prejudice in this matter. But I thank God who reigns supreme that I have the temerity to stand here, regardless of what it may mean to me politically, and say to you that I am willing to confess to this convention that we ran up against a proposition where we had no choice. I imagined when the officers and Scale Committee from the Central Competitive Field met in Washington, after an informal joint conference had been postponed, they realized, as I realize now and as we all ought to realize, that never in the history of the United Mine Workers of America did we achieve two advances in wages in two years.

It has been the policy of this organization for years, and one of the fundamental policies—and you men ought to realize that—to negotiate contracts where possible throughout the United States. Two years ago when we assembled in this convention, not one of us, I venture to say, had an idea that whatever agreement would be reached there would not remain in existence for a period of two years. For years and years we have clamored for advances in wages. We said year after year that the cost of living was going beyond the reach of the wages of the miners, but not until last May were we able, in the midst of a contract period and after we had agreed upon a wage scale, to get any consideration from any source to relieve the high cost of living. The officials of your organization, backed up by the loyalty of the mine workers, forced the coal operators to an issue and we got an increase in wages. We were not satisfied, because the cost of living continued to go up, and after a while we said we needed another advance in wages, and we got it.

In looking back over the progress of the organization in future years we can say that for once at least the government of the United States recognized the mine workers' organization. Some years ago Theodore Roosevelt, when he was president, recognized the organization. The miners had fought the battle, however, and he stepped in at the last. Now the miners have fought the battle. Our country is facing a great crisis. In August the President of the United States stated what the coal prices should be. I am convinced there were coal operators who were grafting upon the public. Every institution

the United States was running full time, there was a great demand for coal and the railroads were not able to handle it properly. The men were anxious to work, the operators were anxious to sell the coal, but the railroads could not handle it.

When your representatives went into conference with the coal operators in Washington to secure this advance in wages they made an issue of the fact that the miners were not able to exist without an increase in wages. I presume that somewhere down along the line the operators tried to show that hundreds of men were living in luxury and did not need any increase of wages to exist. I assume that the representatives of the four competitive States on the miners' side made an issue of the fact that, owing to the war crisis the steel and other industries were working full capacity and men were leaving the mines to seek other employment. I assume that such argument as that induced the operators to grant the largest increase ever granted the miners of America. I assume that the United States government was familiar with the fact, and when the operators said an increase of wages was not necessary because thousands of men were laying off and would not work because they did not need to work, provided this penalty for men who needlessly prevented the mines working. When the officials of your organization forced the operators to go with them directly before the Fuel Administrator and report it to him and asked him to prevail upon the President of the United States to advance coal prices sufficient to warrant the increase in wages, that was no little burden. I appreciate the fact that we have men in this organization big enough to shoulder such a burden.

Somewhere during those deliberations the coal operators must have moved to our representatives that men were laying off without any cause, and I assume the government was forced to say to the miners: "The prices will be amended if you will agree to recommend to the various districts that the miners' representatives and the operators get together and agree on a penalty clause." I don't know how the penalty clause affects other districts, but I am frank to report to you that, so far as I am concerned, and so far as the men I represent are concerned, we don't need any penalty clause. We have discipline in District 23 for one time and I appreciate it more than any man on earth. I say there is no use spending thousands of dollars in this convention

deliberating on this question. If we stay here one month, two months or six months, discussing the question, the penalty clause will not be modified.

Now, what remains for us to do? Are we going to try to build up a political machine out of this issue? Have we a factional fight brewing here? Does it mean dollars and cents to any man in this convention? It should not. If we are the elect from the local unions of this country; if we are the brains of the United Mine Workers' organization, we will not spend another minute deliberating over the penalty clause, because a time came in the Washington conference when our representatives had no choice but to accept it. We say to the miners in our district: "It is nice to work when you want to and lay off when you want to, but more than 20,000 coal miners are in the service of the United States government and they are not privileged to work eight hours for five dollars—they work eight, ten and twelve hours, as the United States may demand, for one dollar a day." If that is true, why can we not agree, as we have always done, to accept this penalty clause? There has always been a penalty clause in any agreement negotiated with the operators. That penalty has been a discharge for a certain number of strikes. Now, under the highest wages we ever received, we should work every day the railroads put cars in. If we do that, we will be doing our bit for the government and for the boys who are facing the shadow of the river of death to save our country.

Why should anybody be criticised for this agreement? We have no choice in the matter. The government said: "If the price is to be advanced the representatives of the miners and operators must get together and enact a penalty clause." We did agree upon a penalty clause, and I am frank to tell you I hail from a district where the boys gave it a test before it was placed on them, but they accepted it just the same.

Delegate Moncusky, Local 2874, District 5: I have listened from the beginning of what I call a foolish discussion. A majority of you men here are old enough to be my father, but today you are discussing something your fathers put in the constitution of the mine workers. The penalty clause under discussion is only a little different from the penalty clauses of the past. Have you anything in this little book, whether it is

district or international, that will permit any radical man in your midst to call a strike? No. If we have grievances we would take them up as provided for by the organization.

We all make mistakes. In my local we had a case in which I was involved. I was charged with violating the agreement. I did not do it intentionally; I did not mean to violate it. There were men in the local whom I respect who put up a proposition to the men and had me interpret it to my foreign brothers, who are in a majority in that local. I did not think they were doing anything wrong. We were idle six days, going to the mines and coming out without earning a cent. We called a strike. I was arrested and thrown into jail in Pittsburgh. Then I saw my mistake. In the morning I went to the mine and told what passed at our meeting. I was told to get out finally. I said to the superintendent, "I will not, and you are not big enough to put me out." We have over 300 men. Ninety-two went down in the mine. We did not say anything to the company men because they were not hampered if they did not have cars and steam. The diggers, loaders and machine cutters were the sufferers.

My intentions were good, but we did not go to the right channels to remedy our grievances. As I said, I was arrested, but I am here among you today, and in the future I will recognize my district officials before I take any such action, and I will try to teach my foreign brothers to do the same. The man who let me out said to President Murray that he would be held responsible for letting me out. I came from the anthracite district a couple of months ago. I had the same experience there. There were times when the local got radical over a matter that could have been settled in a legal way. A meeting would be called and we would not even have any discussion. Among 1,300 men in that local there were only about 400 English-speaking men. Those men stayed out on strike and as a result I lost my old home. Some time ago I went back and asked what they had won by going out on strike. They said all they had won was a whistle on top of the breaker to let them know what time to start in the morning. That is all they ever got.

If we abide by the constitution of our organization we will be standing behind the red, white and blue flag, for the constitution of the United Mine Workers does not do anything that would bring any danger to that

flag. We ought to adopt this penalty clause to stop the radical fellow who goes to the men and tells them the operators are taking money out of their pockets. As long as you can prove that you had a right to strike and did it in the proper way you will not be punished. Get your district officers and you will not be liable to overstep what is right. Unionism isn't politics, and there is too much politics in our locals among the radical men. We don't need to denounce each other in public meetings, as I heard you men do. I would be ashamed to get up and do that. Is that what we took our pledge for? I should say not!

You cannot tell me that if a strike is ordered in Pittsburgh or anywhere in the United States by the proper officers a fine will be put on the men. If something is done that is against the agreement you will be fined. I know the penalty was put on our local rightfully. We couldn't say anything because we went against the little book that we got. The agreement made in Washington was between the operators and the miners. Then the government came and asked to have this penalty clause put in so there would be no agitation and trouble in the mines. Some of our men get radical and go to the boss and throw a fist up to him. That will not do any good. We have the international constitution that is made by the delegates, most of them older men than I am, and if we abide by that we will not get into trouble. We have coal enough in the mines and we have power enough in our hands to produce all the country needs. Instead of discussing the penalty clause we should be discussing some way to help the government prosecute the war and get more coal. If we do that the country will have enough coal, people will not be cold and the government will be able to carry on the war.

Three months ago the men in West Virginia, Western Pennsylvania and perhaps in Ohio complained of the scarcity of cars. That is the trouble today. Settle that trouble and the public will get enough coal to keep the houses warm. Out of three hundred and more men on the pay roll in Marianna, owing to the conditions that exist, not one will have more than \$25 in his envelope. That is not enough for a man with a family. We go to the mines every day, but we haven't enough cars. Now, study some means to get cars enough so that we can furnish coal for the country. When we cut out these individual strikes and settle our grievances through the proper channels I think we will have better times.

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Delegate Sabin, District 5: I don't like to hear the criticism of the young man. I am going to stick to the agreement made in Washington, but I don't like the penalty clause. If I understand it I think I am one of the men who will be fined for not attending to my work steadily. In our mine we work about twelve days a month. Our tippie is about 300 yards from the end of the sidetrack in one of the biggest yards the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has. Some days they put two cars there, some days three cars, and some days we don't get any at all. We don't work, but we have to go every morning. We get there about 6 o'clock. We don't know whether we are going to work or not. In the glorious summer weather we have had on the Monongahela river in the last six weeks we have had to stand outside without shelter. Talk about patriotism! We went in the mine two days on the suspicion that we were going to get cars. We remained in there one day until five minutes after twelve without turning a wheel; another day until half-past twelve and never turned a wheel. Then we went home. We loafed four days in succession when two miles of empty cars stood right before our eyes between the tipples and the bottom end of the yard, and they never turned a wheel. We stopped one morning at fifteen minutes after eight. We had three railroad cars that morning for 150 men. Seven engines stood there at 5 o'clock. I went home at fifteen minutes past eight. A week ago last Wednesday we went to the mines and stopped an hour and a half. The weather was below zero and we had no shelter. Two engines stood there for three hours and a half. They were not attached to anything and did not move ten feet.

A point of order was raised that Delegate Sabin was discussing the railroad situation and not the Washington Agreement.

President Hayes: The point is well taken. The speaker will confine himself to the question before the house.

Delegate Sabin: I am trying to take the blame off the silly coal diggers and put it where it belongs. We worked last Monday, and on Wednesday I went and stood an hour and a half when it was below zero. We did not work that day, but worked Thursday. We loafed Friday. This young man said the old men made the constitution, and he talks about being loyal to the flag. I don't need the flag to make me patriotic,

and if he is called on and doesn't go to war, I'll shoot him myself. If they want me, I will go.

I am opposed to the penalty clause as I said in the beginning. The railroads haven't any penalty clause. When they want to stop at home they do so. No one can drive it into my thick skull that the penalty clause is a benefit to me. I have worked in the mines forty-nine years; I have never been compelled to go to work and I have always made a living. I don't believe in being penalized now if I don't go.

Delegate Hall (Lee), District 6: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I rise at this time to support the report of the committee, which is to concur in the report of the president. In reality it is to approve the work of the Scale committee which negotiated the Washington Agreement. The penalty clause, the subject we are now discussing, is part of the Washington Agreement, and to turn down that part of the agreement means that the entire agreement will no longer be the policy of this organization. I have opposed a penalty clause in former years, and I might say that when I was working in the mines I expect there was not any more radical man in the mine or in the mine workers' organization than I was. I took part in some radical movements which I have since learned were not for the best interests of the organization or for the best interests of the men I now represent.

I believe the Washington Agreement was made in its entirety in the interests of the rank and file of this organization. What led up to the question of a penalty in the negotiations for this contract? Last April we secured an advance in the middle of a contract term. When we secured that advance it was with the understanding that it would be the contract until March 31, 1918. We went home with an advance in wages. What was the result? As Delegate Mervet said, we had men with no respect for contracts, and even though they had secured an advance during the contract period they proceeded to demand additional advances in wages, and when they were not granted automatically they closed down the mines in violation of the contract.

When we went to Washington in September and asked for another advance in wages, the argument was used by your officers that if another advance in wages was granted to the mine workers it would stimulate the production of coal to meet the requirements of the nation, which was then

at war. The question was asked, "If we grant you another advance in wages during a contract period, what assurance will be given us that the miners will not do as they did in the summer after we gave you the advance in April, close down the mines and add still further advances?" That was responsible more than any other one thing for the penalty clause being placed in the agreement. It does not hurt the men who comply with the agreement; it is the men who violate the agreement who are hurt by the penalty clause. The man who lives up to the contract and takes up his grievances in line with the terms of the contract will be protected. This organization will see that he gets justice. But when he proceeds to violate the law of our organization as well as a joint contract the penalty clause will apply. It will not apply any other time.

I was one of the representatives in Washington that entered into this agreement, but we did not enter into it with the intention of doing anything detrimental to the mine workers. It was done for the best interests of the men we represent. I am in favor of the committee's report and I have no apologies to make to any man here or to any man in the district I represent for what I did in Washington.

Delegate Jackson, District 23: I arise at this time to defend the action of this committee. There is a greater danger confronting this organization than the penalty clause, and that is the local unauthorized strike. I am not in favor of sacrificing the right to strike, and never will be. I would call a strike in District 23 if I had the power, if it was to redress any wrong, even though I was sent to the penitentiary for doing it; but in a time like this, when our country is engaged in a war that means freedom for our people and other people, we should be willing to accept the penalty clause. I think in our district we will be able to prevent the operators taking advantage of this. They will not take money from our people, and if they try it we will call strikes.

The local strike has always been a danger to this organization. All organizations that countenanced local strikes have failed. Our organization is foremost among labor organizations and we are being recognized by the government. We cannot afford to fight the penalty clause at this time. Every heart beat I have is in sympathy with the men who have gone into the service of their country. Probably some of the boys who are recorded on that service flag that hangs over our heads were with us in the last convention, and I will stand by them until the

war is over. We will take care of the penalty clause in our district. If the time ever comes when the operators punish some fellow who has not violated the contract we will call a strike and stay on strike until he has received justice.

This is an opportunity for the men who are prejudiced to take a rap at our organization, but I want to tell you now that the intelligent rank and file will not stand for it. You cannot show any good reason why we should not have a penalty in our contract that forbids local strikes in violation of the agreement. The man who does not live up to a contract he has made has no sense of honor. A man who will not live up to such a contract is not a man of honor and does not want to do right. The penalty clause is only a guarantee to the government that we intend to do right. If there had not been local strikes the penalty clause would not be in the agreement. Some men said, "Sit down," this morning when speakers were on the floor. Those were the same men who have been advocating free speech on the street corners. I will fight for free speech, I am in favor of it at all times, but I am willing to let other people have the right of free speech that I ask for myself.

At 5 o'clock the convention adjourned under the rules to convene at 9 a. m., Saturday, January 19th.

FIFTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Ind., January 19, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, January 19, Vice-President Lewis in the chair.

Discussion on the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports endorsing and concurring in the Washington Agreement was continued.

Delegate Pascoe, Canton, Ill.: I am a representative of the miners of Canton, Ill., District 12. I have been instructed by my local. In the past few months, or since the Washington Agreement was entered into by our officials, we have taken up this question and debated it pro and con. We have been a bunch of thinking men down there; we have not allowed our officials or anyone else to do our thinking for us. We have

men who sent in protests against the impositions sought to be imposed upon us by the Washington contract. I am not up here this morning professing to be one of your great orators; I don't want you to get your expectations in the air and get a fall; the fact of the matter is that the deliberations on this question are vitally important to organized labor and I realize that we must consider it seriously.

Several statements have been made in regard to the contract that we are about to either ratify or reject. We have been told by some of our officials that we had better be careful of the stand we take here for fear of what will happen when we go back to our constituents. I am not here to take a stand for myself or for self-interest; I am here to represent the men who elected me and to voice their sentiments. The sentiment of the men I represent is that the Washington Agreement is an insult to their intelligence. Not only is the penalty clause an insult, but the making of an agreement during a contract period, to expire two years hence, instead of expiring April 1, 1918, is an insult to their intelligence. Take up your contracts again and get somewhere near the justice that is due to us. That is the club that has been used on you and me to keep our wages down while the operators have been filling their pockets as a result of our labor. These things are standing in our road and we do not want them in our district.

The penalty clause! No, we don't want any penalty clause. Make us free men, put us on our honor and we will measure up to the best expectations of our government every time. They say they have to penalize us to stabilize the coal industry of this country and back up the government. You are told to consider these things in a logical manner, to be careful how you lay your premises so that your conclusions will be correct. It is proper that we consider these things in a logical manner. One delegate said the destruction of one organization after another has been caused by internal differences, but I want to say that the intelligence and the brains and the backbone of union labor do not rest in the suitcase of a labor leader, it rests with the rank and file.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair would request the delegate to discuss the question before the house and not discuss the merits or demerits of any labor leader.

Delegate Pascoe: I have not been personal in any of my remarks. I say

if the Washington Agreement was entered into in good faith—and I believe it was on the part of the officials, as far as that is concerned; we may differ in our opinions on these things and I concede their right to their opinions—but I want to say when we went into so serious a thing as to draw up a contract, notwithstanding the condition our country is in today, needing the support of every man, woman and child, and I don't want to pat you on the back and tell you how patriotic you are, and how patriotic I am; I am doing my duty and that is enough—but I want to say that when this contract was entered into, if it had been left to a referendum vote of the rank and file it would have taken the responsibility off our officials and placed it just where it belongs. If we had accepted it on a referendum vote we would have taken the consequences and nothing more would have been said about it.

Now, we are here in convention and we are asked to support the Washington Agreement. The miners from my district say they will not support such a contract as that. Not only is the contract made to expire two years hence, but the inequality that exists in the flat rate of 10 cents is another thing that is obnoxious to our men. When there is a flat increase of 10 cents to the miners throughout the entire competitive field there are men bound to be working in thin veins that will suffer an injustice. We have that injustice imposed on us. The differential between the thick and thin veins makes a considerable difference. The men in thin veins have to pay as much as the others for the necessities of life. The operators wanted to increase the price of powder and we denied them that right, but they have boosted the price of all the other supplies from 50 to 100 per cent. I have a family of six to provide for, and when times were normal I was able to keep them and even had some money in the bank. Now, the money I had in the bank has been drawn and spent and I cannot keep pace with the cost of living. My condition is the condition of practically all the miners throughout the United States.

I know you will be told to vote for this because it is the best we can do. From indications I think the big guns are about to turn loose. You cannot expect men just fresh from the mines to compete with them. Those we are paying to work in our interests will tell you what to do, but I will do exactly as I have been instructed by my local to do. I have been instructed to stand on this floor and make the matter clear, so that when it comes to a vote everybody will know where I stand on the ques-

on. My men have given me some rounds of ammunition to shoot into this contract and it is going to be fired.

Delegate O'Neil, Secretary of the Committee: In behalf of the committee I desire to say that in preparing this report which was submitted to the convention yesterday we made it a clean-cut proposition upon its merits as a joint agreement. We did not seek to wrap it up in the American flag and hang about the corners of Tomlinson Hall a few German lies; but if we had done so; if we had resorted to this appeal to your sentiments we would have been more justified than was the speaker yesterday who carried on the ungodly slaughter of coal operators all over the floor of Tomlinson Hall. We did not come in here and set up raw men to knock them down for the benefit of the class of delegates whose chief mission seems to be to applaud when a delegate expresses their views and yell lustily, "Sit down," when someone speaks who does not agree with them.

A delegate arose to a point of order and stated that Secretary O'Neil was not discussing the question before the house.

Vice-President Lewis: He is discussing the arguments of previous speakers and is entirely in order.

Secretary O'Neil: This report was made upon a proposition that a joint committee representing the mine workers and operators of the Central Competitive Field agreed upon, together with the Fuel Administration, predicated upon the proposition that this industry would be stabilized for the period of the war by doing so. The sentiment expressed by delegates here who would stop speakers from expressing their honest views on this question is the reason why it is necessary that a penalty clause be included in the contract; because men who would resort to the tactics of yelling "Sit down," when men speak who do not agree with their views, violate more than the contract; they violate an obligation they took when they joined this union to defend freedom of thought and speech. A man who would violate that obligation has but little respect indeed for a contract obligation. And it is men like these that the great majority of this delegation and this union of ours must protect themselves against. Men who would resort to such tactics here in this great deliberative body of ours, the highest court of our organization, would surely resort to a violation of an agreement in their own local unions.

I come from a local union that violated its contract many times. I come from a local union that in the year 1916 conducted ten strikes in violation of their agreement, and against my will. When I came back from the Washington conference where we negotiated the agreement for our district I went into that local union and explained the agreement, gave the reasons why it was necessary for the officers of this union to write into that contract for the period of the war a penalty clause for the violation of its terms and provisions, and I cited their own actions as one of the reasons for it. When the election of a delegate came about they sent me here to represent the 500 miners of my local and cast my vote in favor of this agreement.

We do not say that a majority of the members of this organization need this penalty clause. No officer of this union makes that claim; no member of this union makes that claim; but we do say that there is a class of men in this organization, who, if we are going to continue, if we are going to make this union of ours a serviceable, co-ordinate instrument in the hands of our government to win this war, rather than a dis-organized, disorderly mob, must have restrictions placed upon them. And we must place these restrictions upon ourselves if they are to be effective.

It was very well stated here yesterday by one of the speakers that even in democratic Britain the workers' penalty clause comes, not within the purview of the joint agreement, but under the Defense of the Realm Act, where you are taken into the civil courts for the violation of a trade agreement. In our country, when we are asked by this government ours to place ourselves in a co-ordinate position with them during the period of the war, we are asked to work out that problem in our own court and councils, and yet we sit here and bicker among ourselves. Most of the men who have spoken against the proposition are those who on the street corners and in the local unions talk most loudly about industrial democracy and industrial freedom.

I take it that one of the speakers yesterday in his remarks indicated that the penalty clause could be very well turned down and that we could then proceed to receive the benefit of this advance in wages. I take it, and the rest of the committee take it, in considering this proposition, that the entire Washington Agreement is under consideration; that one

clause is of equal importance with the other; that we could not reject one clause and retain any of the others; that we would reject the advance if we rejected the penalty clause. It strikes me with a great deal of force that if this convention would be of the opinion that the Washington Agreement ought to be rejected, we would find ourselves in a very embarrassing position when we discovered that we also lost our increase in wages. I take it that if we were to go back home and the government ordered the advance in wages secured under the agreement of October 6th taken away from the mine workers we would have a great deal more trouble making the men work under that condition than we have had making them work under the penalty clause.

I come from one of the outlying districts, just as Mr. Howat does. Ours is the second largest district in this country. We negotiated an agreement with the penalty clause contained in it, and we did not accuse anyone of placing in Dr. Garfield's ear or in President Wilson's ear the command that it be done. We took the order of the President of the United States, which says: "This increase in prices shall not apply in any district in which the operators and miners fail to agree upon a penalty provision satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator." When we read that proposition, which was signed by Woodrow Wilson, it indicated to us as clearly as it was possible to do so that the penalty provisions in our contract must be satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator and in accord therewith. When we negotiated our agreement we submitted the penalty proposition to the Fuel Administrator and got his O. K. thereto. If any leader in our movement advised the President of the United States and the Fuel Administrator that it was necessary, that it would make for a greater amount of co-ordination in our movement during the war to have this provision in our contract, I believe he gave them good, sound, common-sense advice, and so far as I am concerned, I intend to face the convention of my district and answer for my part in this, as I have already done in my own local union and in many other local unions in my district, and have no fear of the consequence.

I have heard criticism about this contract because of the division of the advance in wages. Many of our miners claim the day men got more than the loader, and I have heard more complaints about that than I have about the penalty clause. This is the first time we have ever had a penalty clause in Central Pennsylvania under which men were fined for

violating their contracts, and there has been very little criticism about it compared with the criticism coming from the great districts, where, I understand, they have had penalty clauses for many years.

I hope and trust that every delegate to this convention will take into serious consideration the fact that he has been given the right to determine in his own courts and through his own agreements some of the sacrifices he must make as a result of this war, which is a greater concession than the working men of any other country engaged in this struggle have been given.

Delegate Ritchie, Local 2460, District 12: What authority have you for saying the matter was taken into the civil courts in Great Britain?

Secretary O'Neil: That is done under the Defense of the Realm Act.

Delegate Fiampton, District 25: I feel that I should express myself on this question at this time. Up to the present time I have taken a very unpopular position. In the district I represent we were compelled to accept this automatic penalty clause or waive our right to the advance. We were given to understand, in a conference in Washington with the Fuel Administrator, that we must repudiate a contract we had already signed. We had signed a contract with the operators; it had been printed and sent out to the membership; that did not carry with it the automatic collection of fines. We were given to understand by the Fuel Administrator that unless we incorporated in that contract the automatic collection of fines we could not procure the advance given in the Washington Agreement. Dr. Garfield assigned as his reason for that the fact that a great majority of the miners of the country had accepted the penalty clause and the operators and miners had taken that method to discipline, to force the miners to work to produce coal up to the maximum amount.

Our contract provided for a fifty-cent fine, and a hearing before any miner charged with violation of the contract could be fined. Dr. Garfield said the representatives of the miners of the country had subscribed to the automatic penalty clause and we would have to accept it if we received an advance, so it was necessary for us to repudiate the contract we had signed in order to get the advance. Some of the delegates seem to be under the impression that Dr. Garfield was the first to inaugurate any

automatic penalty clause. If I understand the report of President Hayes he seeks to convey that impression. Ex-President White informed you on the floor of this convention that it was not Dr. Garfield who forced the automatic penalty on the miners of the country. He said the representatives of the operators and miners of this country agreed to that automatic penalty clause themselves. That is borne out by the statement of Dr. Garfield to the representatives of the Southwest when he said the great majority had accepted it, that the negotiations for a contract were in their hands and they had voluntarily agreed to that.

Now, where does the fault lie? The fault lies with the United Mine Workers themselves. The miners' representatives that met in Washington with the operators and voluntarily agreed to that automatic penalty clause are the ones that are responsible for this condition. If you ever hope for relief from this condition you must go farther than coming into an international convention, after you have permitted such a system as that to continue, and put in the hands of a few the authority to do your business without other districts having a voice and a vote in their affairs to have something to say as to what that policy should be. If you hope for relief you must amend your constitution and provide that every district that is expected to comply with such policies will have a voice and a vote in those affairs, something that was not given in Washington.

My district was at peace. I proved to the Fuel Administrator by the operators that there was no complaint coming from my district as a result of violation of contracts. The operators admitted that; but, notwithstanding the fact that we proved that to him, because this plan had been agreed to by the few, we were compelled to accept it. After we were confronted with that condition there was nothing to do but accept it if we hoped to obtain the advance. Now, I want to make my position very clear. I took a very unpopular position in the Southwest when I advised that it be accepted, because it was all we could do to get it adopted. It can be corrected for the future, however, if you stand up and be counted and do it. It has been so manipulated through the machinery of this convention that the delegates have to assume the responsibility of voting against the advances in the contract, repudiate the whole thing and take the chance of losing the advance provided for in this contract for your people. You have to assume the responsibility of voting it down, because

the whole contract is contingent upon the action of this convention, the advance included.

A committee brings in a report in which they say you have to vote for or against this. If you vote for it you vote to commend the few that assembled in Washington and agreed to this automatic penalty clause. I detest the principle of an automatic penalty clause. Whoever conceived of the idea of fixing a penalty for the violation of a contract, or for an crime, upon the allegation of anyone that a penalty would be assessed before he is given a hearing, did something I detest. The mine workers of the country do not resent a penalty clause. Speaking for my district, we had one in our former contract, but we detest the principle of being assessed before the men are given a hearing.

I am going to vote to ratify the Washington Agreement and take no chances on losing the advance. I am going to be consistent with what I have been preaching, that it is necessary for you to legislate here to give us all a voice and vote for the future before we can correct that evil. In doing this I want the record to show that while I am compelled to cast my vote to ratify this agreement I do not want it understood that I commend those who are responsible for subscribing to such a damnable principle as the automatic collection of fines. I want the record to show that while I am placed in that position I am not compelled to be a party to kicking over this agreement and possibly depriving the miners of their advance; but I do not commend those who are responsible for such a damnable thing as the automatic penalty clause.

Delegate Cooper, District 29: Gentlemen of this Convention—I am a delegate from District 29, West Virginia. We have there a penalty clause and we like it. It helps the man who wants to stand directly behind the government of this country. If you fail to ratify the Washington Agreement what will I have to take back to my local union? Must those people be robbed of the advance this agreement gives them? Never will I agree to rob the people I represent. I was instructed to come here and cast my vote to ratify that agreement. My local union instructed me to do this, and they said they would not be patriotic citizens if they instructed me to vote against this contract.

The penalty clause is a help to the government. I am in a position to express the sentiment of some as good American citizens as the United

tes ever produced, and we are prospering under this contract. Mr. Field and the International officers, I understand, made this contract in the interest of the mine workers, and I am too patriotic to go back on their work. If you fail to ratify this agreement what will I have to go back to the men I represent? Must I take back to them a cut in wages? Must I take back to those men with their little families, mining the hills of West Virginia, the information that I have taken something away from their earnings? I will never go back on the administration of this country or the administration of the organization that has done the very best that could be done to increase our wages.

I am instructed to vote to ratify the Washington Agreement. Why? Because we are prospering under it. We in West Virginia could not prosper without the organization. If we can prosper there with the open shop it seems to me you gentlemen can prosper with the closed shop. This is a time that you delegates representing 400,000 miners should get together and recognize the authority of the government of the United States. Let business move on; don't hamper the government. I would like to see the delegates in this convention come to the conclusion that we will sacrifice everything possible to settle this great war and knock out the kaiser and militarism. I would be a slacker if I failed to do everything in my power to help the government defeat kaiserism. Think of what was done in Belgium! Think of the women and children who were killed there! If I did less than uphold the government of my country I would be a traitor to the United States and to my organization.

Delegate Doyle (James), District 21: Mr. Chairman—As a member of that committee I wish at this time to explain my position, and I am not going to attempt to wrap myself up in the American flag either. Neither do I intend to stand idly by and see the other fellow wrap himself up in kaiserism and militarism. I am not an officer of this organization; I am what you call a man from the picks. I never had anything to do with the Washington Agreement until the interstate conference was called in Kansas City. The Southwestern districts were represented at that conference. I happened to have the misfortune, or the good luck, you wish to call it that, to be a delegate to that convention. That was the first time I knew positively what had been done in Washington. That convention held in Kansas City was one of the most disgraceful conferences ever held under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of

America. A record should have been made of a conference of that magnitude. They refused to make a record of the proceedings. I called time and again for a stenographer to have a record made when the conference in Kansas City discussed the Washington Agreement, but the request to have a stenographer called and everybody placed on record was refused. That showed that somebody had something to cover up.

No one has ever stood behind President Howat of Kansas more than I have. I stood behind him all his life. I have disagreed with the International officials, I have taken up personal affairs with our International President, at that time John P. White, but today I find myself in a position where I cannot appreciate the stand taken by President Howat of Kansas. He told you yesterday morning what the miners of the Southwest want. President Howat isn't representing the miners of the Southwest; he may be representing the miners of Kansas, but he is not representing the miners of District 21, the district from which I come. The miners of District 21 in convention assembled not later than the 10th day of this month unanimously adopted an agreement with the penalty clause.

President Howat told you also that a man in his district was fined because he attended his mother's funeral. Who is to blame for that? Is this international organization to blame? No. It is the machinery in force in Kansas that is to blame for that fellow being fined. I would hate like thunder to be the president of a district and come here and admit to this great body that I stood idly by and saw a man fined for attending his mother's funeral. Then he said, "I will go back and enter proceedings in the civil courts."

Delegate Pascoe, District 12: Is that man discussing the Washington Agreement?

Vice-President Lewis: He is discussing the arguments of previous speakers and is in order.

Delegate Doyle: He said he would go back and enter suit in the civil courts. Where can he get authority under the Washington Agreement to enter suit in a civil court? The Washington Agreement says we shall defend all suits entered into under this agreement. Why doesn't he put the machinery of our organization into effect in this case?

Delegate Howat: I want to correct the speaker. I did not say I would enter suit to recover that dollar. I said I was going to get the wages back from the company that they took from the men who quit and went to other mines.

Delegate Pascoe: I rise to a point of order. You called me down when I got personal. Delegate Doyle is personal and I raise the point now. We don't want discrimination here.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair will again endeavor to laboriously explain that Delegate Doyle is replying to arguments made by previous speakers. He is analyzing the arguments and offering his judgment upon them. When the chair called Delegate Pascoe to order he was discussing the brain power and mental capacity of various leaders of the organization, which had not been previously discussed. Therein lies the difference. Your point of order is not well taken. There has been entirely too much interruption of the speaker and the chair will ask that the convention maintain a semblance of order.

Delegate Findley, District 24: President Howat did not refer to any speakers in the house, and we have no linen here to wash for members of our organization. The question before the house is the Washington Agreement. I have been trying to get the floor, but it seems the officers have a right to it, and no one else.

Vice-President Lewis: If you will remain right where you are the chair will recognize you immediately after Delegate Doyle.

Delegate Doyle: It is with some degree of amusement that I listen to the fellows raising points of order when the truth is being told. If I happened to be president of Kansas or any other district and I had an operator in my district that was so unscrupulous as Alex. Howat says the operators in his district are there could not be a penalty clause inserted in that clause so severe, even if it was death, but I would close him down anyhow and see that he ran no more. If that fellow is so unscrupulous as President Howat says he is he is giving aid to the enemy the same as the fellow who is fighting this agreement.

A delegate advised the speaker to sit down.

Delegate Doyle: Come up here and put me down. I want to state

that in discussing the penalty clause in our interstate conference in Kansas City Delegate Howat took a different position. We were in session there for a week. Now Delegate Howat has changed front in regard to the position he took there. He was chairman of that conference and the position he took was that we did not need any advice from the government or from Dr. Garfield, but we would make the operators of the Southwest go down in their slimy pockets and pay that advance out of the dividends they had made in the last eight years. I asked him: "Alex, you were president of Kansas during four years at least of that eight years. Why didn't you make the operators pay the miners of Kansas what was justly due them, and not wait until the country was in a state of war and need the miners to work?" He said: "I will make them go down in their slimy pockets; I will make them pay the advance and pay what they have taken from the men during those four years." That was his argument.

This is not the first time the Southwest has had a penalty clause. The Southwest had a penalty clause for many, many years. In 1914 and 1915 I happened to be on the conference committee when the agreement was made. The penalty clause for 1914-16 was practically the same as it is today in the Southwest. There is a little change in the language, but it means identically the same thing. In the conference committee I fought against that penalty clause, as John P. White well knows, but after they had put it over me and Kansas was asking for home rule I said, "If that is what you want I will sacrifice District 21 and go on the floor of the convention and vote with you." I did that. That was the time, if Kansas had any battle to make against the penalty clause when the country was safe and the government was not fighting kaiserism, for the president of that district to stand up and say they objected to the penalty clause.

We lived two years under that penalty clause. Can any one point out where we lost anything in the Southwest in those two years? District 21, which has the best contract in the Union, gained conditions under that automatic penalty clause. Since the penalty clause was adopted and we left Kansas City there has not been as much as a committee case in the mine where I work. It has been true that it took the hands of the coal operators more than it does the hands of the miners. It has made an operator think before giving his unscrupulous pit bo

to try to enforce conditions that are unjust on the miners. One superintendent said, "Doyle, we haven't enough water to run. Mr. Garfield demands that we run." I said, "Clarke, this is one we have got you. The mine must run and the responsibility rests on the operator and not the miner."

Miners have nothing to fear from the automatic penalty clause if they violate the contract and call illegal strikes. Nobody knows more than I do, because I pulled off some of them myself. I know the conditions and the actions of men alongside me forced the writing of the automatic penalty clause into the agreement. I have arrived at the conclusion that we cannot pull off these illegal strikes any longer. I want what you said when you wrote the contract, if you are as honest and sincere as you tell the coal operators you are, you will go back and tell your members: "We are going to live up to the letter of the contract and if there is any violation of the contract it will not be from the miner, it will be from the other side." If you do that you have nothing to fear. Yesterday a delegate made some reference to the constitution and the state law. He came here to thresh out an internal matter that has no place before the convention. If you have state laws to enforce them. The penalty clause has nothing to do with your rights. Your state laws take precedence over all agreements.

This is the first time in the history of the labor movement in the United States that the working class has been given the consideration that has been given to our movement. That is true, not only in the United States but in the entire world. Can you equal what was done in England by the Federation of Labor, when the President of this great country came on the floor and told the workers he was body and soul for them? He said he did not want to meet them as President of the United States; he wanted to meet them as a man. Can you think of anything being granted to labor more splendid than that? Did you ever see anything in the history of the labor movement where our representatives were invited into the halls of Congress and into the Cabinet of the President to help decide how a war should be conducted?

England, two years prior to the breaking out of the war, they had Sir William Lloyd George. Why? Because he was fighting for the interests of the working class. Today he stands paramount in

Europe, as President Wilson does in the United States. Therefore I say labor ought to be proud of what is being given us instead of trying to tear down what we have built up. We ought to be satisfied with what we have, considering the conditions of the country. There are few of you men here but have some relatives now in the war, either participating in it from the American continent or from the British Isles. Do you think you are in a position to strike? How many men in this convention want to strike? I don't think one of you wants to strike. What will it mean if you turn down the agreement? You will go home to your constituents and tell them, "We have turned down the penalty clause, go on strike and stab the boys in the trenches in France and those that are on the road."

Delegate Findley, District 24: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—We are about to pass sentence on a subject which vitally concerns the rank and file of our organization. This is considered throughout the country as one of the most vital questions concerning our organization. I cannot satisfy my conscience on this question except by speaking. Should I keep back my opinion on such a question for fear of giving offense I would feel myself guilty of an act of disloyalty toward my organization. No man has more regard than I have for the distinguished gentlemen at the head of our organization, but different men oftentimes see the same subjects in different lights; therefore I hope I will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen because I entertain opinions that are opposed to theirs.

We have listened to distinguished gentlemen at the head of our organization, but you are listening now to a man who is up against the real experience, a man from the coal face who is up against the real fire. I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging the future but by the past, and, judging by the past and the progress of this magnificent organization, which now stands out clothed in the robes of majesty and power, which has now cast off the swaddling clothes of infancy, by the democracy of the past and not by the autocracy which is now being instituted in the organization.

The question before the house is the penalty clause. The penalty clause is not accepted by this organization. The Fuel Administration of

this country is no friend to the United Mine Workers—the dollar-a-day men they talk of! Is this the part of wise men engaged in this great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we supposed to listen to the song of the siren until we are transformed into beasts? Gentlemen, vote against this penalty clause; if you vote for it it will prove a snare to your feet. The Fuel Administration tells us today that the miners should be conscripted. What does that mean? That the miners should be drafted to the mines at the point of the bayonet. Is that sympathy for the organization? Gentlemen, this organization stands forth invincible in the face of any foe today, and when the Fuel Administration wants to go into the contest we will accept the challenge. When the contest comes we will quote from the greatest bard the world has ever known—

“Lay on, McDuff!

And damned be he who first cries, ‘Hold, enough!’ ”

The question now is to accept the contract or not accept it. I cannot conscientiously vote against this question, but I am going to introduce a proposition to the membership and hope that it will be accepted. I am going to make a motion—and I hope it will be supported—that the entire question be tabled.

Vice-President Lewis: The motion made by the delegate is, of course, out of order.

Ex-President John P. White: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I have listened with a great deal of patience to the arguments that have been presented for and against the pending proposition. I have carefully analyzed, so far as I was able to do it, the whole tenor of the theme that pervaded the speeches of those who opposed and those who favored this proposition. If I were not acquainted with the fact that for the past several weeks—and this is known to many of the mine workers of this country—there was a well-organized scheme to single out that part of the Washington Agreement that might appeal to the prejudices of men here and there throughout the country, I might be surprised at some of the things that were said here during the past two days. This appeal to the prejudices of the men has been made, not for the purpose of discrediting, if you please, the splendid accomplishments contained in that agreement, but for the sole purpose of trying to detract in some degree

from the achievements of one who has contributed in a small way to the adoption of that document.

I have listened patiently to what has been said in regard to the unauthorized strikes. I had to contend with the local unauthorized strikes in the past while serving as your president. There is nothing in this proposition that strikes at the vitals of your organization; but, on the contrary, this penalty clause that previous speakers have asked you to repudiate and strike from your contract is in a large measure in consonance with the laws of the United Mine Workers of America, and some of the speakers who have been condemning this agreement and this penalty clause are in a large measure, if you please, responsible for placing it in our contract.

The Washington Agreement was negotiated, after days of strenuous debate, after having met the operators three times within a scale period to consider increases in wages. The great, widespread unrest in this country in the principal coal-producing fields prompted us to again go to the operators and take up the question of an increase in wages in order that the earning powers of our people might be more commensurate with the tendency of the times. We took advantage of circumstances to wring from our employers larger wages in order to enable us to meet the responsibilities thrust upon us by the conditions of the war.

In discussing this question I do not propose to wrap myself in Old Glory; I intend to defend the agreement in its entirety solely on the argument that it is essential to the success and perpetuity of the United Mine Workers of America. Those who come here today and ask that you strike out of this agreement the penalty clause are not conversant with the far-reaching effect that such an act would have upon the policy of the United Mine Workers. And they who come here and ask this great representative body of men to do that are acting in contradiction of that which they have done in their own districts. I have in my possession here the Washington Agreement and the letter transmitted by Dr. Garfield to the President of the United States, in which Dr. Garfield plainly sets out why, in his judgment, it was essential that the selling price of coal should be increased sufficient only to meet the increased wages of the United Mine Workers of the Central Competitive Field. And among other things he says, in speaking of the necessity of granting these wages,

hat it was absolutely essential that it be done in order that the inroads made upon our organization by the selective draft, by the voluntary enlistment of our men, and because men were finding more remunerative positions in munitions plants and other places, that something be done to hold the men at the mines and standardize production during the crisis we were passing through. He pointed this out to the President in this language: "I am assured that the next biennial convention will loyally and patriotically confirm this provision. I believe you may confidently rely upon the assurances of the representatives of the union upon this point."

We have been told here repeatedly about the vicious things that could be practiced under this contract because of the penalty clause. I come from that district across the Mississippi river that has a penalty clause. The men of Iowa for years honored me with their confidence, and many years ago, as their president, I wrote into that contract with their scale committee an automatic penalty clause. That has not retarded the growth of that proud little district for a single moment. And when men who are officers of a union stand up here and say that the "dirty coal operators" can reach into the pockets of the miners and, without rhyme or reason, appropriate their hard-earned money under this penalty clause, they are indicting their own inefficiency as officers—there is something rotten in Denmark. There has never occurred under any one's administration in District 13—where we have 100 per cent. organizations on both sides—a case in which any coal operator has been able to use the power of an automatic penalty clause to appropriate the hard-earned dollars of the miners.

You tell me you want the right to investigate a shut-down before the penalty will be applied, and that when you do that and find your men in error you will arise to the occasion. You will not, you leaders; you play politics in the game; you will not penalize your men; you know you have not done it. For nearly seven years I presided as your president, and how many times have I been compelled, at the instigation of some one in your districts, to revoke the charters of local unions that were striking in open defiance of the constituted authority of your organization?

President Howat plainly intimated by innuendo that this penalty

clause might be attributed to former President White. He mentioned me several times during the course of his remarks, and I have been made acquainted with the fact that I was to be singled out and that the achievements of my leadership in this direction would be subject to vicious assaults, not in the hope that they could do harm to John P. White, but that they might in a small degree take away some of the credit for what I in an humble way helped achieve for the mine workers of this country. All of these things have been evident to me for several weeks. An examination of several papers published in the Southwest, among them the Huntington Herald, alias "The Hummer"; The Workers' Chronicle and several other publications that seemed to be more solicitous of the career of John P. White than they are of their own, tell how this tremendous piece of legislation, the penalty clause, had destroyed the hopes, the aims, the purposes and the ambitions of the mine workers of this country, and how the mine workers now could give up all hope and submit to the tyranny of the "dirty coal operators."

My friends, this is nothing but idle talk thrown out to befog the issue, to blind, if you please, the honest men who are struggling hard to support their country and their organization loyally. A few weeks ago, prior to the adoption of and prior to the negotiations for this recent agreement, we had thousands of men on strike in the great state of Illinois, in Indiana and elsewhere, demanding that their officers, both ~~stat~~ and national, go out and get another wage increase; and without gi~~ving~~ them time and opportunity to do so they took the first steps in their ~~own~~ way by suspending the mines. What happened after we negotiated Washington Agreement? When it was passed to the Federal Fuel administrator a joint committee representing the operators and miners plained its conditions to Dr. Garfield. He said he would take it un~~der~~ advisement. We said we hoped he would and render a decision so ~~that~~ it would become effective on October 16. The men by that time w~~ere~~ back at work. And what did we find? We found that before the Fede~~ral~~ Government had analyzed the question and rendered a decision th~~at~~ sands of men in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and elsewhere again were strik~~ing~~ because Dr. Garfield did not give them the Washington Agreement on ~~the~~ 16th. They were not striking against the penalty clause—they wan~~ted~~ the Washington Agreement with all its substantial reforms. Men ha~~ve~~ been honestly misled by the schemes and devices employed to lead th~~em~~

the conclusion that the hope they had entertained for their organization was destroyed because a few men representing the Central Competitive Field had met in conference and worked out what every one who is cognizant of the facts will agree is one of the best wage increases that ever came to the mine workers through any single conference during its entire history.

The laws of the United Mine Workers of America plainly provide that local officers and local unions shall not engage in illegal strikes to address their grievances, whether they be real or imaginary. I have heard men refer to the mining laws. The Federal Government has not suspended the mining laws in any state, and your functions to deal with questions that affect your lives, your welfare and health are the same today as they have been in the past. This penalty clause only requires you and the coal operators who may be in your districts living under these wage agreements to respect the courts that you yourselves establish, both in your wage agreements and in your constitution.

You tell me that tyranny is going to be prevalent if this plan is adopted. What do your local unions do when a man in your organization transgresses its laws? What penalties do you apply? Why, the files of the international offices are teeming with communications complaining of the tyranny of an autocrat here and there holding office in our local organizations.

Delegate Frampton said he felt compelled to vote for the contract rather than overthrow the increase, much as he detested this contemptible law, and then asked the convention to provide machinery that would prevent a repetition of it. He criticises, as others do, the action of a few men who met in Washington and brought home to the mine workers of this country a wage increase aggregating millions of dollars to the bituminous miners alone. There is no consideration in his reasoning of the extraordinary conditions prevailing. The Central Competitive Field conference has always been the wage conference that has set the pace for the rest of the country, and no one knows that better than Delegate Frampton.

I have here a Kansas paper which quotes Delegate Frampton as saying that John P. White, former international president, is the chief cause of the disturbance, and asserts that Dr. Garfield's information regarding

the conditions in the Southwest had come from the international officials and not from the officers of the Southwest District. The men who attended the wage conference in Washington will testify to the fact that no suggestion of John P. White's brought the penalty clause into that conference or elsewhere. If they will tell the truth they will tell that John P. White and his associates remained one entire night until twenty minutes after four in the morning fighting to keep out of this document propositions that might have led to more serious harm to the mine workers of the country and which might have a far-reaching effect upon the welfare of our men. Let me say to my detractors that in their mad desire to vent their spleen on John P. White, they ought to canvass the entire situation and learn for themselves what were the real facts in these matters and see if they can find a small place in their hearts that will give John P. White just a little credit for helping to keep out of the contract some things that might be considered obnoxious.

I have said that the adoption of a penalty clause in a large measure takes away from unauthorized people the right to do wrong. Surely no one is going to seriously object to legislation that restrains men from doing violence to the laws of their own organization, laws they themselves helped to make. I have said that in a large measure the conditions in the Kansas coal fields and other sections where men have stepped outside the pale of their laws to violate their agreements and constitution have been the things that brought this penalty clause into your contracts. I hold in my hand a list of several pages recounting wild-cat strikes, authorized by no one seemingly, in the state of Kansas since September 1, 1916, down to March 12, 1917. This does not include funerals, pay days, miners' elections, short coal on account of men leaving early, or anything of the kind, but they number 270 strikes exclusive of those things. And then a man representing that district comes in here and tells you how the "dirty coal operators" injure the welfare of the mine workers of Kansas—and God knows they need every consideration and all the elements of strength the organization can give them. They are mining the hardest vein of coal I know anything of in that country; they are working loyally, but they have been led away from the path of rectitude so far as the laws of our organization are concerned. And President Howat stands here and tells you the men will lose those rights.

What rights? The rights to go on wild-cat strikes and undo the work that should be done by a well-ordained district organization.

We are blamed because, for the third time in eighteen months, the officials of the Central Competitive Field and the international officers got together in the interim of an agreement and worked out these wage increases without consulting, as Brother Frampton says, the men from the Southwest and elsewhere. Brother Frampton didn't tell all the story. Brother Frampton was a member of this international organization for several years, and at no time have I ever heard him, either in the councils of our International Executive Board or on the floor of this convention, offer such remedial legislation as would overcome what he now complains of. Brother Frampton failed to tell you that following the adoption of the Washington Agreement officers of the Southwest returned home and they were assured that they would have all the support in working out their problem that would be given to any other district, including the Central Competitive Field. They immediately went home and made certain demands that resulted in a disagreement. And without consulting, without even advising, if you please, the international president or international officials, they decided in their little council in Kansas City—not by a referendum vote of the miners of the Southwest—that they would stage a strike and issue a strike order in open violation of the laws of the United Mine Workers, which provide that no district of the United Mine Workers of America shall engage in a state-wide strike or a strike involving a majority portion of their members without the consent of the International Executive Board. That is the fellow who is here now telling you how bad we violated the laws of the organization! It comes with poor grace from Howat, from Frampton and those men who have been the beneficiaries of the solid support of the international organization in the years of the past and the Central Competitive Field miners who morally and financially did everything in their power to aid them in the establishment of the things they were deserving of.

We are told that men can not do anything now without incurring a fine. That is wrong. The Washington Agreement was but a plain injunction to districts to go out and work out a detailed agreement that would put an end to strikes in violation of their contracts, where penalty clauses existed to strengthen them, and where no penalty clauses existed

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to adopt them. I heard a delegate say a while ago that the Fuel Administration had decided to conscript miners.

Delegate Findley, District 24: A correction, Mr. Chairman. I said the Fuel Administrator had circulated news that the mine workers could be conscripted, and I can verify the statement.

Former President White: The Fuel Administration did no such thing. I have been associated with the Fuel Administration since its organization, and I handle all the labor disputes that come to that department. You may rest assured that in the future I shall be just as keen to defend the ideals and aims and purposes that have cost the blood and treasure of this organization of ours as I have always been in the past.

President Howat and President Frampton take exception to my attitude in regard to the Fuel Administration. President Howat said yesterday that I had given out an interview endorsing the penalty clause. I think the interview he refers to was given by me at Ft. Smith, Arkansas, where I went to testify in the suit that has been referred to in the reports of your international officials. The press dispatches announced that Dr. Garfield had insisted that Alex. Howat, Dave Frampton and John Wilkinson insert in their contracts in the Southwest a penalty clause if the men they represented were to be benefited by the Washington Agreement. A reporter asked me what I thought of Dr. Garfield's position. I said it was inherently correct and fundamentally sound. I said that then and I repeat it now. Why should Dr. Garfield or the federal government place upon us such a proposition as the proclamation carried by the Washington Agreement to stabilize the coal industry if only the Central Competitive Fields were to be affected?

President Howat came near verging on the demagogue when he spoke yesterday. He said, "If the coal miners of the Southwest had done their duty they would have stood up and told the coal operators that they would make them pay every cent of the increase out of their own dirty pockets and let the public keep their money." I want to ask the Kansas miners do they believe Howat would do that?

Some of the Kansas delegates said "Yes;" other delegates said "No."

Former President White: Well, I will show you how Alex. Howat talks to me. Here is Howat to this much-despised Fuel Administration advisor:

"Pittsburg, Kansas, Oct. 29, 1917.

"John P. White, care Fuel Administration, Washington:

"According to press reports forty-five cents per ton is added to selling price of coal for entire country. I am absolutely positive this will not absorb the increase in District 14 on account of cost of deadwork. I hope you will see that enough is added to this to absorb the full amount of increase we will receive. The operators also claim and insist that they will be unable to pay the full amount of Washington increase in wages unless a sufficient amount is added to the selling price of coal. If this question is not settled before the first day of November it will probably result in every mine in the district being closed on that date. Kindly wire me if you will recommend to Mr. Garfield a change in the selling price of coal for this district along the lines I have suggested, and oblige

"ALEX. HOWAT, District 14."

Here is the man who told the miners of Kansas, who told these delegates he would make the "dirty coal operators" pay it out of their own pockets, and when the government of this country gave the operators 45 cents, this Moses stood up for the Kansas operators and said, "It is not enough for them, give them more." Those are the "dirty coal operators." If they were unworthy at the time he made those declarations of the increases necessary to pay the miners the increase, then why the change of heart? He implored me to assist in getting more for them. Now, I say there is something radically wrong. The Alex. Howat who speaks to you in Kansas evidently is not the same Alex. Howat who speaks to me and tries to get more for the "dirty coal operators" of Kansas. One of the jewels of leadership, one of the nice, wholesome things that go to make harmony between our officers and the great rank and file is consistency. If I felt the coal operators were entitled to an increase in the selling price necessary to meet the situation I would have told the Kansas miners that. But if I were confronted with the proposition that he was I would not have sought, for the sake of popularity or to get even with somebody else, if you please, to try to blind the men from the mines by saying the operators could take the increase in wages out of their profits, and then write to me saying the 45 cents given the Kansas operators, the same as was given all the other operators of the country, was not enough for the Kansas coal operators—the men he referred to as the "dirty coal opera-

tors," the men, if you please, who steal the miners' hard-earned wages through the penalty clause!

I had hoped, Mr. Chairman, on account of my retirement from this organization, that I might have been spared the privilege, if you please, of having to again descend to wring the bloody shirt in order to tell the plain, unvarnished truth; but I have had to do that on more than one occasion, as you know, in this famous old hall. I have never regretted what I have done for the mine workers, be it little or be it great; but let me say to you now, with all the sincerity of my soul, there is nothing in this automatic penalty clause that is not contained in essence in your constitution and in your agreement. It tells the mine workers that when they have a grievance, or think they have, to take it up in the regular way, and if they cannot get proper redress the responsibility must come to your Executive Board. And if it is necessary to resort to a strike and nothing else suffices, let them order that strike and finance you while you are striking. That is the law of the United Mine Workers. This scheme of abandoning mines that has taken place in the Southwest in the past is a subterfuge, and it is folly for this man Howat to try to make them believe the "dirty coal operators" are going to treat those loyal men in Kansas as though they are helpless. One can not be led to believe those fellows are without their fighting qualities, because nearly all the strikes I have referred to have been called by the men themselves. Take those cases and place them in the responsible hands of the various leaders of this organization.

I was not the first to put a penalty clause in the Southwest contracts. I put an automatic penalty clause in the Southwest contract with the aid of the district officers. What caused that? The miners will remember the compulsory arbitration of the Southwest, and the compulsory arbitrator. Even the district did not have a right to strike; the miners' grievances were referred to a paid arbitrator. When that compulsory arbitration agreement was destroyed there were 465 cases in the Southwest District. Some of them had been pending for many years. It is said the coal operators are never fined under a penalty clause. In 1912 I had the pleasure of assessing one company in Oklahoma more than \$12,500 for the violation of an agreement in that particular place, and they paid it, too.

Yes, my friends, I know what this is staged for. This is no penalty clause fight. This penalty clause is introduced as an excuse, that is all there is to it. Honest men have been deceived as to the merits of this penalty clause. I have given to the mine workers of this country twenty consecutive years of service in the official affairs of our organization. I have never hesitated to subject myself to every rule and requirement that was laid down for the government of my office or for the government of the humblest member. Whether I shall continue to merit in a small way your confidence and esteem is a matter that rests entirely with you. If there is no concerted fight in this matter and if it is devoid of personal questions, why are resolutions of this kind here? Here is one from Liberal, Mo. Without ever asking John P. White whether he had recommended to the Central Competitive Field a penalty clause, these heroes who are standing up against the autocracy of responsible officials never asked if I was responsible for this, and they are very careful to say nothing as to my responsibility for getting any of the good things that have come to you.

When you men tell me I have not gone out on the hillsides for twenty years and more and fought the good fight for the miners of this country, you are telling what is not so. I was holding office in this union when the offices went begging for people to fill them, because there were no emoluments attached to the jobs in those days. And I have kept the faith. I have never hesitated to face you in open convention, in your local unions, on the hill sides and on the mountains of every coal-producing state in this country. I have not sat idly by; I went out and did the work. The records of the international office will bear testimony to that fact. My detractors may be able in their own small circle to withhold from me a measure of the credit that is due an honest man, but I hope the little things I might have been able to do for this great army of useful men may earn for me a small place in their affections. I would not have spent a long time in the movement before I would tell the miners in my home district about the "dirty coal operators" and making them pay the crease out of their pockets and then, after they had got the same measure that was given to other coal operators, say they have not had enough in Kansas, give them more.

The adoption of the penalty clause strikes from the stock argument the non-union operators a cherished weapon they have used against

this organization for many years. I have journeyed to every coal-producing field of this country; I have seen the emissaries of the non-union coal operators filling the pages of certain publications; I have met them in Washington, on investigations, and their chief stock argument has been that the reason they will not treat with the men is because we have such little regard for our contracts. They point to every strike of a wild-cat nature that takes place in the organized districts for a justification of their refusal to treat with the men and make terms that are equitable and fair. When you adopted this penalty clause you were but giving a declaration of your fundamental principles and your organic law. You have declared to the world that these new factors that have been coming into our union in recent years, those that want to do everything in their own time and disregard the laws, shall cease, and that there shall come respect for authority with leadership in this movement.

It is not only necessary during war to have this, but it will be necessary to save your organization from internal dissension and suicide. Closing down mines in order to get even with some officer that may be sweltering under responsibility and endeavoring to do his duty faithfully and well should be stopped. There is something radically wrong with the president of a district that gets up and makes the argument that we put into the hands of local unions authority to call strikes without restriction. It is an indictment of his efficiency—he is either a fool or a knave.

Over in Washington a few weeks ago, prior to the establishment of this new wage contract, we went to the President of the United States and asked him to use the power of his great office to help us get at the mine owners of Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky in order to induce them to treat with their employes. While we were telling this distinguished President of our great country, this man upon whom the eyes of the civilized world are focused, this great scholar, this man who has such a remarkable art of expression, while we were telling him of the blessings that come from collective bargaining and making a plea for the oppressed men of Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, in Illinois thousands of our fellows who had the eight-hour day and a hundred per cent organization were striking against the very thing we were telling the President of this great country, that strikes would be eliminated and peace would come if we could get the operators of those non-union States to treat with their employes. That is the treatment men get when they

Go out and try to lift up the oppressed miners of those non-union districts.

If you men who have sacrificed so much for this union can justify conduct of that kind, then, my friends, the curtain will ring down on your organization and the hour of your dissolution will be at hand. No organization can succeed without discipline or a recognized authority, whether it be a labor union, the school, the church, the fraternal body or what not. It is vitally essential, my friends, that this organization maintain the high standing it now occupies in the presence of our government and its officials. Don't strike it at the very foundation. I believe the future holds in store for the subterranean workers of this country a larger degree of sunshine and happiness than the past has ever held. I may not live to see it, I may not see the full fruition of the things I am giving voice to now; but whether I do or not, my earnest hope and constant prayer is that you will go on in the even tenor of your ways, surmounting every obstacle successfully and bringing home to the men, women and children of the mining regions the happiness they so richly deserve.

But, my friends, that will never be achieved by the route suggested by Howat. He has been at this game for ten years, constantly reminding you how these "dirty coal operators" of Kansas injured those men, and outside of his own little bailiwick what contribution has he made to the proceedings of these conventions that is constructive and permanent? He always argues that those who disagree with him have enmity toward him. I gave my word as a representative of this mighty organization to the President of our nation. I said, "Mr. President, in harmony with the Washington Agreement we will endeavor patriotically and loyally to have the miners ratify our work; if you will grant this wage increase we will endeavor to do our part." If you feel that the word I gave this distinguished man as your chief executive at that time should be repudiated, the responsibility will be yours; you will not be getting even with John P. White. There is no office I wish to aspire to. I am anxious to remove myself so far from the citadel of your organization that I am almost exhausting my patience looking forward to the time when I may re-establish my home, take my place and do my part as a private citizen. I wish for those who have agreed with me in the past and even those who have vilified me all the success possible.

In striking at this agreement do not think you will be injuring John P. White. There is no office he holds, there is none he desires. There is only one thing that will bring to you retribution for an act of that kind. What interpretation will the government place upon the word of the presidents of your organization in the years to come? Of course, I will go down in history, in case you repudiate this, as the man who did not keep his word to the public. Make your president's word the bond of your great organization and see if your officers do not bring to you the success you are entitled to. The penalty clause is a boggy man, a straw man brought in here to deceive a lot of honest working men who have been too busy getting out coal for Uncle Sam to keep abreast of the machinations of designing men who have been trying to get even with John P. White.

I am going to thank the delegates for the patience they have manifested while I have been replying to some of the arguments of the opposition in this matter. I have never doubted where this convention will stand, not in the least; this convention will be loyal, it will stand by the organization, and I am confident the men back home expect you to stand by the organization and by the country.

Delegate Farrington (F.), District 12: As one of those who had part in negotiating the Washington Agreement I feel it incumbent upon me to speak upon this question at perhaps greater length than I would ask to do had I no connection with the agreement. I am not going to appeal to your patriotism to the government in my endeavor to influence you to ratify the work in which I took a part. I am going to confine my discussion of this question to a matter of patriotism to the United Mine Workers of America; I am going to take this issue merely as a fundamental necessary to the perpetuity and success of our organization. I cannot concur in the advice given this delegation yesterday morning by Delegate Howat. I, too, may admonish you to think for yourselves, and I am satisfied if you will do that some of the things said on this question in this convention, particularly by Delegate Howat, will not be given much consideration in the final determination of this great issue.

Delegate Howat's opposition to the penalty clause would have given him much more strength with this delegation and with the Kansas miners, and would have given his objections in this convention a greater

aspect of sincerity had his objections been filed at an earlier date and in the proper place. I make that statement for this reason: Delegate Howat sat in the conference room in Washington when the Washington Agreement was submitted by a sub-scale committee to the full scale committee for ratification. I assume that Delegate Howat was there in the interest of the Kansas miners, that he was there for the purpose of seeing that those who were negotiating a wage scale for the Central Competitive Field would do nothing that might prove detrimental to the men he represented. If that was not his purpose in the Washington Interstate Joint Conference, then Delegate Howat should have been back in Kansas looking after the interests of his men instead of being in Washington attending the conference of operators and miners representing the Central Competitive Field.

My friends, at the time this wage scale was submitted to the full scale committee in Washington I have a distinct recollection of Delegate Howat being seated in the rear of the room. The records will not show that Delegate Howat interposed a single objection to the Washington Agreement, notwithstanding the fact that there was written into that agreement a clause providing for the automatic collection of any penalties that might be imposed upon men who wilfully violate the provisions of our joint agreement. If that is not a statement of facts I ask that those who attended the Washington Joint Interstate Conference give to this convention a statement that I am not now telling the truth.

Delegate Howat was there, and I know that Delegate Howat never approached me as one of the official representatives in that conference and interposed any objections to the penalty clause or asked me to use my influence to prevent such a clause being written into the Central Competitive Field Agreement. He knew, as every one else knew, that any agreement negotiated in Washington applicable to the Central Competitive Field would likewise be used as a basis for the negotiation of wage agreements applicable in every other district under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America. Yet we find him at this late day in this great international convention of mine workers vigorously registering his protest against the adoption of the agreement because it has this objectionable penalty clause written into it.

We talk of this clause as though it were something new, some objec-

tionable feature to be fastened upon the mine workers of America when, as a matter of fact, many of the districts under the jurisdiction of our organization had penalty clauses written into them specifically providing for the automatic collection of penalties, made many years before the Washington Interstate Conference was convened. In Missouri, the district Delegate Frampton represents, they took a similar clause out of their agreement two years ago, before the Washington conference was convened. The Pittsburgh district miners had written into their agreement a clause providing for the automatic collection of fines. Eastern Ohio, Indiana and Iowa miners were in a similar position, yet we are told now that this penalty clause is going to take from the miners of our union all of their rights and all of their freedom; that they are not going to be allowed in the future to exercise the power that accrues to them through the instrumentality of their organization.

Yes, it is in a large measure going to take from some of the members of the United Mine Workers of America their freedom, but not their freedom to exercise their legitimate functions as members of our organization; it will take their freedom to defy constituted authority, outrage the laws of our organization and defy every fundamental of an organization that has done more to improve the working conditions and increase the wages of its members than has any other labor organization in America or in all the world. That is the freedom it is going to take from some of these members of ours, gentlemen, and I make that statement without any desire to reflect upon the character or caliber of the great membership of our organization. Personally I believe a great majority of the United Mine Workers of America are willing and anxious to discharge the obligations imposed upon them by membership in the organization, and I have no fear but what they will do that if they are not prevented by the designs of those who do not have the regard for this organization they should have.

For the benefit of the Illinois miners in particular I want to discuss this proposition from the standpoint of our joint agreement and the laws of our own organization. We now have written into the Illinois agreement, or did have previous to the convening of the Washington Interstate Conference, a clause providing that where men shut mines down in violation of that agreement they shall be required to pay a penalty of \$5 for

the offense. Supporting that provision in our agreement we have written in the International Constitution a section which reads as follows: "Any member or members shutting down a mine in violation of joint agreements shall, upon conviction, suffer such penalty as may be imposed upon them by the organization." That is the section in our International Constitution. The Illinois miners' constitution says: "Any member or members of the organization creating a condition which prevents the carrying out of joint agreements in any locality or mine shall be fined \$5 each for such an offense, and refusing to pay the same, shall be expelled from the organization."

That section was not written into the Illinois mine workers' constitution by the "dirty coal operators," but it was written into the constitution by the representatives of an organization having a membership on the first day of this year of 90,000 members with \$1,800,000 in their treasury. It wasn't written in there because of any weakness of the organization, nor because the "dirty coal operators" compelled us to write it in there; but it was written in there because the sane, conservative, intelligent members of the Illinois Miners' Union are anxious to do their duty to the organization and are desirous of having incorporated in their laws a section requiring those who are not willing to do their duty to do so.

You say this penalty clause prevents us from going on strike. Let us see whether the members of this organization ever had the right to go on strike without following the procedure prescribed in the laws of our own organization. Over in Illinois our constitution provides the procedure that must be followed before members of a local union have a right to go on strike. It says:

"When trouble of a local character arises between the members of any local union and its employers, the mine committee and officers shall endeavor to effect an amicable adjustment; and failing, they shall immediately notify the District Board Member, who shall immediately investigate the cause of complaint. Failing to effect a peaceable settlement upon a basis that would be equitable and just to the aggrieved members, and finding that a strike would best subserve the interests of the locality affected, they may, with the consent and approval of the district officers, order such a strike.

"Any local union striking in violation of the above provisions will not be recognized or sustained by the state officers. Before final action is taken by any district upon questions that directly or indirectly affect the interests of the mine workers of another district, or may require a strike to determine, the president and secretary of the aggrieved district shall jointly prepare, sign and forward to the International President a statement setting forth the grievance complained of, the action contemplated by the district, together with reasons therefor, and shall await the decision and direction of the International President and be governed thereby. In all cases the mine committee, the employes and all parties involved must continue work pending an investigation and adjustment until a final decision is reached in the manner above set forth."

I ask you, does the penalty clause embraced in the Washington Agreement take from you anything that the laws of your own organization give you? Where in your own law is there a syllable or sentence which gives to the local union the right to take action independent of its district organization? Again I repeat that that section was not written into our constitution by the "dirty operators"; it was written in there by the delegates assembled in regular district convention many years ago, before I was honored with the presidency of that splendid union.

We in Washington were not acting from a patriotic motive to the government, but we were actuated by a patriotic desire to do that which would protect the interests of the members of our own organization. At the time the Washington Conference was in session, and just previous to its convening, more than 40,000 members of my district organization were idle in violation of the law prescribed by their own district constitution, in defiance of every fundamental of our organization, and despite everything that could be done by the accredited officers of the district to influence them to return to work. Right at the time when the officers of this organization were working diligently for the purpose of securing a wage increase for our members we were handicapped and our progress delayed because of the fact that we had to drop our ordinary procedure we would have pursued in order to secure a wage increase and devote all our time and energy to induce our men to return to work who were idle in violation of their own constitution.

This penalty clause does not deny to our members any right that is

not already denied them by the laws of this organization, and that is the right as local unions or individual members to strike in violation of our agreement. The membership never has had that right, within my knowledge of the affairs of this organization at least. I have been coming to these conventions for the past eighteen years, and I have a distinct recollection that every man who has ever been honored with the presidency of our union in that time, including Mitchell, Lewis and White, found it necessary to incorporate in their reports to the convention a section warning the membership against illegal suspensions of work and directing their attention to the great injury that was being done the organization by such procedure. For eighteen long years, to my personal knowledge, every international president of this organization has warned the membership against the procedure that is prohibited by the enactment of the penalty clause in the Washington Agreement.

It was said that if a man goes to his mother's funeral he will be fined. I say a man who makes a statement of that kind and who occupies a responsible official position in this organization is inadvertently indicting himself. Since the first of November my recollection enables me to know that the penalty has been applied in numerous cases in Illinois. For instance, two local unions in Herrin were fined, the men at No. 7 and No. 8, Kinkaid, were fined, the men at No. 10 mine, Nokomis, were fined, and the men at Assumption were fined. In every single instance, when the matter was taken up with the responsible officers of the organization, we compelled a refund of the fine.

A Delegate: Did the penalty clause apply to the operators in Herrin for what they did?

Delegate Farrington: Wasn't the fine refunded?

A Delegate: Yes, but the operators were not fined.

Delegate Farrington: If you want the operators fined you should not tell me about it in this convention—take the matter up in the way prescribed by your agreement.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day, after arrangements had been made to remove the service flag from the hall and have it carried through the streets in a parade of the miners while a moving picture would be made of the procession.

FIFTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Saturday, January 19, Vice-President Lewis in the chair.

Secretary Green: I have received the following message from the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association, now assembled in convention in this city:

Indianapolis, Ind., January 15, 1918.

Mr. Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer United Mine Workers of America,
Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir and Brother:—The Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America, this day in convention assembled in this city, extend to the officers and delegates of your great organization our fraternal greetings. We congratulate your officials on their achievements during the past year and in their support of the United States government during the present crisis. We trust that the deliberations of your convention will redound to the welfare and future benefit of your members, your industry, and the great American labor movement.

Yours fraternally,

WALTER W. DRAYER, Gen. Sec.

I have taken the liberty of sending the following reply to the communication of the Journeymen Stone Cutters:

Indianapolis, Ind., January 17, 1918.

Mr. Walter W. Drayer, General Secretary, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association, Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir and Brother:—The delegates attending the International convention of the United Mine Workers of America, now in session in this city, appreciate the fraternal greetings and well wishes extended by your convention.

Please accept in return the unanimous wish of the delegates representing the United Mine Workers for a profitable and harmonious convention. May the action of your convention result in the building up of your organization, the promotion of your interest and the welfare of the American labor movement.

Fraternally yours,

WM. GREEN, Sec.-Treas.

Secretary Green: I have a very interesting letter that came to my office today. It touched a very tender spot in my heart when I read it and I know it will touch the same tender spot in your hearts when you hear it. It is from one of our brothers who was with us in our last convention.

"Camp Merritt, Tenaflly, N. J., January 15, 1918.

"Officers and Delegates of the U. M. W. of A., Indianapolis, Ind.

"Dear Brothers:—I read an article in the paper the other day about the service flag the Miners' Union is having made, and it makes me feel proud to know that my star will be there with the many others. I heartily congratulate the patriotic miners' convention for upholding the President of the United States in the present crisis.

"Two years ago I was a member of the convention and the question of government ownership came up there. I hope this convention goes on record as being in favor of government ownership of mines.

"Wishing you success, I am

"Your brother, AUG. SEMON.

"P. S.—Best regards to the members from Local Union No. 478, Duquoin, Ill., and hope they will give my best regards to my friends and beloved ones at home.

"Aug. Semon, Co. M, 49th Infantry, Camp Merritt, Tenaflly, N. J., Port of Embarkation."

Secretary Green: The letter states "Port of Embarkation." That means that this brother is ready to sail for France.

Vice-President Lewis: When we adjourned we were discussing the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports which concurred in the action taken by the committee that negotiated the Washington Agreement.

Delegate Farrington, District 12: Previous to the noon adjournment I attempted to prove to this convention—and I used as a basis for my proposition the constitution of District 12—that the constitution shows conclusively that, so far as the Illinois miners are concerned, they never had the right to take independent action, or action independent of the authority of their district organization. And so far as the Illinois

miners are concerned—and I don't assume to speak for any one else in this convention but the Illinois miners—their status is not changed one iota by the adoption of the amended penalty clause, with the exception that the fine provided for in our agreement is to be automatically collected beginning with November 1 of last year.

An attempt has been made to convince the Illinois miners that officers of their district organization are responsible for that condition. Nothing could be or is further from the truth than that attempt. As a matter of fact, the arrangement providing for the automatic collection of fines was written into the Washington Interstate Joint Agreement. That agreement specifically sets forth that all fines provided for in all agreements must be automatically collected, and the reason it was necessary to write that arrangement into the Washington Agreement has already been ably and clearly explained to this delegation. I don't feel it is necessary for me to tire you by going over the same ground and repeating something that has already been said by previous speakers.

So far as my position in the Washington Joint Interstate Conference is concerned I have no apologies to make to anyone. The records of the Washington Interstate Joint Conference speak for themselves, and embraced therein is everything I had to say in connection with that agreement. Any member of our organization who wants to take the trouble to do so can secure a copy of the proceedings of that meeting, read for himself and learn the truth; and anyone who does not want to go to that trouble, so far as I am concerned, is at liberty to assume any position he may choose to assume toward me.

I hold that the practice of local unions going out on strike in opposition to the authority of their officers and against the laws of their own organization is one of the most serious evils menacing the United Mine Workers today. I want to again refer to a condition that prevailed in my own district not long ago. Before making that statement I say to you that I am proud to be president of the Illinois Miners' Union; I am proud of the men who make up that great organization; there isn't a class of miners anywhere who have anything on the Illinois miners so far as character and their loyalty to the organization is concerned. And I make that claim for them without any desire to disparage the character or caliber of men making up other district organizations. I know that through their long experience in the organization the Illinois miners are

as well equipped to fight the battles of the United Mine Workers of America as are the miners of any other district under the jurisdiction of our organization.

Notwithstanding all I have said it has been possible during recent months for certain influences working within that splendid organization to bring out on strike, in spite of the laws of the organization, more than 40,000 members. As a reason why we should have an automatic penalty clause written into our agreement I want to read you a circular that was promulgated among the Illinois miners during the months of August last year. It is a typewritten circular and was sent out by the local union at Mascoutah to all the other local unions in District 12.

"Resolved, That Local Union 1285, Mascoutah, Ill., respectfully petition the district and international officers of our union to make an effort to arrange an interstate joint conference at an early date for the purpose of obtaining a substantial increase, to the amount of \$1.25 a ton for each ton mined and ten hours' pay for eight hours' work for all laborers."

That is all right that far. Over in Illinois we have no objections to our constituency petitioning the international officers or district officers or anyone else they may choose to petition to use their best efforts to secure an increase in wages or improve their working conditions, but when they go beyond that and take the action they did in the following paragraph of that circular we do hold they are in contempt of the laws of the United Mine Workers of America. They say in the next paragraph:

"This local union is sending a copy of this resolution to each local union in District 12, and we are on strike until our demands are met, and hope each local union will follow our lead. Please notify districts of action taken."

That circular is signed by the officers and mine committee of a local union in Mascoutah. They specifically set forth that they are on strike, that they are going to stay on strike until their demands for \$1.25 a ton and ten hours' pay for eight hours' work is conceded to the miners of that state. Not satisfied with being on strike themselves, they circulate this resolution for the purpose of influencing other local unions to follow their lead. I want to ask the Illinois miners where, in our district constitution, is there a section that gives the Mascoutah local union a right

to take that position? At the time the resolution was sent out and numerous other resolutions were being promulgated among the Illinois miners, the officers of that district were working patiently and consistently to induce the Illinois coal operators to enter into an interstate joint conference so that a wage increase might be secured to enable our members to meet the abnormal conditions created by the war. At the date of our negotiations more than 40,000 Illinois miners suspended work as a result of this and similar resolutions. It may be that is the proper procedure for the members of this organization to follow in order to perpetuate the United Mine Workers of America and better the working conditions and advance the wages of the members. If it is, that policy is contrary to every law of the United Mine Workers and contrary to the advice of any man ever honored with official position in the organization.

I have a telegram here that I received this morning. It is addressed to me from Livingston, Ill., dated January 19, and reads as follows: "Would like to have you here at once to take up discharge case already handled by board member; otherwise I fear men will take independent action." The telegram is signed by the president of the Livingston local union. Here are the officers of the district organization attending this convention, trying to do their part as best they know how to devise policies for the protection of the membership of this great organization, and the president of that district is notified that if he doesn't leave the convention at once and go to Livingston to take up a discharge case the men there will take independent action.

Great God! Where has the membership of this organization drifted to? Whither are we going if that is to be the policy pursued by the members of this organization? In our contract we have a section which provides that if a man is unjustly discharged he should be compensated for all the work he loses. If this man has a good case and it is handled in accordance with the machinery provided for in our agreement, he will receive compensation for every hour he loses; yet I am asked to leave this convention and go down there to handle the case or the men will take independent action.

The officers of this organization who have had any experience in trying to influence men to return to work who have suspended work in violation of their agreement knew that, with very rare exceptions, when-

ever you go into a mining camp when the men are on strike for the purpose of influencing them to return to work you will find within the midst of that body of men some few who will stand up in a local meeting and openly and defiantly tell you, "To hell with the constitution, the agreement and the Miners' Union!" I have had them tell it to me on numerous occasions. There isn't an officer in this organization that hasn't had the same experience. Then you tell me we have no need of a penalty clause that will prevent that sort of procedure!

I have in my office, not one or two or three, but a number of letters written me by the members of our organization appealing to me to do something to protect them from these illegal shut-downs. They tell me they are men of families, that their wives and children are dependent on them and that something must be done by the organization that will enable them to work and protect them against the loss of work that accrues by reason of men who proselytize among the members of this organization and by every means try to prevail upon them to suspend work a violation of our agreement. If I did not do everything within my power to protect the conservative element in the organization who really do want to discharge their obligations as members thereof I would feel I would not be doing my full duty as an officer of this organization.

I have no apologies to make for my conduct at all. I feel that in the last analysis a majority of the members of this organization will approve of the conduct of their representatives in the Washington Joint Interstate Conference, and that this agreement will be ratified. The men at home are looking to this convention to perpetuate the Washington Agreement. So far as I am aware no complaint has been made as to the wages provided for in that agreement. I have heard men say the wage scale provided for in the agreement was an insult to the intelligence of the members of the organization. One dollar and forty cents a day increase for the shift hands, 10 per cent. on the tonnage rate and 15 per cent. on deadwork and yardage is an insult to the members of this organization! I think those who hold that opinion are in a very small minority in the organization. There isn't another organization in all America that has secured for its membership the same proportionate increase in wages since the war began as has the United Mine Workers of America. I defy the most radical, the most captious member of this organization to disprove the truthfulness of that statement. No other class of workmen

has secured through the instrumentality of their organization as great an increase in wages as the United Mine Workers of America. The only thing we have been required to do in order to secure that increase in wages has been to agree to a penalty clause which will require our members to do that which their law says they must do: take any grievance they may have up in the regular way as provided for in our joint agreement and in the constitution of our own organization. Surely that is not asking too much of the members of our organization.

I have had some experience in the non-union fields of this country. There are others in this convention who have had similar and more experience in non-union fields than I have had, and I know there never ~~has~~ been an attempt made to expand this organization into the non-union fields but what those who were engineering that attempt have been confronted with the statement from the operators and the public that the United Mine Workers of America is an organization which can not control its membership; that no discipline exists within its ranks, and it is useless to enter into an agreement with an organization that can not enforce obedience to any covenant the organization may enter into. That one thing has done more to prevent the expansion of this organization than has any element that ever confronted us, and it has cost the United Mine Workers more in human life and suffering and in imposition imposed upon the men who were attempting to expand the organization than any other element we have had to contend with.

I hold when this organization can prove conclusively to the great American public that the United Mine Workers of America is a law-abiding organization—and I mean law-abiding so far as our own laws are concerned—that they may be depended upon to live up to any agreement they may enter into, we will not experience much difficulty in extending this organization into the non-union fields. But so long as a condition prevails that makes it obvious that men are determined to take such action as they choose to take without regard to the laws of their own organization we will always be confronted with the strenuous opposition that now confronts us when we attempt to expand our organization into the non-union fields. I hold that an organization of labor is just the same as is an individual. Go into any mining camp, any community, and if you find an individual there who is law-abiding and decent and honest and industrious, you will find that individual has the respect of

the community in which he lives. It is the same way with a labor organization. If a labor organization demonstrates that it is willing to discharge its obligations to everyone, fulfill every duty imposed upon it by membership in the organization, do the right thing, and meet the issues that confront it in a fair, square and impartial way, that organization will command the respect of the community at large—and the community at large in our case is the great American public.

There never was a time in the history of this union when the mine workers of the country had the same opportunity to put their organization to the forefront and to bring greater results to the members than at the present time. The president of the United States has shown the greatest consideration to the United Mine Workers of America; he and his associates or representatives have gone out of their way for the purpose of helping us expand our organization into the non-union fields, and in many instances the greatly increased membership in this organization is due most entirely to the assistance rendered by the federal authorities during the time the war has been on. I have no doubt if this convention in a clear and unequivocal way gives expression to a sentiment that demonstrates to the country at large, and particularly to the federal government of the United States, or the men who represent that government, that within the next two years, if the war should last that long, you will find the standard of the United Mine Workers of America planted in every non-union field in the country.

Men who work in the mines in the non-union fields will, with rare exceptions, be members of this organization, because I happen to know it is the desire of the president of the United States to see labor organized. That desire is created by a belief and a knowledge that in dealing with the great forces of labor during this war there must be some accredited, constituted head representing those workers to which the government of the United States can go in order to secure from the workers the support the government must have during this most crucial time. I know when the war is over, if we shall have done our duty during that period, there isn't anything that can prevent this great organization making more and more progress than it has ever made before. And if we should take advantage of the nation's distress at this time to improve some material interests of our own it is but natural to believe that when the nation is relieved of the necessity that now exists, the nation and

the citizenship will turn against us because we have failed to do our duty to the nation and to the citizenship during this time of war.

So far as the Illinois miners are concerned, their status under this penalty clause is not changed one iota from what it has been for the last fifteen years in that state, with the one exception that the fine imposed is automatically collected. And there is one way you can prevent that fine being automatically collected, and that is to not disregard the obligations imposed upon you by this constitution, which is of your own making, and by fulfilling the obligations imposed upon you by membership in this organization. A man who is willing to do that has no reason to fear the penalty clause.

I understand some operators in Illinois are telling the men that if they take a day off, no matter what the reason may be, they will be subject to a fine of three dollars by reason of this penalty clause. No such thing is true, and if the operators in that state attempt to work this penalty clause in that manner they will meet with the opposition of the United Mine Workers of America in that district. And we won't come into the next convention telling the delegates of the abuses heaped upon the men over there by the operators' abuse of the penalty clause; we will strike the mines until the operators are willing to submit to the agreement and until they cease to abuse the penalty clause.

The Illinois miners have the same right to strike now that they always have. Their right has not been reduced one iota; but I also want to point out to you again that you never did have the right to strike without the authority of your district executive board. That fact is testified to by your own constitution. If there ever is a time when it is necessary to strike the mines of Illinois and the case is presented properly to your district officers we will stick to the men. We have already done it. Just before coming to this convention we struck a mine in the Danville district and kept it on strike until the operators agreed to pay some \$420 compensation to our members. When they paid it we ordered the men back to work.

I will conclude by saying again I have no apologies to make for the part I had in the enactment of the penalty clause. I believe it is necessary for the preservation and perpetuity of the United Mine Workers of America. I believe the conservative element in the organization wants

to be protected against the onslaughts of men who for various reasons seem to be desirous of suspending operations at the mines upon every occasion that may present itself. I feel the conservative element in the organization is entitled to that protection. The penalty clause as amended in Washington gives them a reasonable degree of protection in that respect. I think this convention can ill afford, everything considered, to repudiate the penalty clause in the Washington Agreement, which, after all, means the agreement will be repudiated in its entirety. You cannot expect to retain the Washington wage increase and at the same time repudiate the penalty clause in that agreement upon which the wage increase was predicated.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), District 12: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—It is just nineteen years ago this week since I first attended a national convention of our organization. There is a little difference in the size and in the appearance of the delegation attending this convention and the delegation that attended the convention nineteen years ago. Then we had one side of the hall walled off and no chairs in the back half of the hall; there were no delegates in the galleries, and most of us looked as though we had got in off the road after being on it about a month. So far as external indications are concerned we have made some progress, not alone in the increase in the membership of our organization, but in getting the material things of life for the men who compose the organization.

I was at the Illinois state convention a year before attending my first national convention. We had up the question of ratifying our first agreement after the '97 strike. That was considered and disposed of, and from that time up to this convention I have been, either as a member of the local union working in the mines or acting in different capacities as an official of the organization, a delegate to your convention; so that I have had by actual experience, in so far as one man can get it, about as much information received in the way there is no misunderstanding what it means, as possibly any delegate, with a few exceptions, in this convention. During all that time there has been a continual effort on the part of the membership to make progress, and that has resulted in considerable strife during times of peace and considerable argument and strife at times at the end of contract periods when we were negotiating new agreements.

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I think possibly I can say without overstating the case that there is no one in this convention that has had more real battles, either with ~~co-~~ operators or with members and officers of our own organization, when I could not agree with them, than I have had. So that, looking at it in the light of experience, I think perhaps that I may be as well able as the ordinary man to understand what the meaning of this question is that we are dealing with now. I am only human; I have said some ugly things at times, and I have done some ugly things, just the same as men have on the floor of this convention, in dealing with the question we are now considering. I see men on opposite sides making mighty strong, ugly statements about each other, and I go back ten years and find them fighting like tigers on the side of the Illinois miners. At that time we had a struggle, with the International as well as the operators against us. Alex. Howat and the bunch from Kansas came here and did everything that lay in their power to assist us at that time. John P. White gave us a couple of hundred thousand dollars to buy commissary with while the battle was on. If we judge by what happened in the past it is not a question of personality that is involved really, although it might have some little influence in swaying either way; but if what was done in the past is what we have to go by, it is an intense feeling on the question they consider of vital importance to the international organization that actuates both sides in their attitude on this matter.

And it is a vitally important question we are considering. If my judgment is worth anything you are dealing in this question with a matter that is of more importance to you and will affect more vitally the membership, the good name of our organization and its possibility for good for us in the future than, not any other one question that will come before you, but all the other questions that will come before you in this convention. And I say to you that while I have my friends, and I have my enemies—and I like my friends, I will do anything I can honorably to help them, and I don't mind having a passage at arms with my enemies, I get a little pleasure out of that sometimes—but whenever any question is raised that vitally affects the welfare of the men who are digging coal and the welfare of their wives and families, the good name of our organization, and the whole labor movement in so far as we constitute a part of it, I never saw a friend and never saw an enemy, I never saw an inducement and I never knew a consequence that would

affect my attitude in that matter—I will take the position I think in my own conscience, with the light I have, is the position I ought to take.

I haven't agreed in the past with the policies of men at the head of the organization in all instances. I have agreed with them at times and I have disagreed with them at times. I would rather have men who are friendly to me taking the course that is best for the union, and the enemies I may have taking the opposite course—all men would like that condition to obtain—but if the blackest enemy I have is taking a position I think is the best thing for the men, women and children I represent I will line up with that enemy of mine just the same as though he were my twin brother.

The question at issue is twofold, it is whether or not a man who, as a member of our union, is a party to an agreement shall be penalized when he violates it in a certain way, and how the penalty shall be collected. I don't think there is a single individual here who claims to be an honest man, who wants to do the right thing, who has the best interests of our organization at heart, but will take the position that if a man who is a party to an agreement that our organization stands responsible for, and that he is responsible for, deliberately violates it, he should be punished. The man who takes the position that when he has made an agreement he should have a right to violate that agreement without any penalty being applied to him, that man has no conception of what an agreement means. And no intelligent man will make an agreement with a man of that character.

We say the party to the other side of the agreement has a right also to be penalized when they are guilty of violations of our contract. Once the principle is accepted, details are matters to be worked out. There is no man in the convention that has given more earnest and serious consideration to this question than I have, both prior to and since the time it was introduced in this meeting; and I, too, before I thoroughly understood, believed that under this agreement a coal operator would have the right on his own initiative to fine any man he wanted to for anything he liked, and that a strike could not be called to make him pay back that fine; that the only way to get it back would be to persuade him to give it back. Now, after a thorough analysis of the agreement I find there isn't a single right to strike the Illinois miners ever had that

I think possibly I can say without overstating the case that there is no one in this convention that has had more real battles, either with coal operators or with members and officers of our own organization, when I could not agree with them, than I have had. So that, looking at it in the light of experience, I think perhaps that I may be as well able as the ordinary man to understand what the meaning of this question is that we are dealing with now. I am only human; I have said some ugly things at times, and I have done some ugly things, just the same as men have on the floor of this convention, in dealing with the question we are now considering. I see men on opposite sides making mighty strong, ugly statements about each other, and I go back ten years and find them fighting like tigers on the side of the Illinois miners. At that time we had a struggle, with the International as well as the operators against us. Alex. Howat and the bunch from Kansas came here and did everything that lay in their power to assist us at that time. John P. White gave us a couple of hundred thousand dollars to buy commissary while the battle was on. If we judge by what happened in the past it is not a question of personality that is involved really, although it might have some little influence in swaying either way; but if what was done in the past is what we have to go by, it is an intense feeling on the question they consider of vital importance to the international organization that actuates both sides in their attitude on this matter.

And it is a vitally important question we are considering. If my judgment is worth anything you are dealing in this question with a matter that is of more importance to you and will affect more vitally the membership, the good name of our organization and its possibility for good for us in the future than, not any other one question that will come before you, but all the other questions that will come before you in this convention. And I say to you that while I have my friends, and I have my enemies—and I like my friends, I will do anything I can honorably to help them, and I don't mind having a passage at arms with my enemies, I get a little pleasure out of that sometimes—but whenever any question is raised that vitally affects the welfare of the men who are digging coal and the welfare of their wives and families, the good name of our organization, and the whole labor movement in so far as we constitute a part of it, I never saw a friend and never saw an enemy, I never saw an inducement and I never knew a consequence that would

my attitude in that matter—I will take the position I think in my conscience, with the light I have, is the position I ought to take.

I haven't agreed in the past with the policies of men at the head of the organization in all instances. I have agreed with them at times and have disagreed with them at times. I would rather have men who are friendly to me taking the course that is best for the union, and the men I may have taking the opposite course—all men would like that position to obtain—but if the blackest enemy I have is taking a position I think is the best thing for the men, women and children I represent I line up with that enemy of mine just the same as though he were my own brother.

The question at issue is twofold, it is whether or not a man who, as a member of our union, is a party to an agreement shall be penalized if he violates it in a certain way, and how the penalty shall be collected. I don't think there is a single individual here who claims to be the best man, who wants to do the right thing, who has the best interest of our organization at heart, but will take the position that if a man is a party to an agreement that our organization stands responsible and that he is responsible for, deliberately violates it, he should be fined. The man who takes the position that when he has made an agreement he should have a right to violate that agreement without any penalty being applied to him, that man has no conception of what an agreement means. And no intelligent man will make an agreement with a man of that character.

If we say the party to the other side of the agreement has a right to be penalized when they are guilty of violations of our contract, if the principle is accepted, details are matters to be worked out. There is no man in the convention that has given more earnest and serious consideration to this question than I have, both prior to and since it was introduced in this meeting; and I, too, before I thoroughly understood, believed that under this agreement a coal operator would have the right on his own initiative to fine any man he wanted to for doing as he liked, and that a strike could not be called to make him pay that fine; that the only way to get it back would be to persuade him to give it back. Now, after a thorough analysis of the agreement there isn't a single right to strike the Illinois miners ever had that

is impaired in the least by the enactment of this agreement. The only thing about it is that you haven't the right to strike or materially reduce the output of the mine without first taking your grievance up by the methods provided for in the contract that we helped to make, going through the courts we ourselves created, until we finally get to the place where we have reached a final disagreement. Then it is left in the hands of the men we ourselves elected by our own vote, knowing exactly what their duties and responsibilities are, the men we chose to decide for us between conventions whether or not a strike would be called in a case of that kind.

Under this agreement if a coal operator fines me for going home because I am sick, for going home because I have important business—and I mention these things because it is specifically provided in the agreement that you have a right to absent yourself under those circumstances—if I go home to attend a funeral, or I leave because the conditions endanger my life, because the air is bad and I feel my health is seriously menaced, if the scales are out of order and no satisfactory arrangement can be made to protect me, under any and all of these circumstances if the operator fines me I will have a right to take that question up as a grievance. I can take it through the regular courts of our union and after it reaches the final court, if the operators refuse to pay back the fine and the officers of the district organization believe it was collected unjustly, they will have the right under this agreement to strike that mine to make the operator pay back that fine. Every right to strike for any other reason within the meaning of the provisions of our contract remains the same as before this section of the agreement was enacted at all.

There is only one case in which a man would be fined now that he would not have been fined under the other agreement, and that would be if he violated the agreement—and under the old agreement he might have been able to get away with it—and the case went to the highest courts provided for in the contract and the district officers decided not to strike to make the operators pay back the fine. In both of these cases under the old agreement, without this provision in the contract at all, if a man struck in violation of the contract and according to the agreement he should have been fined, and if he shut the mine down under

circumstances that justified him in doing it he would have been entitled to exemption from fining.

There isn't very much in the whole proposition at all. The real milk in the cocoanut, as the slang saying is—and I have considered it carefully and looked over every detail of it, and I know how able some bosses are to drop a man they do not like, and I think perhaps some of us on our own side have been able to match them at the game and sometimes perhaps have a little the best of it—but the only instance where a man will be fined under this contract that he might not have been fined before will be in case he violates the contract, and if he violated the contract under the old agreement he was liable to be fined and should have been fined for his own good and for the welfare of the union, under this agreement he will be fined because the operator is compelled to collect the fine. However, if he is fined unjustly under any circumstances it lies in the hands of the officers he helped elect to make that operator pay the fine back. There is no getting away from that at all. I say to you, as others have said, that not only the biggest obstacle in the way of expanding our own organization has been that when you take it up with an employer and point out that if he signs the contract and gives us the closed shop he will have no more trouble he will say, "Yes, if I could be sure that would be true I would do it." And then he would point out the things that are not in harmony with that statement, not only in our union but in every other union, that are the chief obstacles, outside of the opposition of the employers themselves, in the way of expansion of the labor movement.

I never like to take a leap in the dark; I like to have a reasonably good idea of where I am going to light before I jump. I think perhaps we ought to consider that a little more in detail than we have done. If you fail to ratify this agreement it means one of three things will happen. It may be possible the operators will say, in the face of existing circumstances: "We will not shut down the mines; we will not withhold the other advantages that go with the contract; we will put up with it and we will work on." But if they do that, here is what it means: It means that we have gone on record repudiating the assurances the men we elected to represent us gave in the signing of the tentative agreement. It means that we will be going against the express wishes of the United States government during this time of war. And I don't care what the original circumstances might

have been surrounding the entering into of the agreement itself, the fact is that now at this time the United States government is squarely on record as saying publicly they believe this is a necessary safeguard to insure the needed production of coal to protect the best interests of this government during this war. We will have gone on record as against the judgment of the men we selected ourselves because we believed they were the most capable to decide for us on questions of that kind in the present war situation, we will have disagreed with the United States government and with our own officials when they say in order to secure the operation of the industry most vitally needed during this war time we believe this is a necessary safeguard. The best we can hope to get out of it will be that in the judgment of the men who helped the officers make this agreement, not only in the organization but everywhere in the United States and everywhere in the countries that are allied with ours in this war, that we went against the judgment and the wishes of our own government in safeguarding this important necessity which may mean the winning or the losing of the war itself.

With that kind of feeling in the minds and hearts of all the men and women in our great nation and in the world everywhere who believe our government is right, thousands and hundreds of thousands of whom have brothers and sons in the trenches giving their lives, you can imagine what kind of a feeling they will have for our union under those circumstances. And that, I say, is the minimum of evil that can come to us from repudiating this proposed agreement. And I say to you that as a minimum it is the greatest disaster, it means more injury to us than almost anything that any man could think of doing at this time. And that is the minimum—don't forget that! It may mean that the government, the coal operators and the people who agree with them will determine to fight an organization that takes that position. And in that event, gentlemen—and let me say to you it is not improbable, the government is doing that in some industries in our nation this minute—in that event I don't know of any calamity that could happen to us that would mean greater injury to the rank and file of this organization and the rank and file of labor generally.

I don't propose to wrap the flag around me in a sentimental appeal to anybody; but neither do I intend to blind myself to the real facts. In your 1911 convention you elected two delegates to go to Europe to

represent you in an international mining congress. The Illinois miners honored me by making me their delegate to that same congress. You instructed us to introduce a resolution declaring to the world, if that congress agreed to it, that if either of our nations initiated a war of oppression for the subjugation of other people the miners' union in that country would declare a strike and refuse to mine coal to assist the government in carrying out purposes of that kind. This is not hearsay, I experienced it, and no man can truthfully or honestly refute what I am going to say. We introduced that resolution. I was one of the signatories to it. When it was read there were delegates present from every country in the world and it had to be interpreted. When it was interpreted in the German language the German delegates asked for a recess. We granted it. When they came back they said: "If we sit in this convention and act as delegates while this resolution is being considered; if we sit silent and do not say a word or vote, or even if we oppose the adoption of the resolution and vote against it and it is defeated, our government will take the position that we assume we would have a right to pass judgment on a question of that kind. That will constitute treason on our part; our organization will be destroyed; our property confiscated and the officers and members penalized in whatever way the imperial government desires to penalize us for treason."

Your delegates, the men you instructed to introduce that resolution, had to withdraw it in order to enable that delegation to stay in that congress. I will say that, to their credit, the delegates from that German miners' union felt ashamed; they felt humiliated; there were tears in their eyes when some of them pleaded with us to withdraw that resolution because of the autocratic attitude of their government. But we had to do it, and they said they had to do it or have their organization destroyed. That is only one incident I could relate; there are hundreds just as significant, just as vitally important, affecting the people detrimentally. You can imagine what it would mean in the event that some day, if our government loses, that kind of condition would obtain here. This is a war of resources. This is a war of resources just as much as it is of men, and our country is a reservoir from which practically every nation on our side, as well as our own soldiers and sailors, will have to draw for their supplies and equipments. And if those supplies and equipments fail it means weakening our side of this great world conflagration

to just that extent; it means the loss of just that many more lives and the prolonging of the war.

I haven't any fear of our losing this war. I don't believe they can ever impose on the people of the United States the kind of government they have in Germany till they kill every man and woman in our country. But don't forget there is a trench line 312 miles long, with the men on both sides supplied with the latest and most modern armament and ammunition for effectively carrying on war; and whenever any spot in that 312 miles fails to get supplies and equipments, no matter what the reason, those men have either got to become prisoners and give up that territory or stand there and be killed. That is not wrapping the flag about me—I am just telling you the plain truth. You have 19,125 of your members in uniform now. At the present time we have over 300,000 men on the other side. They have taken their places in the trenches. I want to ask you, I want to bring it home to you—because this is what it means—if the supply of coal is reduced through our fault and the manufacture of munitions is hindered or the transportation of supplies delayed and a portion of our men are without the needed equipment, and they happen to be that 19,125, if you could see that condition and you knew it existed—and it may happen any day—what do you think you would do? Why, that penalty clause or anything else or everything else and everybody else could go to hell—you would get that coal rather than see those men killed, if you had to kill the men that stood in the way of getting it!

All over this convention are men who have their boys over there. Would you like to feel that because of quibbling over something that is not vital you were responsible for the loss of the son of one of your delegates sitting here? No, you wouldn't do it, and I would hate to be the man you thought was responsible for doing it. One of the delegates told me that if this penalty clause was only for the life of the war and it automatically ended then he would not have any objections to agreeing to it. If you adopt this clause and if the war ends before two years from the first of next April the contract will end, that penalty clause will end and it will be in your hands to either renew it or strike it out.

I served recently as a labor representative on a commission that was sent out to settle, if possible, some disputes that had resulted in the shutting down of industries producing materials that were vitally needed

able our government to prosecute the war on the highest plane of efficiency. These disputes were in the copper mines of Arizona and the lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest. And what did we find there? Found there men with a partial organization, with the right to strike, with no power to strike effectively; with the right to strike any date they wanted to; and, while I believe 95 per cent. of those men are just as loyal to our government as I am or as you are, my judgment is that there were a few hidden, able, shrewd, conscienceless representatives of the government across the water at the bottom of those industrial disputes. They were crippling the output of copper that is so badly needed for the equipment used in war; they were crippling the output of lumber that is so badly needed for the manufacture of air craft, one of the most important features of modern warfare. There is no question about that at all. The proof was plain; no man could doubt it.

Now, I ask you, in the event you vote down this section of the Washington Agreement, when by doing it you extend an invitation to the agents of that enemy government to come in and cripple an industry that is vitally needed in every line of production, don't you think they will take advantage of it? You know they will take advantage of it. If the war is ever won or lost; if it lasts one year or ten years, and a single instance occurs where, by reason of a lack of coal, air craft or lumber, or the transportation of troops was delayed and a battle was lost and men were killed, I want to ask you what kind of welcome the United States Workers would get in the homes and hearts of the citizens of our country that are not connected with our industry and do not understand

And what kind of feeling would the men working beside us, some of them sitting in this convention, have toward us if they knew that because of sentimentality we committed an act that meant the loss of a son or a brother? You know what that feeling would be; I know, and I don't want to be responsible for that situation. I say to you again there is no act you can commit in this convention that would bring greater disaster on our union, its members and dependents, than to repudiate this section of our agreement. That is my honest judgment, as God gives me the light to see things. You can do nothing that will strengthen our organization, that will put us in right in the hearts and minds of the people, that will make us more welcome to every decent man and

woman on earth than to adopt that committee's report and assure our nation and the public that we are willing to go the whole way.

The boys that are in the trenches, when they get word of what you have done, will have more courage and hope in them. If they hear you have done the other thing they will be bitter and discouraged. They are working for \$30 a month, suffering every minute of their lives, and they are willing to give their lives if necessary to save you and me from going back to the place where we had no right to organize, no right to discuss our problems, no right to fight our enemies; in fact, we will go back 200 years to a state of feudalism, with this difference, that the gentlemen over there have now got the experience, the knowledge that two hundred years gives, and they will take greater precautions to prevent our rise and onward march; they will provide for our having to pay a greater price than any feudal lords ever did in all the history of the human race.

I know what the political aspect of this proposition is just as well as any man in this convention or in this country, and if making these statements meant that every friend I have would turn against me, that they would hunt me and persecute me, knowing I had done the best I could with the light I had, I would look on and there would be a feeling of contentment, although of sorrow. If I failed to do the thing I believe means so much to you men and to our people in this country; if by failing to do it or doing any act other than the best we can in this war I could get the plaudits of every man on earth, I would despise myself worse than I would the dirtiest dog that ever lived on this earth. I say that from the bottom of my heart, and I ask you men who are digging coal to weigh this thing seriously and don't even allow the sentiment of the men back home to influence you in stabbing them to the heart. Don't do it. Vote for the thing you believe is the right thing to do. I wish you could vote unanimously to adopt this proposition. There is nothing you could do that would make for better things for our people than that one act.

Delegate Wilson (D.), District 12: Is it the purpose of the officials of this organization, as in past years, to let the big guns get on the floor last and then put the question before the delegates have had a chance to discuss the question?

Vice-President Lewis: No.

Delegate Wilson (A.), Local 99, District 12: I would like to know if this convention is just for the official family, or have the delegates a voice in the convention?

Vice-President Lewis: The chair will say he has been using the utmost fairness in permitting delegates all over the convention to speak. The chair appreciates the fact that perhaps almost every delegate in this great assembly desires to speak on this question, and he has been endeavoring to select the men who have been asking for the floor the longest. The chair can only do what the convention desires. Whenever, in the judgment of this convention, the time has come for a vote on this question the chairman can but yield to the desire of the delegates.

The chair has numerous individual requests from a great number of delegates who have personally come to him and asked to be recognized on this question; but the convention will understand that during the past two days the officers of this organization have been more or less on trial before the delegates, and it is no more than right that they should have the privilege of explaining their acts. You cannot deny men who are charged with acts of unfairness or charged with advocating wrong policies the opportunity to be heard on this proposition. The chair is recognizing the men he is with that desire on his part, and always with the understanding that the disposition of this matter is in the hands of the delegates who constitute this meeting. Any time it becomes evident that a majority of the delegates desire to vote on the previous question, no matter if there are hundreds of delegates on the floor, the chair must yield to the convention. The chair has allowed the utmost latitude in debate. The rules of the convention require a limit of five minutes on speeches, but by common consent that has been suspended. I hope the convention will be patient.

Secretary Green: Mr. Chairmen and Gentlemen of the Convention—I feel that this is a solemn occasion, a time when our organization is meeting a great crisis and is put to a severe test. It is a time when we are confronted by questions of policy that mean the very life or death of our great organization. We are now at the crossroads of our destiny, and the question to be decided by this convention is whether or not we are going to pursue that path, that road of constructive progress that has brought us along to the present high point of efficiency, or

whether we are going to turn aside and stamp upon the emblem of our organization the stain of repudiation and dishonor.

I have no doubt as to the outcome of these proceedings. The United Mine Workers of America in days gone by met crises just as important as the present one which we find ourselves facing. We have met questions of as great moment as this, and in every instance the good common sense, the good judgment and patriotism of the delegates to the convention has responded and they have decided right. And when this question is decided, in my judgment, it will be decided as the questions of days gone by have been, on the side of progress and the material interest of our great organization. I want to appeal for a moment to your reason. I want you to listen to the voice of reason, as I know you have listened to the two days of debate we have had on this question. You can not afford to allow yourselves to be carried away by feeling, passion or sentiment; but your common sense, your good judgment, your reason, must assert itself, because involved in this question is the honor, the integrity and the future welfare of our movement.

What about the question we are now considering? It is as to whether or not we are going to approve the action of your representatives who negotiated the Washington Agreement, or whether you are going to repudiate what they did. That is the question we must decide; that is the issue we must meet. What is there about the Washington Agreement that is objectionable? There are two things involved, as has been well said, an increase in wages and a penalty clause. The increase in wages is 10 cents per ton on the mining rate, 15 per cent. advance on deadwork and yardage, and \$1.40 a day advance for the day men employed in and around the mines. Surely, there can be no objection to that; that must be acceptable, because it is the most substantial advance we have been able to secure in the twenty-eight years of our existence as an organization.

What was the situation when your representatives met in Washington? I want to refresh your memory on that point. I need only to refresh your memory on this, because you know it well. Back in the mining districts there was unrest, the men believed they were entitled to an advance in wages. And that belief was well founded; the cost of living had gone up; the operators were selling their coal at high prices,

and we felt they had a right to share their prosperity with the miners. Responding to the demand the operators were called into conference and we demanded a substantial increase in the mining scale. What did we find then? We found that in many instances, even while we were meeting in Washington, the spirit of unrest became so strong that local unions closed down the mines, expecting thereby to secure more speedy action than we were able to bring about. And so, when we finally, after days and days of argument, prevailed upon the coal operators to grant an increase in wages such as is now paid under the terms of that agreement we were told by the representatives of the federal government that they wanted assurance that so long as the contract entered into then was complied with by both miners and operators the mines would continue in operation. They needed the coal to move the war supplies to the front; to keep the machinery of this government in motion; to carry forward their plans; and they wanted to be assured there would be no interruption in the production of coal.

The president of the United States, the man clothed with authority greater than has ever been given to a single man in the history of the world; clothed with that authority by act of Congress that enabled him to issue orders and instructions that those things be done that would protect the interests of the people of the country, said to this nation: "This increase in prices shall not apply to any district in which the operators and miners fail to agree upon a penalty provision satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator for the automatic collection of fines in the spirit of the agreement entered into between the operators and miners at Washington, October 6, 1917."

Is that simple, easily understood English language? Is there any camouflage surrounding that paragraph? Did he not tell us there in that paragraph that there would be no increase in wages to the miners unless their representatives and the operators agreed upon a penalty clause satisfactory to the federal government? I am not dense or dull of comprehension; I understood clearly what that meant; I knew that if we were to secure an advance in wages for the men who mine the coal we would have to agree upon a penalty clause that would meet with the approval of the representatives of this federal government. And you men, whether you like it or not, must remember that the two things go together, the penalty clause and the advance in wages. What

were your representatives to do when the president of the United States in his order asked these things? There was only one thing for your representatives to do, and that was to meet the requirements of the federal government in order to get for the miners this substantial advance in wages that is now being paid.

I am one of those who believe if we had failed to respond; if we had failed to enter into an agreement based upon the conditions laid down by the president; if we had broken off negotiations and had come back home and told the miners that we had five dollars a day in our fists for the drivers, 10 cents a ton advance for the miners, and 15 per cent. advance on yardage and deadwork, but we would not take it because the president of the United States asked us to agree to a penalty clause, there would be more unrest at home after the men had been placed in possession of that information than there had been before. That is one reason why the penalty clause was agreed to.

The president of the United States was not really asking us to do something different from what we had declared in the organic law of our organization we were willing to do. I am wondering whether or not he had not read Section 10 of Article XX of our International Law. It is our own declaration, adopted by the last convention of the United Mine Workers of America, and says: "Any member or members shutting down a mine in violation of joint agreement, shall, upon conviction, suffer such penalty as may be imposed upon them by the organization." We declare in that section that we are opposed to members of our union shutting down a mine in violation of the agreement. We declared in our own convention—we told the world that we believed in that—that we would not allow men in our organization to close down mines in violation of the agreement. Did we mean that or did we not? Were we sincere when we put that in the law or were we insincere?

The president of the United States followed what we had already declared, that we were opposed to men in our union closing down the mines in violation of the contract. That has been the declared policy of our great organization ever since its foundation was laid in 1890 in the city of Columbus, Ohio. We have never deviated from that policy. We have been opposed to violation of contracts, violation of rules, and we have so declared from time to time. Now, have we reached the point

in our deliberations where all these declarations are going to be branded as false by us and we are going to repudiate every declaration we have ever made?

An examination of the contracts of Illinois and Iowa will show clearly that in these districts penalty clauses for violation of contracts were incorporated for more than ten years. They were agreed to by both miners and operators. In Indiana the same was true in recent years. In parts of Ohio the same was true, and within the last few years penalty clauses were inserted in the contracts of Pittsburgh and other districts. What did they provide? Merely that the mines should not be shut down in violation of contracts, but that any grievance should be taken up through the regular channels of the organization and settled in the right way. If a grievance is not settled to the satisfaction of the men employed in the mines, then the officers of your organization, those you have placed in authority, those you have chosen to lead you, have full authority to order you on strike until the grievance is settled satisfactorily to all concerned. Under the Washington Agreement no surrender of that privilege was agreed to. You can still take up your grievance or complaint in line with the laws of the organization.

Can we expect a great organization composed of 400,000 men to go along and make contracts with coal operators without assuming responsibility? We must guarantee that our members will faithfully carry out the terms of the contract. If we do not do that we will be branded as unreliable, dishonorable, and contracts will not be made with unreliable, dishonorable organizations. It is my experience in dealing with the members of our organization that the great majority of them will live up to the terms of the agreement; there is only a minority in certain localities who by their actions incite the members of the local unions to take hasty action, and in nine times out of ten when such hasty action is taken the local unions regret what has been done.

Often a member of our organization who owns a little piece of ground or a small farm wants to work and plow in his field, and in order to get a few days in which to do it he will incite the members to violence and put them on strike. In other instances a man will want to do something else and he will agitate among the men, and if any member gets up in the local and says, "Now, boys, let us not be hasty; let us call in the

officers and proceed according to the contract," he is branded as a scab. You know I am telling you now just exactly what you experienced many times at home. This penalty clause is not intended to apply where there is no violation of contract. The good men in every local union want to be protected from the fellow who wishes to put you on strike before you take up your grievance. There is a way in which to settle these things. One way is to take up the grievance in line with the contract and work it out; the other way is to go on strike first and work it out afterwards. The best way is to endeavor to settle first, and have the strike the last resort rather than the first action.

The organization of the United Mine Workers of America has been a reliable institution. It is because of that we were able to carry our organization into Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. It is because we have the reputation of carrying out our contracts, because we were reliable, that we got in there, and I ask you men now whether by your action you are going to set the dial of progress back and have the United Mine Workers of America stamped as unreliable, dishonorable and an organization that repudiates its contracts?

Some of the speakers have asked why the United Mine Workers of America is the only organization that has been singled out by the government to be dealt with in this way. We are not the only one that has been singled out. During the war industries engaged in shipbuilding and in the metal trades have been called upon to sign contracts that contain arbitration clauses, in which they agreed that a dispute will be referred to an arbitration board that has been created for settling such matters, and while the arbitration board is deliberating the men continue at work. They have surrendered the right to strike because they have agreed to arbitrate clauses that mean an uninterrupted operation of the industries in which they are engaged.

You are meeting a responsibility in this convention that you must discharge in an honorable way. I have no fault to find with men who differ with me in opinion. I am not going to condemn any one because he does differ with me; but I have a right to believe, if we follow a policy advocated by men who are asking that this committee's report be voted down and that we repudiate what has been done, that such policy will lead you to ruin and disaster. The men who helped establish this union sacri-

sified too much for us in the year 1918 to destroy our union by following a false policy. At Pana and Virden, in Illinois, in the early days men gave up their lives, they sacrificed all they could give in order to establish our organization there. The soil of Illinois is saturated with the blood of those heroes. On the hillsides in the Hocking Valley of Ohio there sleep men who died for this union, and I would rather go to the depth of hell than undo the splendid work they have done. In those days they begged for an audience, they begged for a right to present their grievances, they begged for an opportunity to tell of their wrongs. They were willing to pledge their lives and their honor that if they could only make a contract it would be lived up to. But they did not have the right to present their grievances or to make contracts. In order to get that right they bled and died and gave us this organization; it is our heritage and we ought to treasure it and maintain it.

There are in this convention old men from Illinois and Ohio who can get up and testify to all the world. Their hair is gray now, but they went through the battles and they know what I am speaking of. There are a number of young men here who know nothing of those struggles; they were not in them; they did not have to fight; they came on the stage of action in later years. The young men of this organization ought to study the history of this movement; they ought to know the price that has been paid for the splendid institution we have. If they did they would not allow themselves, no matter what their feelings might be, to place upon the banner of this great union one little spot of dishonor.

Now, what are you going to do? What is going to be your action? The line is drawn and the issue must be met. There are men in our union who do not believe in joint contracts; they believe in direct action; they believe in the right to strike any time they please. They are not in sympathy with the policy of this organization. I want to ask you whether or not a majority of this convention is going to line up by their vote and say we disown and disgrace the memory of those who gave us this great organization? That is the issue fairly and squarely set before this convention. The ex-president of this organization, Mr. White, told you in simple and unmistakable language that as the spokesman of 400,000 miners he had told the President of the United States through his accredited representative, Dr. Garfield, that the miners in convention in the city of Indianapolis in January, 1918, would undoubtedly approve by an overwhelm-

ing vote the action of your conference in Washington and adopt the agreement. He gave his solemn word, as he had a right to do; he gave it because his colleagues told him to do so; he gave it because he was instructed by the men who participated in that conference to tell the President of the United States those words and to convey to him that message.

What is going to be done in this convention? Is that obligation so solemnly given to be repudiated by you? Are we going to set ourselves before the people of this United States as men who repudiate what their President did on an occasion of that kind, when it was a matter of decision as to what was the right thing to do? As for me, my friends, as one man in this convention, I would rather stand up and be counted as a man who sustains the honor of our organization, who says to the world that what our President said was true and we are here to support him, than to say by my vote I will refuse to do what he said I would do. When you vote keep that in mind; remember when you vote that that is the issue. The President has been told, he has been promised, he has been assured that our great convention would endorse the work that was done in Washington by your representatives, and now you are here, fresh from the men at home, to register the verdict and to say what the President of our organization said to the President of the United States was true in every particular.

I would not stand up here and plead with you with all the earnestness of my soul, as I am pleading, if I did not believe from the bottom of my heart that I was pleading with you to do something that meant your future welfare and happiness. I think I can say, and those who know me best can say, that I have fought when we should have fought, I have stood like a stone wall for eternal principles. I have fought with my fellow men for the things that have helped make them a little better off, and if I have proved by my actions that I have led you right, have advised you right, then, in the name of God, can't you believe me when I appeal to you now to endorse this agreement?

I want this vote to be overwhelming. I know a great many men came to this convention with their minds made up and their opinions fixed. You know it all. You came here prejudiced against what your representatives had done. Your minds had been poisoned, you had been misled and your men at home had been misled. Now you see difference. I know it, and the

sentiment here is not what it was yesterday. You have listened to the voice of reason and you are ready to act. I hope when this vote is taken it will be so overwhelmingly on the side of right that there will be no question where the miners of this country stand regarding the sacredness of contract.

I am willing to wrap Old Glory around my body any time it is necessary to appeal to the reason of my fellow men. I am willing to do it if that is the way I can reach the reason and the intelligence of my fellow workers; and no man can get up in this convention and deter me by saying, "Don't wrap yourself in the flag." I feel it an honor to wrap myself up in Old Glory and appeal to you.

We may have a lot of social and economic problems in America to settle. If we have, no man will fight harder for the correct settlement of those questions than I will. Just as Mother Jones said, this is no time to dwell on that subject. We are in war, it is here; we don't know yet what we will have to face. Each day brings new surprises and the most drastic action is being taken from time to time. You don't have in the Congress of the United States a bunch of working men, remember that. In the Congress and the Senate of the United States there are men enacting laws while the war is going on that will affect you after the war is finished. These men do not spring from the loins of the workers, but they represent the producing class in a great many instances, and when it comes to legislating on matters that affect your interests they are inclined to listen to the appeals of property rather than to the appeals of the human heart. And if you fail to respond in this hour when the future of our union is hanging in the balance there may be something even worse happen to the miners in this country than the adoption of a penalty clause.

Now I am done. I have talked in this earnest manner because I feel the seriousness of the occasion. The words I utter come from the bottom of my heart, and I would not advise you to adopt the report of the committee, even though every man in this hall was against me, if I did not believe it was the thing you ought to do in the interest of yourselves, your wives and your families. We had our service flag here. On that flag there were 19,185 stars. A few brief months ago each man represented by a star in that flag was working with you. He took his place in the mine where he lived, either driving a mule, operating a machine, loading

or working as a day man. But he has left you, he is not there now, but his father, his mother, his brothers and sisters are still among you. Their hearts yearn for the boy that is gone. They wonder whether or not he will ever return. In their hearts they are fearful that the supreme sacrifice may be paid by him.

My friends, I would rather vote for a million penalty clauses than to have the blood of one of the members of our union represented by a star up there on that service flag upon my heart. Somewhere along that 300-mile trench line in France will be the men who left us, not bankers or farmers, but miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America. The coal we mine must transport the ammunition, the equipment, the food, the clothes they must use in order to protect their lives and carry on the war. Whenever you shut a mine down for a single day you are to that extent withholding the energy that they need to prosecute this war. When you shut that mine down and stop the production of coal for the redress of either a real or an imaginary wrong you ought to be sure that you have a good case and that the blood of nobody is going to be on your hands because you took that action.

That is all I have got to say. As I look into your faces I believe we are going to vote right. What shall it be? Shall it be repudiation and dishonor, or shall it be that we have arisen to the height of this occasion and registered the vote of the 400,000 miners of this country in support of constructive, progressive legislation? The only way you can do that is to vote overwhelmingly for the committee's report.

Vice-President Lewis: It has become evident that there is a great demand on the part of at least a portion of the delegates for a cessation of debate. The chair can only carry the will of the convention into effect. In order to be advised of what the will of the convention is the chair will ask for an expression from the delegates. The chair wants all delegates who are in favor of closing debate on this question to arise.

An overwhelming majority of the delegation arose when the affirmative vote was asked for.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair believes the proposition to close debate has been overwhelmingly carried and will put the will of the convention into effect.

A Delegate: Will you allow me two minutes?

Vice-President Lewis: Debate has been closed by the will of the convention. The chair has no alternative but to put the question.

A Delegate: I would like to ask a question of President Murray. The question I want to ask is this: If this committee's report is adopted, will it allow the delegates of District 5 to go back to their district convention and adjust internal differences?

Vice-President Lewis: If this is adopted it will mean the Washington contract is ratified.

A Delegate: And that internal questions cannot be taken up?

Vice-President Lewis: Yes. You cannot make a speech.

A Delegate: I believe in free speech. What is the use of my local union sending me here if I cannot speak on the floor of the convention?

Vice-President Lewis: To debate this question from a premise of logic and to abide by the will of a majority of the delegates to this convention.

Delegate Rogers: A question of personal privilege. Is there a motion made to the effect that debate shall be closed?

Vice-President Lewis: No; but if Delegate Rogers will consult parliamentary law he will know it is the duty of the chairman of any convention to carry into effect the will of the convention. In order to do that he will ask the will of the convention. That has been done.

A Delegate: If a man tries to get the floor four or five times a day and other men are recognized, is that man to be denied the right to express his sentiments in this convention?

Vice-President Lewis: Unquestionably there are scores and scores of delegates in this convention who have desired to be heard on this important matter. I know a great number of them personally and I

have had numerous individual requests from delegates who approached me in the convention, in the hotel and on the street asking me for the privilege of being heard. Since 10 o'clock yesterday morning Secretary Green, a man who participated in the Washington conference, has been pleading with me to be heard on this question, and not until just now have I recognized him. I also participated in the Washington conference, I also am a delegate to this convention, I also have views on this question I desire to express to our delegates, and as chairman of this convention I can feel as a mere delegate I have treated myself unfairly in not recognizing myself; but I have desired in every way to exercise the greatest amount of judgment I possess and all the tact possible in recognizing men from the floor of the convention. I think the records of the stenographer will show that yesterday practically seven out of ten men who spoke on this question were not officers of the International or district organizations. Great latitude has been allowed and, notwithstanding the fact that a large number of delegates desired to speak they will have to abide by the will of the majority as expressed. There is nothing before you but the vote upon the committee's report. The adoption of this motion will ratify the Washington contract and the rejection of this motion will mean that the contract is repudiated.

The chairman asked for a rising vote. An overwhelming majority of the delegation arose when the affirmative vote was asked for. A comparatively small number of delegates voted against the report of the committee.

Chairman Lewis: The chair is of the opinion that the motion to adopt the committee's report has been overwhelmingly carried and the contract is ratified.

Delegate Lavender, District 6: Will a motion be in order at this time?

Vice-President Lewis: On what question?

Delegate Lavender: This question.

Vice-President Lewis: Assuredly not.

The following delegates desired to be recorded as voting in opposition to the motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee endorsing the Washington Agreement:

District 12—Delegate Arscott, Local 1800; Delegate Vaughn, Local 8, Harrisburg; Delegate Coulson, Local 2650; Delegate Reed, Local 8; Delegate Pirtle, Local 1151; Delegate McCleish, Local 655; Delegate Mack, Local 232; Delegate Bergadene, Local 3586; Delegate Ritchie, Local 2469; Delegate Utterback, Local 850; Delegate Dallett, Locals 247 and 895, Herrin; Delegate Johnson, Local 1910; Delegate Rice, Local 1370; Delegate Rogers, Local 766; Delegate Oster, Local 85; Delegate J. T. Jones, Local 2657; Delegate Tom Jones, Local 2657; Delegate Kennedy, Local 794; Delegate Russell, Local 1910; Delegate McGuinn, Local 1865; Marion Rogers, Local 766; Frank Johnston, Local 153, Ellisville, Ill.; Joe P. Goett, Local 707, Peoria, Ill.; Nick Tulip, Local 843; Giles Davis, Local 843; W. H. Pascoe, Local 893.

District 5—Delegate Bruce, Local 615; Delegate Leiphold, Local 92; Delegate Rohland, Local 2396; Delegate Hixenbaugh, Local 854; Delegate Rogers, Local 1197; Delegate Gunther, Local 1197.

District 6—Delegates Atkins and Simmers, Coda, Local 397; Zaccagnine, Local 1077; Delguzzio, Local 284; Moyer, Local 1418.

District 25—Delegate Schmedeke, Local 2686.

District 18—Delegates Livett, Smith, Biggs, Potter.

District 21—Delegate Galbraith, Local 2097.

District 14—Delegate Higbee, Local 2330.

District 10—Delegate Fleming, Local 2512; Delegate Croci, Local 132.

District 19—Delegate Walker, Local 3643; Delegate Gammon, Local 352; Delegate Emery, Local 3645; Delegate Nelson, Local 3644.

Delegate W. W. Walker, Local 1811, District 21, and Delegate W. O. Men, District 6, desired to be recorded as voting in favor of the report of the committee on the Washington Agreement.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Monday, January 21.

SIXTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Ind., January 21, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Monday, January 21, Vice-President Lewis in the chair.

Vice-President Lewis: In convening this convention today, beginning the sessions of the second week, the chair feels the delegates are entitled to congratulation because of the progress made. Never before in a similar period of our annual or biennial conventions has the amount of business been transacted or more questions of such vital and far-reaching importance settled as during the last week. In every way the business of the convention has been expedited and the transaction of its affairs facilitated. The convention has co-operated to the fullest degree.

Beginning the session today the chair desires to call attention to the fact that we have yet to be enacted a number of very vital propositions. However, with the splendid co-operation that has been evident, with the splendid order that has been observed by the delegates in the convention, there is no reason to believe that the end of the present week will not see the conclusion of this convention. The chair asks the continued co-operation of every delegate. He asks that we all be animated by a desire to facilitate the progress of the convention; that in the debate which will ensue upon the vital problems the delegates will confine themselves as nearly as possible to a brief presentation of their views, striving, as always, to confine themselves to the five-minute rule. Of course there are times when in a discussion of these problems, by common consent we do not limit ourselves to the five minutes. The chair does not want to be arbitrary in these propositions, but merely asks your co-operation in making it possible to transact our business as expeditiously as possible.

This morning the Committee on Credentials is prepared to submit a

final report to the convention. The extent of their report is not very great and should consume no considerable amount of time. The chair will recognize this morning for final action by the convention on its report the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Neutzling, secretary of the committee, read a list of names of delegates whose seating the committee recommended. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Vice-President Lewis: The delegates who went to the office and adjusted the tax for which their locals were delinquent are automatically seated and their names will not be read.

CONTESTS.

Delegate Neutzling continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Ed Foster, Local Union No. 1202, Tilden, Ill., District No. 12, whose seat was contested, appeared before the committee. Jerry Browning, the contestant, did not appear.

In accordance with the Constitution, we recommend that Ed Foster be seated, with 1 vote.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Ben Freeman, Local Union No. 75, Dugger, Ind., District No. 11, whose seat was contested, and the contestant, Mark Palmer, from said local union, appeared before the committee. After passing on all the evidence presented and in accordance with the Constitution, we recommend that Mark Palmer be seated, with 3 votes.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Joe Waitkus, Local Union No. 8617, Spring Valley, Ill., District 12, whose seat was contested, appeared before the committee. Richard Clark, the contestant, did not appear.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Monday, January 21.

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In accordance with the Constitution, we recommend that Ed Foster be seated, with 1 vote.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Ben Freeman, Local Union No. 75, Dugger, Ind., District No. 11, whose seat was contested, and the contestant, Mark Palmer, from said local union, appeared before the committee. After passing on all the evidence presented and in accordance with the Constitution, we recommend that Mark Palmer be seated, with 3 votes.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Joe Waitkus, Local Union No. 8617, Spring Valley, Ill., District 12, whose seat was contested, appeared before the committee. Richard Clark, the contestant, did not appear.

In accordance with the Constitution we recommend that Joe Waitkus be seated, with 5 votes.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

J. R. Gutierrez, Local Union No. 3044, Tollerburg, Colo., District No. 15, whose seat was contested, appeared before the committee. Robert Stoker and F. M. Stephens, the contestants, did not appear.

In accordance with the Constitution we recommend that J. R. Gutierrez be seated with 1 vote.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

John Kelly, Local Union No. 2621, Herrin, Ill., District No. 12, whose seat was contested, and the contestant, John W. Walker, Delegates Hugh Bell and Oscar Hughes, from said local union, appeared before the committee. After passing on all the evidence presented and in accordance with the Constitution, we recommend that John Kelly be seated, with 1 vote.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Neutzling: That completes the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Following is the complete report of the committee:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Indianapolis, Ind., January 15, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention, here assembled:

We, your Committee on Credentials, recommend that the following named persons be seated as delegates to this convention, except those in arrears for tax or assessment.

Fraternal Delegate from the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers,

MRS. EMMA F. LANGDON, Denver, Colorado.

DISTRICT NO. 1, PENNSYLVANIA.

	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
7	Peckville	M. J. Coleman, Main St., Peckville	1
1	Scranton	Edward Mulchone, Scranton	8
1	Scranton	Anthony Kubliss, Scranton	8
12	Parsons	Patrick F. Walsh, 420 Chestnut St., Scranton	1
3	Scranton	Thomas H. Davies, 632 N. Hyde Park Ave., Scranton	8
1	Plymouth	John Ertz, William Moore, Plymouth	2
1	Wanamie	Thomas Davis, Nanticoke	4
2	Duryea	P. F. Walsh, Scranton	1
1	Mildred	John Lonie, Bernice	4
1	Luzerne	Jacob Brooks, 273 Vaughn St., Luzerne	2
	Scranton	Thomas F. Loury, 515 Oharra St., Scranton	2
	Wilkes-Barre	Richard E. Morgan, Wilkes-Barre	2
	Wilkes-Barre	Jos. Tunaitis, Wilkes-Barre	2
	Wilkes-Barre	Jas. Younis, Wilkes-Barre	1
1	Shickshinny	Elmer E. Terry, Shickshinny	8
1	Scranton	Wm. J. Brennan, Scranton	2
1	Scranton	Arthur G. Lewis, Scranton	1
1	Lopez	Joseph Yannis, 4 Mill Hill, Pittston	2
1	Glen Lyon	Anthony Briski, Glen Lyon	1
1	Lee Park	Thomas Davis, 422 Chestnut St., Nanticoke	2
1	Scranton	Henry Tizhue, Academy St., Scranton	assess.
1	Edwardsville	James E. Jones, Main St., Edwards- ville	8
1	Carbondale	Michael Monohan, 31 Barnett Ave	4
2	Scranton	John F. Dempsey, Scranton	1
7	Carbondale	Harry Kerins, 47 Powderly St., Car- bondale	1
1	Nanticoke	Thomas Davis, Nanticoke	1
7	Glen Lyon	Leon Gajewski, Glen Lyon	2
3	Carbondale	John T. Dempsey, 512 Miller Bldg, Scranton	1
1	Plymouth	W. P. Dajnowski, 55 Walnut St., Plymouth	8
4	Throop	Steve Chorba, Throop	2
4	Throop	Mike Wargo, Throop	2
0	Priceburg	Mike Wargo, 624 George st, Throop	1
2	Eynon	Stanley Stobak, Eynon	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vc
1052	Scranton	Isaac Newton, 928 Johler Ave., Scranton	
1084	Exeter Borough	Martin Tigue, 44 Lincoln Ave., Exeter Borough	
1132	Plymouth	C. W. Zerby, 127 South Main St.	
1138	Edwardsville	Leo Thomas, 281 Grove St., Kingston	
1155	Breslan,	Henry Tigue, Scranton	
1157	Mocanaqua	Kalikst Syumowski, Mocanaqua	
1159	Edwardsville	Daniel Roarty, Edwardsville	
1159	Edwardsville	John M. Mack, 47 W. Luz Ave., Ed- wardsville	
1167	Glen Lyon	John Snopkoski, Railroad St., Glen Lyon	
1174	Plymouth	Hugh O. Kane, Plymouth	
1217	Luzerne	John M. Mack, 512 Miller Bldg., Scranton	
1331	Scranton	Henry Schnessler, 1204 Rock St., Scranton	
1407	Wilkesbarre	John B. Gallagher, 235 McDean st, Wilkesbarre	
1413	Lee	Kalikst Syumowski, Mocanaqua	1—
1428	Scranton	Martin McDonough, 123 N. Cameron Ave., Scranton	a:
1432	Ashley	Frank Kolenski, Ashley	
1456	Miners Mills	Alfred Oplinger, 15 Cook St., Plains	
1487	Pittston	John A. Gerrity, Plains	
1581	Luzerne	John A. Gerrity, Plains	
1617	Scranton	David Jones, 308 N. Filmore Ave.	
1617	Scranton	James Gleason, 113 S. Buren Ave.	
1635	Ply	James Bolton, Scranton	
1645	Luzerne	J. M. Mack, 512 Miller Bldg., Scrant- ton	2—
1649	Taylor	James Bolton, 331 17th Ave., Scrant- ton	
1649	Taylor	David Fowler, Scranton	
1656	Scranton	Michael Walsh, Rockwell Ave., Scrant- ton	
1672	Olyphant	David R. Davis, 612 E. Grant St., Olyphant	
1680	Scranton	William M. Morgan, 2040 Margaret Ave., Scranton	
1681	Providence	James Ruddy, 1646 Sweeney	
1682	Archbald	J. M. Mack, Scranton	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
9 Wilkes-Barre	Harrison Cann, 236 Bowman St., Wilkes-Barre	5
1 Olyphant	Charles M. Beatty, Olyphant	2
3 Scranton	Wm. Brennan, Scranton	1
4 Shickshinny	Adam Lowery, Shickshinny	1
0 Dunmore	Ed. J. Ibberson, 106 Andrew St.	1
7 Ridgewood	Otto Binker, Miner St., Hudson	1
2 Nanticoke	Joseph Tunitis, Wilkesbarre	1
9	Adam Lawry	1
9	Thos. Kosteka	1
9	Tom Davis	1
4 Pittston	Joseph Yannis, Pittston	1
6 Wilkes-Barre	Joseph Yarnis, 4 Mill Hill, Pittston	tax due
9 Scranton	James Gleason, Scranton	1
5 South Scranton	R. E. Morgan, South Scranton	1

DISTRICT NO. 2, PENNSYLVANIA.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
9 Expedit	Robert Foster, Expedit	1
3 Phillipsburg	H. E. Johnson, Phillipsburg	4
6 Defiance	Chas. Wise, Defiance	2
0 Arcadia	Irvin Lewis, Arcadia	4
4 Spangler	Arthur McKivigan, Spangler	3
6 Winburne	Ira S. Watts, R. D. Box 51, Munson	5
5 Madera	Max Caldwell, Madera	5
5 De Lancey	Daniel Devlin, DeLancey	4
2 South Fork	D. C. Murphy, South Fork	5—1 ex.
2 South Fork	Richard Gilbert, Miners Bldg., Clearfield	5
0 Chambersville	Peter Sembo, Chambersville	1
Jamesstown	Walter Price, Sonman	5
1 DuBois	Fred D. Thomas, DuBois	2
Helvetia	Frank Raslavsky, Box 64, Helvetia	5
0 Portage	Thos. Hopkins, Portage	4
6 Sagamore	John W. McMillon, Sagamore	4
Clymer	H. M. James, Clymer	1
0 Morrisdale	Harry Crago, Phillipsburg	3
7 Barnesboro	E. L. Thomas, Barnesboro	4
7 Barnesboro	John McKillop, Barnesboro	4
7 Barnesboro	Wm. Dainty, Barnesboro	4
6 Desire	Thomas Collins, Eleanora	3
6 Soldier	Chester Succella, Soldier	3
1 Seminole	Tony Badiali, Seminole	3
0 Dunlo	James Feeley, Dunlo	5
Ernest	Frank Carabin, Ernest	5—1 ex.
2 Patton	Eli Stan, Patton	5—2 ex.
Cresson	Alex Park, Cresson	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	
865	Arnot	John Kinnaird, Arnot	
935	Cassandra	Chas. George, Cassandra	5-
1020	Fulton Run	Edward Daly, R. D. No. 2, Indiana	
1031	Robertsdale	Riley Donahue, Robertsdale	
1031	Robertsdale	Ross Foor, Robertsdale	
1043	Portage	John Cunningham, Portage	
1056	Gallitzin	E. M. Glaney, Gallitzin	5-
1071	Ehrenfeld	Richard Stafford, Ehrenfeld	
1106	Nu Mine	Thomas Anthony, Nu Mine	
1134	Grass Flat	Charles Sherman, Grass Flat	
1186	Fredell	William Donaldson, DuBois	
1218	Anita	Thomas Cowan, Anita	
1294	Lilly	Michael Bradley, R. F. D. 218, Lilly	
1295	Glen Campbell	Peter Ferrara, Punxsutawney	
1304	Kittanning	A. C. Hays, Kittanning	
1305	Rimersburg	Dale H. Hawk, Rimersburg	
1310	Walston	James Mark, DuBois	
1347	Nanty Glo	Wm. T. Welsh, Nanty Glo	
1370	Morris Run	Thos. Price, Morris Run	
1370	Morris Run	Mike Klimeko, Morris Run	
1386	Nanty Glo	Thomas McDermott, Nanty Glo	
1386	Nanty Glo	Frank Kelly, Nanty Glo	
1402	Coalport	Samuel Templeton, Coalport	
1489	Clymer	Benjamin Wilkins, Clymer	
1515	Dixonville	Thomas R. Penbertly, Dixonville	
1569	Frostburg	Samuel Brown, Frostburg	
1583	Madera	Alexander McMullen, Madera	
1587	Homer City	John Giorgi, Waterman	
1627	Moshannon	John M. Soltis, Clarence	
1683	Six Mile Run	James Miller, Six Mile Run	
1736	Rossiter	Wm. Maddox, Rossiter	
1785	Yatesboro	Ernest Mazzarella, Yatesboro	5-
1871	Clarence	John M. Soltis, Clarence	
1924	Bitumen	George Ritz, Bitumen	
1957	Waterman	George Lightcap, Waterman	
1995	Dudley	Arthur Jones, Six Mile Run	
2008	St. Benedict	J. P. Duffy, St. Benedict	
2030	Weedville	O. J. Towns, Byrnedale	
2034	Osceola	Charles Oniell, Clearfield	
2041	Blossburg	Stanley Hudzinski, Blossburg	
2043	Wishaw	James Mark, DuBois	
2044	Dagus Mines	Frank Mosier, Kersey	
2085	Langdondale	John Brophy, Clearfield	
2098	Antrim	Stanley J. Hudzinski, Blossburg	

	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
3	New Bethlehem	Heber Silvis, New Bethlehem	2
3	Beaverdale	Mike Nelson, Beaverdale	4
3	Beaverdale	Mike Estok, Beaverdale	4
6	Marsteller	Michael Waylo, Barnesboro	3
8	Martindale	Andrew Smay, Martindale	4
6	Crenshaw	Joseph Poggiani, Indianapolis, Ind.	1
7	Brockwayville	Fred Carlson, Brockwayville	1
3	West Monterey	Frank Waite, DuBois	1
8	Dutch Hill	Samuel Nunemaker, Dutch Hill	tax due
0	Shawmut	F. C. Waite, DuBois	1
2	Lawsonham	J. D. Stitt, Lawsonham	2
1	Cato	John M. Soltis, Clarence	Has required amt.
0	Marion Center	W. S. Davidson, Marion Center	1
3	Sykesville	Victor Golino, Sykesville	4
8	Luzerne Mines	Thomas Bianco, Luzerne Mines	4
8	Luzerne Mines	Rudolph Gostenik, Indiana Co.	4
4	Eriton	Ross Cannail, Eriton	3
4	Eriton	Walter Armston, Eriton	3
1	Conifer	Eugene Quinn, Conifer	3
2	DuBois	Wm. Joseph, DuBois, R. D. No. 2	5
4	Meyersdale	William James, Meyersdale	2
5	Smith Mills	T. D. Stiles, Smith Mills	3
0	Anita	Emil Anderson, No. 216 Anita	1
0	Puritan	Geo. Cowan, Puritan	4
6	Codogan	Wm. Vaughn, Codogan	3
1	Dudley	A. L. Edwards, Dudley	2
2	Finleyville	Daniel McKnight, Six Mile Run	2
7	Parkers Landing	Wm. Gallagher, Parkers Landing	1
4	Six Mile Run	H. B. Roher, Six Mile Run	1
9	Beccaria	T. D. Stiles, Smith Mill	1
3	MacDonaldton	Andy Covolak, MacDonaldton	3
3	Pen Mar No. 2 Shaft....	Alex. Fisher, 1800 Main St., Berlin	2
1	Homer City	Andy Tomasko, Homer City	1
7	Kearney	A. W. Jones, Six Mile Run	1
0	Aultman	John Carso, Aultman	2
7	Six Mile Run	Arthur Jones, Six Mile Run	1

DISTRICT NO. 5, PENNSYLVANIA.

	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
.	Catsburg	E. S. McCullough, Monongahela	1
.	Catsburg	Joseph Marsegali, Monongahela	1
.	Webster	Thomas H. Naylor, Webster	3
.	Arnold	Frank Leitbold, Fayette City	3

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vo
96	West Newton	Moses Sweney, West Newton	
108	Bridgeville	Christ Shira, Bridgeville	
187	Allenport	John O'Leary, Roscoe	
235	Hazzard	Joseph Christopher, Hazzard	
235	Hazzard	Steve Kiewech, Monongahela	
260	Moon Run	John Stanislaw, Moon Run	
260	Moon Run	Robert R. Gibbons, Moon Run	
269	Baird	William Hargest, Monongahela	
274	Boston	Sidney Davis, Amyville	
280	New Eagle	Daniel Grundy, New Eagle	
316	Belle Vernon	E. J. Murphy, Belle Vernon	
316	Belle Vernon	Peter Lehew, Belle Vernon	
376	New Kensington	William Hobough, Arnold	
376	New Kensington	Peter Haser, Arnold	
408	Monongahela	Mike Plesher, Monongahela	
410	Guffey	Louis Maioli, Yohoghaney	
422	Shire Oaks	James Sabin, Coal Bluff	
424	Smiths Ferry	Wm. Tear, Grove City	
428	Hites	Andy Hudeck, Hites	
428	Hites	James Oates, Hites	
450	Creighton	Patrick Garrity, McFettridge Mine	tax d
524	Harwick	Fred Brosky, Harwick	
539	Floreffe	William Pickering, Floreffe	
549	Webster	John Williams, Webster	
558	Webster	Fred Gullick, P. O. 426, Ellsworth	
593	Charleroi	William A. Guiler, 419 Fallowfield Ave., Charleroi	
595	Burgettstown	James H. Jones, Burgettstown	
615	Fayette City	Walter Bruce, Fayette City	
688	Fredericktown	John Irwin, Fredericktown	
718	Shoring	Robert Howard, Shoring	
725	Cliff Mine	Harry Ceyrotter, Cliff Mine	
762	Fredericktown	John McCarty, Vestaburg	
762	Fredericktown	John Dale, Vestaburg	
797	Carnegie	J. Carplen, 14 Glenn Ave., Glendale	
813	Gallatin	Jake Lynch, Gallatin	
813	Gallatin	Frank Ventureni, Gallatin	
818	West Newton	Sidney Davis, Amyville	
827	Broughton	William Gibbons, Broughton	
849	Brownsville	Edward Reed, Brownsville	
854	Roscoe	Robert Hisenbaugh, Roscoe	
864	Sturgeon	James Flood, Noblestown	
873	Broughton	Jacob Helzhauser, Option	
904	Bruceton	John O'Leary, Roscoe	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
McGovern	Thomas Huges, Canonsburg	tax
Manown	William Hargest, Monongahela	2
Lyre	John P. Busavello, Lyre	3
Raccoon	Robert Baird, Raccoon	1
Meadowlands	Wm. F. Schmalz, Washington	1
Reading	Fred Ince, Reading	3
Ellsworth	Jos. Hazlinsky, Ellsworth	2
Ellsworth	Fred Gullick, Ellsworth	1
Ellsworth	Vincent Frossotti, Ellsworth	1
Coal Center	James McDonald, Coal Center	1
Kaylor	James Hickey, Kaylor	2
Kaylor	Wm. Teare, Kaylor	1
Ellsworth	John Mayer, Ellsworth	2
Ellsworth	Ralph Barnabei, Ellsworth	2
Cokeburg	O. F. Gunter, Cokeburg	2
Cokeburg	John Rodger, Box 171, Cokeburg	2
Lawrence	Morgan Reese, Lawrence	3
Monongahela	Fred Gullick, Ellsworth	1
Parnassus	Peter Haser, New Kensington	1
Sturgeon	Jacob Furns, Sturgeon	1
Sturgeon	Robert Gaitens, Sturgeon	1
Courtney	John E. Pascoe, Courtney	1
Roscoe	John O'Leary, Roscoe	1
Meadowlands	Harry Henry, Meadowlands	1
Castle Shannon	Andy Fielder, Castle Shannon	2
Castle Shannon	H. J. Hahn, Castle Shannon	3
Bruceton	A. Maracini, Bruceton	2
Bruceton	S. Simmons, Bruceton	3
Butersville	George Shaw, R. F. D. West Newton	1
Butersville	Sidney Davis, Amyville	2
Manifold	Stephen Yurcina, Manifold	2
Manifold	Chas. Rossi, Manifold	1
Hendersonville	Frank Dobbin, E. Pike st., Canonsburg	1
Cecil	Patsy Giommarco, Cecil	5
Oakdale	D. W. Simpson, Oakdale	1
Oakdale	James Flood, Oakdale	1
Arden	William Hynes, Fayette City	2
West Brownsville	George Swords, West Brownsville	3
Hazel Kirk	Philip Murry, 907 First Nat'l Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh	2
Imperial	Andrew Fielder, Castle Shannon	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.
1647	Penova	Frank Maurer, R. F. D. No. 2, Box 48, Avella
1648	Fair Haven	Peter Jacob, 800 Morrow Ave., Car- ricke
1664	Cuddy	Louis Scallary, Cuddy
1678	Sunnyside	John William Sickels, Sunnyside
1712	Option	Max Steinbach, Option
1724	Midland	Thomas Hughes, Canonsburg
1730	Suter	Robert Little, Box 38, Amyville
1787	California	Harry Delbarre, California
1787	California	John Suleke, California
1787	California	Leonard Seinar, California
1794	Studa	Toney Skender, Studa
1812	New England	Thomas Hurley, Willock
1826	Canonsburg	Frank Davie, Canonsburg
1829	Meadowlands	Joseph Shontos, Meadowlands
1829	Meadowlands	Thomas Hughes, Meadowlands
1830	Braznell	John Lewis, Braznell
1898	Imperial	Andy Puskar, Imperial
1917	Dinsmore	Robt. Howard, Oakdale
1917	Dinsmore	F. P. Hannaway, Oakdale
1943	Carnegie	Robert R. Gibbons, First Nat'l Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh
1947	Elizabeth	John Wilks, Elizabeth
1965	Cliftonville	Joseph Castrodale, Cliftonville
1969	Deegan	Wm. Tear, Grove City
2007	Cherry Valley	James Flood, Noblestown
2012	Primrose	John Bain, Midway
2025	Jacobs Creek	James Malone, Jacobs Creek
2026	Westland	Thomas Hughes, Canonsburg
2029	Van Voorhis	E. L. Smith, Van Voorhis
2050	Southview	John Hallan, Southview
2050	Southview	Tony Bigones, Southview
2057	Whitsett	Josiah H. Lyons, Whitsett
2065	Cherry Valley	Paul Sabo, Cherry Valley
2086	Brownsville	Thomas Sharratt, South Brownsville
2087	W. Brownsville	E. D. Reed, W. Brownsville
2091	Cherry Valley	Van Bittner, Cherry Valley
2102	Fayette City	William Williams, Fayette City
2107	Avella	James Flood, Pittsburgh
2128	McConnellsville	Thomas Hughes, Canonsburg
2147	Morgan	Fred Donnelly, Morgan
2148	Pricedale	David Conville, Pricedale
2148	Pricedale	E. J. Murphy, Pricedale

	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
6	Walkers Mills	Philip Murray, 822 Bell ave., Carnegie	1
0	Brownsville	Joseph Bastow, California	2
0	Brownsville	Wm. Turnblazer, California	1
2	Denbro	Harry Humphries, Denbro	1
1	Raccoon	Jos. P. Dillon, Raccoon	2
2	Curtisville	Clifford Silcox, Curtisville	8
4	Courtney	Wm. Hodgson, Courtney	2
9	Bunola	Wm. Hargest, 907 First National Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh	1
0	Brownsville	Ed. Reid, Brownsville	1
2	Fayette City	William Hynes, Fayette City	1
1	Smithton	Amel Crome, Smithton	1
3	Smithton	G. P. Bateman, Smithton	2
8	Bentleyville	Thos. R. Metcalf, Bentleyville	2
8	Bentleyville	Geo. Kopko, Bentleyville	2
8	Bentleyville	Fred Gullike, Bentleyville	1
3	Fitz Henry	Sidney Davis, Amyville	1
4	East Charleroi	Eugene Murphy, Belle Vernon	1
3	Mollenauer	James Dugan, Castle Shannon	5
4	Elizabeth	William Leckie, Elizabeth	5
7	New Eagle	Fred Gullick, Ellsworth	1
6	Fayette City	Daniel Rohland, Jr., Fayette City	8
7	Bellevernon	Eugene J. Murphy, Bellevernon	1
8	Van Voorhis	John Robinson, Van Voorhis	2
9	Daisytown	Andrew Hornick, Daisytown	4
9	Daisytown	Frank Long, California	4
9	Daisytown	Steve Rajteke, Daisytown	4
4	Finleyville	Robert Gibbons, Carnegie	1
0	Large	William G. Dolfi, Large	2
0	Large	J. E. Davis, Large	2
1	Van Meter	George Lesecky, Van Meter	2
3	Blythedale	Herbert White, Scott Haven	3
5	Fredericktown	Fred Sterben, Fredericktown	1
3	Cuddy	Henry Crawley, Cuddy	2
1	Fayette City	William Hynes, Fayette City	1
5	Atlasburg	Dannie Madden, Atlasburg	1
	Stoneboro	William Teare, Grove City	2
3	Burgettstown	R. M. Bailey, Burgettstown	2
	Marianna	Peter Moncusky, Box 178, Marianna	3
0	Banning	Sidney Davis, Amyville	1
	Leechburg	Paul Lobby, Leechburg	1
	Leechburg	Charles Bonello, Box 536, Leechburg	1
	Leechburg	Robert Caveglia, Leechburg	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.
3113	Pine Run	Wm. Hargest, 1-2 Nat. Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh
3118	Mooween	J. W. Pearce, Saltsburg
3135	Russelton	John Starch, Russelton
3135	Russelton	John Mizo, Russelton
3136	Russelton	Paul Bremes, Russelton
3137	Bairdford	Mike Barry, Bairdford
3138	Leechburg	John Vogel, Leechburg
3139	Curtisville	Steve Baker, Curtisville
3140	Vandergrift	Walter Dick, Vandergrift
3141	Avonmore	Joseph Bono, Avonmore
3143	Adri	Thomas Lawton, Adri
3147	Apollo	James A. Sarver, Apollo
3150	Saltsburg	John O'Leary, Roscoe
3151	Freeport	Thomas Naylor, Webster
3157	Braeburn	Pet Haiser, Braeburn
3214	Kelly Sta.	Paul McGowan, Kelly Sta.
3257	Wyano	Stephen Pohley, Wyano
3258	Peterson	James Oats, New Kensington
3368	Yukon	Martin Laurine, Yukon
3600	Burgettstown	Robert Howard, Burgettstown
3606	Salina	Tony Poletto, Salina

DISTRICT NO. 6, OHIO.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	
5	New Philadelphia	John Pearch, New Philadelphia	
13	Bridgeport	Frank Ledvinka, Bridgeport	2—
38	Cambridge	E. W. Flay, Cambridge	
44	Glencoe	A. W. Hart, Rey R. R. 1	
63	Byesville	Harry Rudy, Byesville, Rt. 1	
68	Murray City	John Moore, Columbus	
81	Congo	James Nicholls, Congo	
121	Buffalo	Chas. Snide, Buffalo	
121	Buffalo	Dave Watkins, Buffalo	
170	Salineville	O. O. Barker	
183	Hopedale	T. A. Atkins, Hopedale	
193	Neffs	Ira Kimes, Neffs	
202	Hollister	Fred R. Burgess, Hollister	
208	Byesville	C. H. Grabham, Byesville	
231	Roswell	Tony Amicone, Roswell	
245	Barton	Adolph Max, Barton	
270	Coonville	Sanford Snyder, Coonville	
276	Glouster	Wm. Ellis, Glouster	
276	Glouster	Joseph Richards, Glouster	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Martins Ferry	Ettore Delguzzo, Martins Ferry	2
Jobs	Conrad. Wein, Murray City	1
Crescent	Wm. Applegarth, Crescent	2
Crescent	John Ranach, Crescent	1
Glouster	John Moore, Columbus	2
Fairpoint	Wm. Wallace, Fairpoint	3
Barton	George McGonegol, Barton	2
Buchtel	Hugh Andrews, Buchtel	2
Jacksonville	Joe Thyne, Jacksonville	2
Chauncey	D. H. Powers, Chauncey	2
Hollister	John Rothery, Hollister	3
Saltillo	Edmund Thomas, Saltillo	1
Coshocton	James R. McCormick, Coshocton	1
Robins	Alexander Allison, Robins	2
5 Midvale	Thomas Price, Midvale	2
9 Chauncey	Clarence McCafferty, Chauncey	4
4 Murray	Thomas Gears, Murray	3
7 Tiltonville	Emil Coda, Box 106a, Tiltonville	1
3 Barton	Geo. Kliar, Barton	1
6 Flushing	William Roy, Bridgeport	1
0 Clainsville	Isaac McGee, Steel	2
0 Clainsville	John Cinque, Bellaire	1
1 Crooksville	David Watkins, Buffalo	1
4 Coal Run	John Mosier, Wellston	1
1 Uhrichsville	Fred Helle, Midvale	1
0 Byesville	David Watkins, Buffalo	1
2 Deerfield	G. W. Savage, Columbus	1
9 Roswell	Thos. J. Price, Midvale	1
2 Kipling	Frank Linhard, Kipling	1
3 Crooksville	Wm. C. Thompson, Cambridge	1
3 Nelsonville	Orl Dougherty, Nelsonville	1
3 Doanville	Sanford Snider, Athens	1
4 Caldwell	W. B. Phillips, Caldwell	3
2 Kimbley	Sanford Snyder	tax
3 Jacksonville	Frank Burns, Glouster	3
2 Klee	Wm. Applegarth, Bridgeport	1
3 Benwood, W. Va.	Leopold Zearott	2
4 Rogers	James Blair, Rogers	1
9 Orbiston	Edward Simmers, Orbiston	2
7 Stewartsville	John Shivers, Stewartsville	1
1 Wellston	Thomas Moran, Wellston	2
5 Buchtel	Orel Daugherty, Buchtel	1
1 Nelsonville	John Moore, Columbus	1
2 Carrington	Sanford Snyder, Athens	1

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I. U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
966	Salineville	E. O. Baker, Salineville	1
971	Yorkville	Jack Bell, Tiltonsville	2
978	Jackson	Wm. J. Lamb, Jackson	1
978	Harnhill	Fred Helle, Midvale	1
991	Roswell	Thomas J. Price, Midvale	1
1075	Pomeroy	S. M. Gilmore, Middleport	1
1077	Bellaire	John Zaccanine, Bellaire	4
1145	Rendville	A. C. Claborn, Rendville	2
1163	Hobson	A. T. Jones, Cheshire, R. H. 2	1
1184	Carbondale	George Gardner, Carbondale	2
1205	Millfield	W. E. Omen, Millfield	2
1210	Uhrichsville	James Johnson, Tracy	1
1215	Tippecanoe	Fred Helle, Midvale	1
1216	Brilliant	J. H. Chadwell, Brilliant	1
1235	Bergholz	John M. Paplin, Bergholz	2
1238	Byesville	W. C. Thompson, Buffalo	1
1256	Dilles Bottom	William Harris, Dilles Bottom	2
1262	Wellston	George Cecil, Wellston	1
1272	Martins Ferry	Alex Kovich, Martins Ferry	1
1275	Cannelville	Herman Delong, Cannelville	2
1286	Stewartsville	John Hugh	2
1297	Piney Fork	William A. Morgan, Piney Fork, Box 49	2
1302	St. Clairsville	Patrick Robinson	3
1323	East Greenville	Thos. J. Price, Midvale	1
1334	Sugarcreek	John Wyckoff, Athens	3
1348	Midvale	Fred Hille, Midvale	1
1351	Murray	James McGawa, Murray	2
1378	Lore City	James Forgie, Lore City	1
1396	Bannock	Andy Watkins, Yorkville	1
1399	Minersville	A. D. Lavuder, Minersville	2
1418	New Philadelphia	J. E. Moyer, New Philadelphia	1
1430	Connersville	Peter Jennings, Rayland	2
1435	Amsterdam	Hugh Hawkins, Amsterdam	3
1474	Nelsonville	Sanford Snyder, Athens	1
1486	Lore City	James Forgie, Lore City	3
1493	McArthur	George Cecil, Wellston	1
1496	Midvale	Charles Gribble, Midvale	1
1531	Sugar Creek	James H. Taylor, Poston, Box 32	3
1576	Byesville	Will C. Thompson, Cambridge	2
1578	Rush Run	Wm. Barcus, Rush Run	1
1590	Salineville	E. O. Baker, Salineville	1
1609	Lansing	Andy Croppi, Lansing	3
1613	Dellroy	Thomas J. Price, Midvale	

Has required amount

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Hopedale	George M. Griffith	1
Dilles Station	Alfred McConnell, Moundsville	2
Nelsonville	Connard Weain, Murray City	1
Pattons Run	Peter Armitage, Rayland	2
Dillonvale	Emanuel Linhart, Dillonvale	2
Blairmont	Joseph Vegh, Blairmont	2
Baileys Mills	Lon Lashley, Baileys Mills	1
Robins	Charles C. Rogers, Robins	2
Byesville	C. H. Grabham	1
Byesville	John Kerr, Byesville	3
Robyville	Lewis Sringalskie, Robyville	2
Darlington	David Watkins, Buffalo	1
Pomeroy	H. F. Bartels, Pomeroy	2
Maynard	Frank Rottlas, Maynard	1
Cambridge	David Watkins, Buffalo	1
Shadyside	D. L. Hirtline, Shadyside	5
Jacksonville	Vern Mills, Jacksonville	4
Salineville	John Saxon, Salineville	3
Bergholz	John M. Poplin, Bergholz	3
Cambridge	Lee Hall, Columbus	1
Glouster	Robert Marshall, Glouster	2
Rush Run	William Roy, Bridgeport	1
Shadyside	Isaac Elson, Shadyside	3
West Point	Robert Foster, Lisbon	2
Adena	John Kavasne, Adena	2
Murray	Thomas Gears, Murray	1
Belle Valley	J. W. Oakes, Bell Valley	2
Rayland	James Coss, Rayland	1
Harperville	James Forbes, Harperville	2
Pigeon Run	George H. Foster, N. Lawrence, R. F. D. 2	1
Minersville	Lorenzo Parkes, Minersville	2
Dillonvale	Wm. Roy, Bridgeport	1
Buffalo	Ralph Selby, Buffalo	3
Coal Ridge	William J. Edmonds, Ava	3
Lafferty	William Roy, Bridgeport	1
Maynard	W. H. Krone, Maynard	4
Kipling	C. H. McCollums, Cambridge	2
Blaine	George Munis, Blaine	2
Blaine	S. J. Jones, Blaine	1
Dunglen	Jas. Hawkins, Dunglen	2
Ramsey	George Stock, Ramsey	2
Pleasant City	Willis Watkins, Pleasant City	2
Pine Fork	Thomas Hendo, Pine Fork	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
2186	Canaanville	George Bobo, Athens	3
2188	Corning	William Robinett	1
2190	Sharpsburg	William Harris, Cutler	1
2195	Lost Run	William Eberts, New Straitsville	1
2225	Roseville	David Watkins, Buffalo	
Has required amount			1
2247	Wolf Run	Ed. McAtteer, Wolf Run	2
2260	Bailey Mills	Eustace Workman, Bailey Mills	1
2262	Dillies Bottoms	R. U. Wallace, Jacobsburg	3
2276	Bellaire	George Morgan	1
2276	Bellaire	Wm. Roy	1
2284	Crooksville	Lee Hall, Columbus	1
2300	Millfield	J. H. Martin, Jacksonville	1
2349	Floodwood	J. E. Reed, 330 Oak St., Nelsonville	1
2379	Stanwood	George Foster, Rt. 2, North Lawrence	1
2380	West Wheeling	William A. Nichols, Bellaire	1
2386	Glencoe	Lewis Orel, Glencoe	1
2387	Fairpoint	Albert Blacker, Fairpoint	3
2389	New Philadelphia	J. H. Van Meter, 239 E. Front St., New Philadelphia	1
2390	W. Lebanon	George Foster, Rt. 2, North Lawrence	1
2400	Rush Run	George W. Ogden, Rush Run	1
2421	Middleport	S. M. Gilmore, Middleport	1
2449	Offerman	Frank Bender, Pleasant City	3
2450	Middleport	Shird Gilmore, Middleport	1
2451	Senecaville	John Allen, Senecaville	2
2452	New Lexington	Gus Shaner, New Lexington	1
2458	Pomeroy	S. M. Gilmore, Middleport	2
2459	New Philadelphia	Edward Hiser, New Philadelphia	1
2461	Roswell	Thos. J. Price, Midvale	
Has required amount			
2526	Neffs	John Weekly, Neff	4
2529	Maynard	Wm. Green	1
2530	San Toy	James A. Bell	4
2559	Carbon Hill	Conrad Wein	1
2580	Mineral City	John Bell, Mineral City	1
2581	Amsterdam	Henry Wilkinson, Amsterdam	2
2584	Jackson	Thos. Wilson, Jackson	1
2591	Flushing	Wm. Roy	
Has required amount			
2592	Bridgeport	Joseph Anglo, Bridgeport	1
2593	Lafferty	William Roy, Bridgeport	
Has required amount			
2603	Pomeroy	H. Bailey, Pomeroy	1
2617	Monday	Elroy Williams, Nelsonville	2

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Buffalo	Owin Daniel, Buffalo	3
West Lebanon	George Foster, North Lawrence, R. F. D. 2	1
Pine Run	Oscar Rodeline, Rhodesdale	2
Poston	W. F. Bolingir, Athens	2
Germano	Charles Wilson, Germano	1
Wellston	George Cecil, Wellston	1
Pleasant City	John Wardle, Pleasant City	2
Redfield	Leroy Brown, Saltillo	1
Dillonvale	Frank Ledvinka, Wheeling Creek	1
Bergholz	John M. Poplin, Bergholz	1
Palos	Fred Burges, Glouster, R. 1	1
Kimberly	Sanford Snyder, Athens	1
Lore City	David Watkins, Buffalo	
	Has required amount	
Murray City	Wm. Robinett	1
Elm Grove, W. Va.....	Mick Bender	2
Triadelphia, W. Va.....	James Shaskey, Triadelphia	1
Follansbee, W. Va.....	C. S. Gillespie, Wellsburg, W. Va., 1317 Chas. st.	1
Collins, W Va.....	James Howard, Collins, W. Va.	2
Crescent	Frank Ledvinka, Bridgeport	1
Morgan Run	James McCormick, Coshocton	1
Rendville	Lee Hall, Columbus	1
Yorkville	Jack Bell, Tiltonville	1
Moundsville	Frank Ledvinka, Bridgeport	1
	Has required amount	
Moundsville	Frank Ledvinka, Bridgeport	Tax due
Willow Grove	Ira Kirnes, Neffs	1
Cambridge	Will C. Thompson, Cambridge	1
McCainesville	Isaac McGee, Steel	1

DISTRICT NO. 7, PENNSYLVANIA.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Lattimer	John Costello, Milnesville	5—3 ex.
Freeland	William Hernes, Freeland	2
Janesville	John Dougherty, Hazleton	3
Hazleton	Neal J. Ferry, Hazleton	4
Cranberry	John Yourishin, Hazleton	3
Ebervale	John Yourishin, Hazleton	1
Coleraine	John Sheridan, Juncedale	3
Harwood	Thomas McLoughlin, Harwood	2
Nuremburg	Thomas Kennedy, Hazleton	1
Drifton	George Laputka, 99 Burton st., Freeland	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
1520	Harleigh	Thomas Kennedy, Hazleton	1
1536	Coaldale	Peter Boyle, Phillips st, Coaldale	2
1548	Hazle Brook	Cinchew Bolish, Hazle Brook	2
1571	Tamaqua	C. C. Boner	4
1572	Lansford	Daniel Fisher, Lansford	5—3 ex.
1653	Sandy Run	Andrew J. Matas, Jr., Sandy Run	2
1665	Summit Hill	Edward J. O'Donnell Summit Hill	4
1704	Nesquehoning	Michael Hartnead, Nesquehoning	4
1704	Nesquehoning	Benjamin Davis, Nesquehoning	4
1738	Lansford	Thomas Kennedy, Hazleton	3—2 ex.
1831	Hazleton	Neal J. Ferry, McAdoo	1—3 ex.
1998	Beaver Meadow	Joseph Gallagher, Beaver Meadow	2
2077	Harleigh	Arthur McGinty, 524 Alter st., Hazleton	2
2168	McAdoo	Charles F. Gallagher, Kelayres	1
2647	Beaver Meadow	Neal J. Ferry, Penna	
			Has required amount
3289	McAdoo	Chas. Smith, McAdoo	4
3292	McAdoo	Anthony Student, McAdoo	3

DISTRICT NO. 8, INDIANA.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
48	Clay City, Ind.....	J. M. Luther, Clay City	1
136	Carbon	James Cantwell, Carbon	1
216	East Brazil	Ed. Haverkamp, Brazil	1
244	East Brazil	John Lynch, 115 Ashley st., Brazil	3
246	Diamond	Lawrence Bromlett, Diamond	1
249	Hoosierville	Ed. Haverkamp, Brazil	1
301	Ashboro	James Cantwell, Carbon Less than 10 mem.	
337	Diamond	Lawrence Bromlett, Diamond	1
629	Hadleytown	Lawrence Bromlett, Diamond	1
697	Center Point	James J. McKinney, Perth	1
769	Cardonia	James Cantwell, Carbon	1
771	Perth	James J. McKinney, Perth	1
779	Asherville	Ed Haverkamp, Brazil	1
888	Coal Bluff	James J. McKinney, Perth	1
1251	Stringtown	Ed. Haverkamp. Brazil	1
1325	Diamond	Lawrence Bromlett, Diamond	1
2794	Clay City	J. M. Luther, Clay City	1
3100	Coal City	J. M. Luther, Clay City	1
3112	Smithville	David Gonser, Coal City	1
3174	Carbon	James Cantwell, Carbon	1
3182	Patricksburg	J. M. Luther, Clay City	1
3335	Saline City	J. M. Luther, Clay City	1
3665	Jessup	Lawrence Bromlett, Diamond	1

DISTRICT NO. 9, PENNSYLVANIA.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
32	Mahanoy	Thomas Peck, Mahanoy	1
105	Mt. Carmel	Thomas J. McDonald	5
113	Mahanoy City	Stiney Gegvizia, Mahanoy City	1
124	Trevorton	James McAndrews, Shamokin	1
124	Trevorton	George Brubaker, Trevorton	5
160	Shamokin	Ed. G. Renn, 31 S. H. 4th st., Shamokin	2
205	Shenandoah	P. F. Sweeney	1
506	Locust Gap	Leo Bradley, Locust Gap	5—1 ex.
561	Shamokin	Peter J. Yodzio, 1314 Hemlock st., Shamokin	2
579	Mt. Carmel	Wm. Douty, 118 S. Spruce st., Mt. Carmel	5
807	Shenandoah	Matt Karengo, Shenandoah	1
807	Shenandoah	Anthony Matkanskey, Shenandoah	1
866	Mahanoy City	James P. Foley, Mahanoy City	3
918	Girardville	Peter Geiamaites, Connerton	assess.
920	Post Carbon	George Litvenn, Silver Creek	assess.
933	Mt. Carmel	John Strambo, Mt. Carmel	1
967	Mt. Carmel	Cornelius Pottier, 503 Wave, Mt. Carmel	1
984	Brady	Stanley Serespie, 1441 Hemlock st., Bradey	1
1023	Shamokin	John C. Rumbercer, 836 W. Spruce st., Shamokin	2
1105	Morea	Patrick Campbell, Morea	1
1112	Mahanoy Place	John J. Coonan, Mahanoy Place	1
1113	Middleport	George Litvenn	assess.
1183	Wilburton	William C. Rhods, Wilburton	2
1261	Tower City	John S. Schreiner, Tower City	1
1261	Tower City	George W. Henry, Tower City	4
1320	Maysville	Stiney Geguzie	1
1333	Mahanoy City	Owen Crossen, 404 W. Center st., Mahanoy	5
1362	Mahanoy City	John Getzin, 509 W. R. R. St., Mahanoy	2
1384	Shamokin	Francis Gillespie, Shamokin, 515 S Anthracite st.	4
1384	Shamokin	John C. Delbaugh, 211 7th st, Shamokin	3
1393	Lost Creek	Philip Possesky, Lost Creek	1
1398	Shaft	Joseph Cutchinsky, Shaft	2
1409	New Boston	John Strambo, Mahanoy City	1
1414	Shenandoah	Monroe Kline, Shenandoah	1
1443	Shenandoah	William Hartz, 411 W. Center St., Shenandoah	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vote
1479	Centralia	Wm. Calaggy, Centralia	
1500	Mahanoy City	Stiney Geguzie, Mahanoy City	
1500	Mahanoy City	Frank Klimosky, Mahanoy City	
1509	Shenandoah	Anthony Cuff	
1511	Mahanoy City	Stiney Geguzie, Mahanoy City	
1514	Lost Creek	Philip Possessky, Lost Creek	
1516	Lost Creek	M. J. McGrath, Lost Creek	
1517	Ashland	Thomas Graham, Ashland	5—2 e
1533	St. Clair	Pati J Malia, N. Second st., St. Clair	
1537	Tuscarora	Anthony Cuff, Shenandoah	
1540	Buck Mountain	John Strambo, Mahanoy City	
1541	Gilberton	James Whalen, Gilberton	
1542	Mahanoy Plane	J. L. Whalen, Mahanoy City	
1550	Williamstown	John J. Mates, Williamstown	
1550	Williamstown	Harper Watheys, Williamstown	
1550	Williamstown	Thos. R. Davis, Williamstown	
1558	Pine Grove	Irvin Zerbe, Pine Grove	
1560	Tremont	John S. Shremer, Tower City	
1564	Lanigans	James Mathews, Shenandoah	
1568	New Philadelphia	George Rontineatis, New Philadelphia	
1584	Locustdale	John Moyer, Locustdale	
1592	Cumbola	George Litvenn, Silver Creek	
1598	Middleport	George Litvenn, Silver Creek	
1600	Ravine	A. J. Zimmerman, Ravine	
1618	Turkey Run	James Mathews, Shenandoah	
1619	Fowlers	James Mathews, Shenandoah	
1621	Byrnesville	Patrick J. Sweeney, Shenandoah	
1628	Hegins	Harper Watkeys, Williamstown	
1669	Shamokin	Christ J. Golden, 234 S. Diamond st., Shamokin	
1669	Shamokin	John C. Rumbergor, 836 W. Spruce st., Shamokin	
1685	Shenandoah	P. F. Sweeney, Jordin st., Shenandoah	
1711	Gratz	Charles M. Wise, Gratz	as
1725	Shamokin	Frank Trykowski, 1205 Oneida st., Shamokin	
1728	Wilburton	Michael J. Watslof, Wilburton	
1767	Silver Creek	Miles Finley, Silver Creek	
1781	Mt. Carmel	John J. Carr, Mt. Carmel	
1796	Mt. Carmel	Benjamin Glessman, Mt. Carmel	
1838	Maeizville	Michael McDonald, Mahanoy City	
1876	Shenandoah	Thos. Peck, Shenandoah	
1886	Wadesville	George Litvenn, Silver Creek	as
1889	Shamokin	Victor Marietta, Shamokin	

		Name and Address of Delegate.	Vo
1936	Minersville	John Strambo, Mahanoy	
1946	Branchdale	Barnard Connelly, Branchdale	
1954	New Philadelphia	Henry Laginski, Silver Creek	
1960	Minersville	George Litvenn, Silver Creek	asses
2270	Five Points	John Strambo, Mahanoy	has required am
2319	Maryd	James Cannon, Tamaqua	
2346	Kulpmont	Henry Mumshaw, Kulpmont	
	Shenandoah	Harry Williams, 643 W. Penn st., Shenandoah	
2350	St. Clair	George Litvenn, Silver Creek	
2435	Centralia	Michael Washuta, Centralia	
2539	Girardville	Michael McDonald, Mahanoy Plane	
2565	Kulpmont	James J. McAndrews, Shamokin	
2577	Natalie	Joseph Donnelly, Mt. Carmel	
2587	Ravenrun	William C. Moll, Ravenrun	
2596	Shamokin	Isaiah Spotzer, 243 S. 9th st, Shamokin	
2611	Shenandoah	H. T. Giese, Shenandoah	
2745	Shamokin	Joseph Nalewajk, 1501 W. Mulberry st., Shamokin	assess
2848	Mt. Carmel	John Parry, 250 E. 2nd st., Mt. Carmel	
2854	Seltzer City	George Litvenn, Silver Creek	assess
2928	New St.	Michael McDonald, Mahanoy	

DISTRICT NO. 10, WASHINGTON.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes
227	Ronald	James Reese, Roslyn	
934	Carbonado	John L. Johnson, Carbonado	
1044	Cumberland	Frank Cope, Cumberland	
1717	Tono	Henry Warren, Tono	
1853	Durham	Frank Cope, Palmer	
1863	Chehalis	Martin J. Flyzik, 407 Mutual Life Bldg., Seattle	
1911	Palmer	Samuel Caddy, Palmer	
1994	Bayne	William H. Petler, Box 6, Bayne	
2157	Taylor	Wm. Short, Seattle	
2257	Black Diamond	J. W. Bartoluzzi, Black Diamond	
2264	Franklin	Robt. H. Harlin, 404-407 Mutual Life Bldg.	
2362	New Castle	Helgs Peterson, New Castle	
2373	Burnett	Chas. Castle, Burnett	
2413	Issaquah	Wm. Short, Seattle	
2510	Roslyn	James Reese, Roslyn	
2512	Cle Elum	Thos. Fleming, Cle Elum	
2512	Cle Elum	Robert H. Harlin, Seattle	

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
2583	Seattle	Martin J. Flyzik, Seattle	3
2634	Wilkeson	Frank Purse, Box 105, Wilkeson	3
2682	Cle Elum	Charlie Croci, Cle Elum	2
2717	Cumberland	Wm. H. Short, Seattle	1
2747	Issaquah	Wm. H. Short, Seattle	1
2869	Spiketon	Martin J. Flyzik	1
2871	Ronald	James Nelson, Roslyn	2
3179	Fairfax	Martin J. Flyzik, Seattle	
		Has required amount	
3458	Renton	Emil Hendrickson, Seattle	3

DISTRICT NO. 11, INDIANA.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
21	Princeton, Ind.	W. H. Raney, Princeton	3
23	Terre Haute	John Stitt, 1644 1st ave., Terre Haute	2
23	Terre Haute	Wm. Mitch, Rm. 214, I. O. O. F. Bldg., Terre Haute	1
24	Jasonville	Joseph H. Fritz, Jasonville	1
39	Clinton	Otto Armstrong, cor. 6th and Walnut sts., Clinton	3
46	Petersburg	G. G. Miller, Petersburg	2
54	Linton	Com Smith, K st., Linton	2
74	Clinton	Harry E. Burns, 102 E. Sycamore st., Clinton	2
75	Dugger	Mark Palmer, Dugger	3
117	West Terre Haute	Frank Potts, West Terre Haute	2
134	Clinton	Thomas Price, Clinton	1
155	Bicknell	Earl Atkinson, 213 E. Eighth st., Bicknell	2
184	Jasonville	Homer Knoll, Jasonville	1
195	Cass	James Keeve, Cass	3
217	Boonville	Chas. H. Williams, Boonville	1
228	Linton	Warren Foster, Linton	2
254	Brazil	James Summers, R. F. D. 4, Brazil	1
289	Winslow	John Hagan, Winslow	3
352	Bicknell	M. H. Head, Bicknell	1
352	Bicknell	Joe Edwards, Bicknell	1
355	West Terre Haute.....	David J. Barter, West Terre Haute	2
390	Evansville	Dave Brink, Law 372.	1
399	Linton	Joseph Nixon, Linton	3
412	Hymera	Lloyd L. Mahan, Hymera	3
463	Jasonville	Oliver Channell, Jasonville	2
508	Terre Haute	John Sedden, R E., Terre Haute	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
525	Terre Haute	William Miller, 3102 N. 15th st., Terre Haute	2
582	Augusta	William H. Raney, Princeton	1
604	Clinton	A. Powers, Terre Haute	3
625	Linton	J. L. Sims, Linton	2
656	Jasonville	Chas. Markle, R. R. 4, Linton	1
670	Terre Haute	Charlie Morris, 1737 N. 6th st., Terre Haute	1
670	Terre Haute	W. D. VanHorn, Terre Haute	1
690	Princeton	W. H. Raney, Princeton	1
713	Winslow	K. L. Whitman, Winslow	2
764	Littles	Moses Dossett, Glezen	2
884	Bicknell	Wm. M. Gillem, Bicknell	5—1 ex.
906	Clinton	Muril Sims, 353 N. 3d st., Clinton	4
953	Terre Haute	Clyde Hirshfeld, Terre Haute	4
1019	Universal	Marshal Stewart, Universal	2
1022	Chandler	L. McWilliams, Evansville	1
1045	Clinton	L. M. Fielding, 1211 S 3d st, Clinton	2
1099	Dugger	Ben Blew, Sullivan R R	1
1111	Shelburn	George Rice, R R No. 2, Shelburn	1
1187	Rosedale	H. A. Harpold, Rosedale	3
1243	Boonville	Joseph Dodwell, Boonville	1
1277	Shelburn	John Banks, Shelburn	2
1326	Bicknell	S. A. Van Hoy, R. R. 19, Bicknell	1
1328	Linton	John J. Eddy, Linton	3
1368	Bruceville	Frank Mitchell, Bruceville	3
1371	Chandler	Elmer Smith, Chandler	1
1383	Linton	Camden Smith, Linton	2
1394	West Terre Haute.....	Joseph Smith, Box 42, W. Terre Haute	2
1452	Evansville	Robert Leigh, 917 E. Oregon st., Evansville	2
1539	Universal	Michael Carroll, Universal	5
1555	Carlisle	S. E. Dial, Carlisle	1
1634	Vincennes	Thomas Winning, 35 E. Portland ave., Vincennes	4
1636	West Terre Haute.....	Barney Potter, W. Terre Haute	2
1646	Clinton	Jack Wake, 203 N. 8th st., Clinton	1
1658	Winslow	Lou Chesser, R R No. 17, Winslow	2
1676	Linton	Wm. Smith, Linton	2
1698	Bicknell	Thomas Kinney, Bicknell	2
1702	West Terre Haute.....	Chas. Sheperd, 1450 Liberty ave., Terre Haute	2
1713	Dugger	Leonard Carr, Dugger	2
1743	Jasonville	Harry Ashbaugh, Jasonville	3

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes
1755	Boonville	J. A. Greer, Boonville	1
1895	Gilmour	J. H. Norris, Gilmour	2
1919	Jasonville	Fred Billingsly, Jasonville	2
1967	Edwardsport	Harvie Morris, Edwardsport	1
2011	Clinton	John Greenway, Clinton	4
2024	Jasonville	Lessie M. McDonald, Jasonville	3
2061	Clinton	Thomas J. Raider, Clinton	3
2062	Sullivan	J. W. Anderson, 540 E. Washington st, Sullivan	1
2075	Glen Ayr	Robert Hughes, R R D, Terre Haute	2
2121	Jasonville	Joe Shelton, Jasonville	2
2122	Midland	George Borders, Midland	1
2134	Antioch	Henry Hautin, R R 7, Linton	2
2382	Shelburn	Archie Forbes, Shelburn	2
2410	Oakland City	John J. Williams, Oakland City	1
2411	Bicknell	Joe Strickland, Bicknell	3
2422	Clinton	John Grange, 724 S. 4th st, Clinton	1
2422	Clinton	Edward M. Davis, 802 S. 4th st., Clinton	2
2423	Vicksburg	Claude Richards, Vicksburg	2
2427	Paxton	George Gathes, Paxton	2
2431	Coalmont	Harvey Asbury, Coalmont	2
2446	Clinton	Robert Salmond, Clinton	3
2475	Shelburn	James Shealey, Shelburn	1
2521	Wheatland	M. M. Oskins, Wheatland	2
2522	West Terre Haute.....	Edward Nicholas, 231 S. 3d st, West Terre Haute	1
2522	West Terre Haute.....	Dave Robb, 231 S. 3d st, West Terre Haute	1
2544	Shelburn	Roy Hershfelt, 1727 S. 4th st, Terre Haute	1
2549	Fontanet	Marshall Turner, Fontanet	2
2598	Farmersburg	John Nikirk, Farmersburg	1
2632	Terre Haute	John E. Miller, West Terre Haute	2
2646	Terre Haute	Job Deer, Terre Haute	1
2648	Libertyville	Chas. Verneti, Paris, Ill., R R 1	2
2758	Shelburn	James Dix, Shelburn	2
2777	Ft. Branch	Charles Smith, Ft. Branch	1
2892	Dugger	Ben Blue, Dugger	1
2976	Staunton	C. E. Gillespie, Staunton	1
2989	Linton	James Veller, 410 F st., N E, Linton	1
3041	Blanford	Joe Marcinko, Blanford	3
3097	Terre Haute	William Hurlow	2
3426	Staunton	T. C. Trout, Staunton	1
3552	Paris Ave.	Charles Poff, S. 10th st, W. Terre Haute	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
3666	Linton	J. L. Sims, Lock Box 161, Linton	tax
3667	Cloverland	Robert Cash, Harmony	1

DISTRICT NO. 12, ILLINOIS.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
2	Farmington	Sam Cadulli, Farmington	2
4	Carson City	Frank Davidson, Harco	2
11	Coal City	Robert Osborne, Coal City	2
12	Logan	M. Applegate, Logan	4
30	Lovington	Thomas Wallett, Lovington	2
41	Catlin	Chas. Bishop, Catlin	1
43	Spring Valley	Anton Andrew, Spring Valley	4
43	Spring Valley	Joe Balzarini, Spring Valley	3
52	Centralia	Christ Roewekamp, corner Cherry and Kaskaskia sts., Centralia	3
52	Centralia	John Mentler, 1027 S. Hickory St., Centralia	3
58	Kewanee	David W. Davis, 143 Dwight St., Ke- wanee	1
67	Breese	Pete Docherty, Breese	2
78	Breese	Pat Ratchford, B. 62, Breese	3
88	Eldorado	Edward E. Kirk, Eldorado	3
91	Johnston City	Geo. Hope, Johnston City	2
91	Johnston City	Patrick Glancy, Johnston City	2
94	Moweaqua	Ben Williams, Taylorville	1
99	Belleville	Andy Wilson, 216 N. Race St., Belle- ville	5—1 ex.
100	Mapleton	John Beetler, Mapleton	assess.
101	Pana	John Pudia, Pana	3
106	Dunfermline	Joseph Stokes, Canton	3
109	Assumption	George Bunch, Assumption	1
122	Pocahontas	G. R. McVey, Pocahontas	2
125	Mt. Olive	James Hickey, Mt. Olive	3
125	Mt. Olive	Frank Norder, Mt. Olive	3
146	Divernon	Roy Draper, Divernon	5—1 ex.
165	Willisville	A. S. Russell, Willisville	4
167	Witt	Caleb Marfell, Witt	3
221	Peoria	George Noble, 403 Siebolt St., Peoria	2
224	Lincoln	John Tynne, E. Pekin St., Lincoln	2
232	Christopher	Ivor Rowlands, Christopher	2
232	Christopher	John Black, Christopher	3
232	Christopher	Orley Staples, Christopher	2
238	Belleville	Fred Green, Belleville	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
238	Belleville	Harry Bergadine, Belleville	2
238	Belleville	Ed. Dobbins, Belleville	1
240	Marseilles	Harry A. Holman, Marseilles	1
247	Minonk	L. M. Dollet, Roanoke	1
264	Collinsville	Jos. Schultz, Collinsville	2
264	Collinsville	Irvine Strain, Collinsville	2
291	Toluca	Daniel Reece, Toluca	5
297	New Baden	Christ Minekoth, New Baden	5
303	Orient	H. W. Mills, Orient	4
303	Orient	John Knapp, Orient	4
304	Belleville	Robt. Knowles, 201 S. Fair St., Belleville	2
304	Belleville	John R. Schaefer, 514 Park ave., Belleville	2
305	Rentchler	James Mahan, Rentchler	1
317	Springfield	Walter Cullen, 514 Ridgely Ave., Springfield	2
322	Danville	W. R. Russell, Station C, Danville	1
329	West Frankfort	John Burnett, West Frankfort	5
331	Springfield	Thomas P. Moughan, 2028 E. South Grand, Springfield	2
341	Lenzburg	Joseph Prediger, Lenzburg	1
361	Niantic	Ben Williams, 1016 Oak St., Taylorville	1
362	Coal Valley	Geo. L. Mercer, Canton	1
368	Cuba	David Dixon, Cuba	3
388	Clifford	W. G. Davis, Clifford	2
388	Clifford	F. C. Hughes, Clifford	2
388	Clifford	Lee Van Hoose, Clifford	1
409	Du Quoin	Pete Kauffman, Du Quoin	3
409	Du Quoin	Ed Green, Du Quoin	2
413	Springfield	Thomas Hayes, 1223 Enterprise, Springfield	3
419	Craig	Henry A. Walker, Craig	2
420	Grayson	A. L. Waytte, Grayson	2
438	Equality	Jack Dilback, Equality	1
448	Springfield	John G. Dixon, S. 9th St., Springfield	3
467	Farmington	Ben Montle, Farmington	1
473	La Salle	Peter Jones, R. R. 24, La Salle	3
474	Belleville	George J. Dahm, R. R. No. 4, Belleville	2
478	Du Quoin	Charles Farras, Du Quoin	3
478	Du Quoin	Robert Paxton, Du Quoin	2
492	Springfield	Nick Klarens, 446 W. Carpenter St., Springfield	3
493	Nokomis	John Smith, Coalton	5

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
49 4	Springfield	Robert Seisick, Springfield	3
50 3	Westville	Thomas Pitchford, Westville	2
50 3	Westville	August Houdock, Westville	2
50 3	Westville	John Jacobs, Westville	1
50 3	Westville	John H. Walker, Westville	1
50 3	Westville	Herbert Halls, Westville	1
51 1	Tilden	J. D. Phillips, Tilden	2
51 7	Tavey	Alf. Campbell, Tavey	5
522	Pekin	Thomas Hancock, Pekin	1
528	Springfield	Thomas Hughes, Indianapolis, Ind.	1
528	Springfield	Fred Guy, 2214 S. 11th St., Springfield, Ill.	1
563	Peoria	Walter Boundy, 234 Steward Ave., East Peoria	1
565	Equality	J. H. Hampton, Equality	1
575	Pinckneyville	Sam Brayfield, Pinckneyville	2
578	Benton	E. R. Lodan, Benton	5
600	Cantrall	M. R. Metz, Cantrall	1
605	Murphysboro	Jake Wilson, Murphysboro	2
611	Sparta	Sam Dickey, Sparta	2
618	Peru	Michael Pietzak, Oglesby	1
620	La Salle	Peter Grubich, La Salle	2
621	Sandoval	John Hosborn, Sandoval	3
633	Athens	Richard Rogers, Athens	2
644	Hillsboro	Frank Zibb, Hillsboro	3
649	Peru	Michael Pietrzak, Oglesby	2
650	Edwards	Jacob Graham, Edwards	1
651	Rutland	Michael Pietrzak, Oglesby	1
655	Rendville	James McLeish, Rendville	3
655	Rendville	Robert Morris, Rendville	3
658	Percy	Sam Simonds, Percy	3
659	Sparta	Ben F. Lince, Sparta	4
661	Hanna City	Wm. Craggs, Hanna City	1
663	Coulterville	Frank Resar, Coulterville	2
668	Worden	Fred Conroy, Worden	3
672	Petersburg	John M. Zimmerman, Springfield	1
675	Glasford	A. J. Owens, Glasford	2
683	Murphysboro	John Stevenson, R. F. D. No. 3, Murphysboro	1
685	Collinsville	Frank Stuart, Collinsville	2
685	Collinsville	Dom. Peila, Collinsville	1
685	Collinsville	Thomas J. Reynolds, Collinsville	1
685	Collinsville	Frank J. Hayes, Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
686	Glen Carbon	Dan H. Slinger, Glen Carbon	4
687	Freeburg	Robert Browning, Freeburg	4
691	Troy	Thomas Scott, Troy	3
694	Girard	John W. Nuse, Girard	3
698	Pittsburgh	Frank Dee, Pittsburgh	1
702	Carlinville	A. A. Bowyer, Carlinville	1
705	O'Fallon	Dave Wilson, O'Fallon	5
707	Peoria	Jos. P. Goett, 215 Livingston St., Peoria	1
711	Johnston City	O. C. Baor, Johnston City	2
712	Edinburg	Ben Williams, Taylorville	1
715	Odin	Sherman Uhls, Odin	3
720	Staunton	Leo Safka, Staunton	3
720	Staunton	Dominick Gori, Staunton	3
721	Pana	Roy Morgan, Pana	3
726	Wenona	Otto Timme, Wenona	3
728	Mt. Olive	John DeWerff, Mt. Olive	3
730	Benld	John L. Templeton, Gillespie	4
730	Benld	Joseph Frew, R. R. No. 13, Mt. Olive	4
731	Springfield	Nick Fontecchio, 2416 E. N. Grand ave., Springfield	3
731	Springfield	Harry Fishwick, Farmers National Bank Bldg., Springfield	2
732	Peoria	John St. Clair, R. R. 1, Box 62, Peoria	2
734	Peoria	Thomas H. Tippitt, 610 Millman St., Peoria	4
736	Dalzell	Pio Frankey, Spring Valley	5
743	Lebanon	James Campbell, Lebanon	1
745	Pawnee	Thos. M. Harrison, Pawnee	4
753	Bloomington	Henry Potthoff, Bloomington	2
754	Riverton	Henry Zake, Riverton	5
755	Staunton	Edw. A. Wieck, Staunton	5—1 ex.
755	Staunton	John H. Wieck, Staunton	5
755	Staunton	Frank Paske, Staunton	5
757	Elkville	W. B. Graham, Elkville	4
758	Ledford	H. E. Mullinix, Ledford	2
765	Breese	William Fischer, Breese	2
766	Herrin	Marion Rodgers, Herrin	2
766	Herrin	Richard Jully, Herrin	1
781	Decatur	Emil Remhold, Cor. Locust and Charles Sts., Decatur	2
782	Belleville	P. S. Thompson, R. R. No. 4, Belleville	2
784	Marissa	Sam North, Marissa	4
789	West Frankfort	Mat Lee, West Frankfort	4
789	West Frankfort	Julius Zulonisky, West Frankfort	4

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
792	Norris	James Conners, Norris	2
794	Eldorado	Harry Kennedy, 509 Wise St., Eldorado	3
798	Harrisburg	John Vaughn, Harrisburg	2
798	Harrisburg	Tom Reed, Harrisburg	1
800	Streator	Robt. Hodgson, Streator	1
800	Streator	Frank Farrington, Farmers' National Bank Bldg., Springfield	1
815	Lincoln	James Deane, Oklahoma Ave., Lincoln	4
820	Edwardsville	Louis Zak, Edwardsville	2
821	Oakwood	John Billman, Oakwood	1
822	Pana	Fay Bradley, Pana	4
826	Collinsville	Henry Steckstor, 734 St. Clair Ave., Collinsville	2
843	Muddy	Chas. Grace, Harrisburg	2
843	Muddy	Giles Davis, Harrisburg	1
843	Muddy	Nick Tulip, Harrisburg	1
848	Collinsville	Harry Ewing, Collinsville	2
848	Collinsville	Frank Hefferly, Collinsville	2
850	Dawson	James Utterback, Dawson	1
859	Belleville	Eugene LePere, Belleville	2
859	Belleville	Walter Nesbit, Farmers' National Bank Bldg., Springfield	1
860	Saint David	John G. Atkenson, Canton	2
860	Saint David	Thomas Prosser, St. David	2
893	Canton	W. H. Pascoe, Canton	5
895	Roanoke	L. M. Dollet, Roanoke	2
912	O'Fallon	Thomas G. Harper, O'Fallon	2
923	Herrin	James Duniho, Herrin	1
929	Oglesby	Rud Farneti, Oglesby	2
929	Oglesby	Michael Pietrzak, Oglesby	1
944	Herrin	John Reid, Herrin	1
944	Herrin	E. Hawkins, Herrin	1
944	Herrin	H. R. Thompson, Herrin	1
944	Herrin	A. M. Belcher, Herrin	1
946	Farmington	Barney McMahon, Farmington	1
946	Farmington	Samuel Pascoe, Farmington	1
948	Danville	John Swisher, Oakwood	3
959	West Frankfort	Ed Rick, West Frankfort	3
959	West Frankfort	T. W. Hurst, West Frankfort	3
959	West Frankfort	Steve Bone, West Frankfort	2
980	Coffeen	Albert Haenny, Coffeen	2
986	Herrin	Abe Hicks, Herrin	1
986	Herrin	Matt Rogers, Herrin	1
986	Herrin	Dennis Morefield, Herrin	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
986	Herrin	W. J. Sneed, Herrin	1
992	Zeigler	Frank Stafford, Zeigler	5
992	Zeigler	Joe Filipovich, Zeigler	4
997	Springfield	Peter Rossiter, 1504 N. 11th St., Springfield	2
999	Springfield	Terry Hughes, Springfield	3
999	Springfield	Frank Hughes, Springfield	1
1000	Herrin	Chas. Hundley, Herrin	2
1000	Herrin	A. T. Pace, Herrin	1
1040	Harrisburg	M. W. Tavender, Harrisburg	2
1051	Ladd	John Roman, Ladd	4
1053	Ellisville	Frank Johnson, Ellisville	1
1055	Cambria	Jeff Vaughn, Cambria	3
1059	Ledford	James Rose, Ledford	3
1090	New Athens	Chas. Sebastian, New Athens	2
1103	Westville	Louis Roberts, Westville	2
1103	Westville	Frank Thomas, Westville	1
1103	Westville	Evan Evans, Westville	1
1115	Andrew	Dixon Turnbull, Andrew	2
1117	Marion	John Thompson, Marion	2
1144	Colp	A. W. Lefant, Colp	3
1144	Colp	J. E. Taylor, Colp	3
1146	Carterville	John Wiming, Carterville	3
1151	Rend	A. W. Pirtle, Rend	4
1193	Brereton	Edward O'Neil, Brereton	2
1202	Tilden	Ed. Foster, Tilden	1
1213	Farmington	Ben Montle, Farmington	1
1228	Dewmaine	Alvis Stewart, Dewmaine	2
1228	Dewmaine	Frank Michnax, Dewmaine	2
1237	Sesser	Wm. Lackey, Sesser	5
1239	Johnston City	A. A. Pearce, Johnston City	4
1248	Herrin	Robert Clem, Herrin	1
1248	Herrin	Joe Reed, Herrin	1
1248	Herrin	Edw. Smith, Herrin	1
1248	Herrin	B. Lamaster, Herrin	1
1248	Herrin	Hugh Willis, Herrin	1
1285	Mascoutah	Walter Oster, Mascoutah	3
1356	Vermillion	Felix Sandy, Vermillion	5—1 ex.
1356	Vermillion	T. J. Emory, Vermillion	5
1380	Marion	Robert Cash, Marion	2
1391	Thayer	Thos. Emerson, Thayer	5—1 ex.
1397	Centralia	Leo Reese, Centralia	5
1421	Buckner	Joe Morris, Buckner	3
1421	Buckner	George Craggs, Buckner	3

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Johnston City	George F. Cooper, Johnston City	8
Taylor Springs	Robert French, Hillsboro	8
Wasson	H. L. Harmon, Wasson	3
Du Quoin	Frank Soper, Du Quoin	4
Du Quoin	J. C. Grills, Du Quoin	8
Benton	George Blakely, Benton	3
Springfield	Peter Joyce, 1813 S. 16th St., Springfield	1
Panama	John L. Lewis, Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.	1
Panama	Wm. McDonnell, Panama, Ill.	2
Panama	Angelo Corradini, Panama, Ill.	1
Panama	Denny Lewis, Panama, Ill.	1
Panama	Peter Smith, Panama, Ill.	1
Nokomis	Wm. Edwards, Nokomis	3
Nokomis	Samuel Dow, Nokomis	8
Herrin	A. Walker, Herrin	2
Cedar Point	Henry Ugo, Cedar Point	8
Carrier	Orlie Blackman, Carrier	1
Carrier	William Broyles, Carrier	1
Springfield	J. M. Zimmerman, 620 Black Ave., Springfield	1
Eldorado	Orville Miller, Eldorado	4
Herrin	Ed Hall, Herrin	2
Royalton	Ben Hess, Royalton	2
Royalton	H. J. Hays, Royalton	2
Royalton	Jack Miller, Royalton	1
Royalton	Geo. Heberer, Royalton	1
Royalton	Anton Heberer, Royalton	1
Herrin	Frank Meece, Herrin	2
Herrin	H. L. Whiteside, Herrin	1
Herrin	Hy Sjoblom, Herrin	1
Edgemont	Fred Jackson, Edgemont	8
Peoria	John Arscott, 509 Wonson St., Peoria	3
Maryville	Victor Saladin, Maryville	2
Maryville	Ed Morris, Maryville	2
Maryville	Mose Johnson, Collinsville	2
Coulterville	Chas. Stokes, Coulterville	2
Eldorado	J. J. McGuinn, Eldorado	3
Marion	James L. Eveland, Marion	3
Marion	Paul J. Smith, Marion	3
Witt	Allan S. Haywood, Witt	5—2 ex.
Auburn	Thomas Jordon, Auburn	2
Harrisburg	Abe Johnson, Harrisburg	3

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
1910	Harrisburg	James Russell, Harrisburg	3
1927	Farmington	James Bugni, Farmington	2
1941	Johnston City	E. G. Miles, Johnston City	3
1944	Westville	Andrew Stevens, Grape Creek	3
1944	Westville	J. M. Adamson, Westville	3
1948	Pekin	Peter Johnson, 1110 Market St., Pekin	2
1959	Benton	Thos. Clayton, Benton	4
1971	West Frankfort	Ivor Johns, West Frankfort	3
1986	Norris	John Anderson, Norris	2
2129	Marion	Roy Sellars, Marion	2
2158	Tower Hill	Charles R. Ellison, Tower Hill	1
2215	Johnston City	Troy Lewis, Johnston City	5—1 ex.
2219	Gillespie	Robert Cairns, Gillespie	3
2219	Gillespie	George Johnson, Gillespie	3
2219	Gillespie	Ben Firth, Gillespie	2
2307	Mark	Anton Galdonis, Granville	5—1 ex.
2368	Murphysboro	Joe Loftus, Murphysboro	3
2376	Christopher	E. H. Owlett, Christopher	3
2376	Christopher	Jack Carso, Christopher	3
2384	Matherville	George Sackfield, Matherville	2
2385	Springfield	James J. Bogue, Springfield	2
2403	Springfield	Jacob Wiessing, 618 Calhoun Ave., Springfield	2
2404	Virden	Omella Gremo, Virden	5—1 ex.
2418	Royalton	Grate Giovenetti, Bush	2
2425	Virden	George Graham, Virden	2
2441	Springfield	Hughie Monahan, 1306 N 8th st, Springfield	4
2468	Christopher	E. Parker, Christopher	3
2468	Christopher	T. J. McKeown, Christopher	3
2469	Herrin	Jim Ritchie, Energy	2
2513	Taylorville	John Osterkamp, Taylorville	4
2514	Belleville	Ed Regem, Belleville	2
2514	Belleville	Henry Meyer, Belleville	2
2515	Dorrisville	James Rose, Dorrisville	3
2515	Dorrisville	Bert Dunn, Dorrisville	3
2553	Sherman	Andrew Risse, Sherman	5
2556	Carterville	L. Felts, Carterville	3
2562	Springfield	J. M. Zimmerman, 620 Black Ave.	1
2619	Beckemeyer	John Lenox, Beckemeyer	3
2621	Herrin	John Kelly, Herrin	1
2621	Herrin	Hugh Bell, Herrin	1
2621	Herrin	Oscar Hughes, Herrin	1

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
2 Decatur	Wm. Thara, 1429 E. Locust St., Decatur	3
0 Harrisburg	Joe Coulson, Harrisburg	2
4 Auburn	James Sloan, Auburn	4
3 Livingston	Attelo Tanel, Livingston	4
3 Livingston	George Smith, Livingston	3
7 West Frankfort	John T. Jones, 908 E. Poplar St., West Frankfort	2
7 West Frankfort	Tom Jones, West Frankfort	2
3 Herrin	Thomas Pengilley, Herrin	3
9 Hillsboro	Albert Slater, Hillsboro	4
3 Edgemont	James E. Taylor, East St. Louis, Ill	3
4 Marion	C. L. Gilbert, 1200 S. Holland St., Marion	1
5 Stonington	Pat Doyle, Stonington	4
6 S. Wilmington	George Wilson, S. Wilmington	5
7 Benld	B. F. Crawford, Benld	4
7 Benld	Harry Hill, Benld	3
8 Belleville	David Jenkins, Collinsville	3
8 Belleville	James Taylor, Belleville	3
9 Norris City	A. F. Douglas, Norris City	2
0 White Ash	Lee Sanders, White Ash	2
1 Cherry	Atilio Corsini, Cherry	5
7 Carriers Mills	Jas. Pittman, Carriers Mills	2
7 Carriers Mills	Ezra Lavender, Carriers Mills	1
0 Middle Grove	D. E. Bradshaw, Middle Grove	2
7 Girard	Ben Firth, Gillespie	1
0 Sesser	Elmer Thompson, Sesser	1
2 Johnston City	McElroy Trout, Johnston	1
1 Pittsburg	Jake Fry, Marion	1
2 Danville	Calvin Koontz, Station C, Danville	1
7 Tallula	Stephen Sullivan, Springfield	1
7 Raleigh	Ed Hass, Raleigh	1
5 Selbytown	Steven Sullivan, Springfield	1
5 Mascoutah	Ashley Bergadine, Mascoutah	1
4 Auburn	Stephen Sullivan, Springfield	1
7 Spring Valley	Joe Waitkus, Spring Valley	5—1 ex.

DISTRICT NO. 13, IOWA.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
0 Valley Junction	C. W. Sage, Des Moines	1
7 Maple	Pete Kennedy, Eddeyville Maple	2
5 Des Moines	Frank Traister, 3927 W. 2d St., Des Moines	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
56	Colfax	Harry Darrock, Colfax	3
97	Oskaloosa	John P. White, Indianapolis	1
152	Ottumwa	M. W. Jones, Ottumwa	1
172	Foster	J. C. Lewis, Albia	1
178	Beacon	John P. White, Indianapolis	1
201	Brazil	John Lampkin, Brazil	2
206	Seymour ^b	J. C. Shars, Seymour	2
242	Avery	John Bilterman, Avery	2
318	Yoder	Arthur Burk, Des Moines	2
318	Yoder	J. G. Edmonds, Des Moines	1
372	Rathbun	Matt Horn, Rathbun	3
384	Des Moines	A. J. Danielson, 1342 Clark St., Des Moines	2
387	Jerome	Frank McKin, Jerome	1
407	Frakers	John Gay, Albia	1
550	Tipperary	Wm. E. Wood, Tipperary	4
553	Centerville	Joe James, 1515 S. 2d St., Centerville	4
553	Centerville	Chas. Hindley, 1406 S. 21st St., Centerville	4
634	Mystic	Wm. Lewis, Mystic	4
634	Mystic	Herbert Stolz, Mystic	4
662	Cricket	Josh Brown, Lo Vilia, R. 2	1
709	Madrid	W. H. Gibbons, Granger	3
775	Cincinnati	H. E. Chanley, Cincinnati	4
783	Mendota, Mo.	John Gay, Albia	1
790	Whiteburg	B. M. Vance, Whiteburg	3
793	Albia	Martin Heenan, Albia	3
812	Exline	James Stover, Exline	2
840	Snider	P. T. McGary, Granger	3
845	Diamond	Ralph Shelton, Diamond	2
851	Des Moines	William Jarvis, 2047 E. Grand Ave., Des Moines	1
869	Boone	Dan Weir, W. 5th St., Boone	3
869	Boone	Samuel Ballantyne, Albia	2
875	Numa	John Hagethorn, Numa	3
916	Hiteman	Henry Bilterman, Hiteman	4
981	Everist	J. C. Lewis, Albia	1
1042	Albia	John Gay, Albia	1
1047	Des Moines	Thomas Emerson, Des Moines	2
1063	Centerville	Joe Gilgrass, Centerville	3
1121	Hockings	John Gay, Albia	2—1 ex.
1140	Des Moines	Barney Perich, Des Moines	1
1169	Bear Creek	Gomer Hughes, Bear Creek	2
1504	Melcher	William Mitchell, Melcher	5

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Carney	Dominic Gaspria, Carney	3
Des Moines	Samuel Balantyne, Albia	1
Dean	James Stover, Exline	1
Andersville	Michael Murnane, Knoxville	2
Madrid	Arthur Munson, Woodward, R. 1	1
Madrid	A. B. McGary, Des Moines	1
Buxton	G. D. Yancey, Buxton	5
Buxton	Dan Smith, Buxton	4
Cainsville	J. C. Lewis, Albia	1
Streipy	Frank Battistello, Streipy	2
Des Moines	John Samuelson, Des Moines	2
Chariton	Thos. Preston, Chariton	4
Knoxville	Edward Joy, 358 E. Robinson, Knoxville	2
Spring Hill	J. A. McCarty, Spring Hill	1
High Bridge	J. C. Lewis, Albia	2
Ankeny	C. U. Hampton, Ankeny	2
Lovilia	Ernest Courtney, Hamilton	3
Des Moines	Thos. McCully, 246 Esther St., Des Moines	2
Enterprise	John Bowes, Enterprise	2
Ward	Robert Dobson, Ward	2
Bidwell	David J. Reese, Bidwell	2
Des Moines	Thomas Maxwell, 3740 Bowdoin St., Des Moines	1

DISTRICT NO. 14, KANSAS.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Mulberry	Herman Haymont, Mulberry	2
Breezy Hill	Henry Kauplin, Breezy Hill	1
Ringo	Tony Tomsic, R. R. 3, Girard	1
East Mineral	James Cahill, East Mineral	1
Liberal, Mo.	Thomas Harvey, Pittsburg	1
Frontenac	Alex Howat, Frontenac	1
Strippville	Robert Gilmour, Pittsburg	1
Mulberry	John Yockum, Mulberry	1
Capaldo	Thomas Harvey, Pittsburg	1
Mulberry	J. H. Grimther, Mulberry	1
Frontenac	Thomas Kolduff, Frontenac	3
Pittsburg	Dave Parr, Girard	1
Weir City	Otis Scranton, Weir City	3
Pittsburg	John Toeller, Pittsburg	1
Turck	Vic Sivil, Columbus	1
Midway	Robert U. Stoneman, Pittsburg	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
310	Cherokee	Steve Atkinson, Cherokee	1
393	Pittsburg	Alva Bray, 206 E. 13th St., Pittsburg	1
406	Radley	Wm. Thompson, Radley	1
411	Arma	Miles Namara, Arma	1
414	Grass	William Hamaker, Grass	1
445	Mulberry	Wm. Rush, Mulberry	1
498	Scammon	Allen Dunn, Scammon	2
533	Midway	O. E. Moore, Pittsburg, No. 6	1
544	Scranton	Alex Howat, Pittsburg	1
551	Oskaloosa	A. W. Brown, Oskaloosa	1
559	Arcadia	Frank Stephan, Arcadia	1
588	Breezy Hill	Peter McDonald, Breezy Hill	2
589	Mulberry	Arthur Eagelton, Mulberry	1
597	Scammon	Arthur Evans, Scammon	2
723	Hazen	Harlan Slaughter, Croweburg	2
735	Yale	Frank Kurda, Pittsburg	1
768	Arma	James McDonald, Arma	1
836	Radley	Amon Hunter, Radley	1
902	Panama, Mo.	Amos Standing, R. R. 4, Rich Hill, Mo.	1
951	Arcadia	E. E. Trogdan, Arcadia	1
960	Mulberry	George Crockett, Mulberry	1
1009	Osage City	John Billings, Osage City	1
1038	Minden Mines	A. M. Moore, Minden Mines	1
1064	Sheridan	Bish Slaughter, Sheridan	1
1074	Burlingame	Thomas Harvey, Pittsburg	1
1088	Cherokee	Frank Benintende, Cherokee	1
1093	Kirkwood	Louis Bourlard, 403 E. 9th St., Pittsburg	1
1149	Gross	Pete Hampson, Gross	1
1194	Breezy Hill	Frank Godinco, Breezy Hill	2
1212	Croweburg	Joseph Beinbrodt, Croweburg	2
1283	Edson	Hank Allari	2
1429	Pittsburg	Fred Parker, Pittsburg	1
1466	Capaldo	James Moriconi, Pittsburg	1
1607	Ringo	Frank Hoslett, Girard	3
1701	Peterton	John Billings, Osage City	1
1765	Stone City	W. C. Hamilton, Stone City	1
1790	Pittsburg	Sam Variot, Pittsburg	2
1820	Roseland	Wm. Larmour, West Mineral	1
1821	Arma	John Short, Arma	3
1870	Minden Mines	E. M. Barber, Minden Mines	2
1896	Croweburg	Thos. Nezel, Arma	1
1922	Croweburg	George W. Reid, Croweburg	2
1963	East Mineral	Gus Dwyer, Scammon	1

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
1 Mulberry	Charley Davis, Mulberry	1
2 Franklin	T. R. Beadle, Franklin	2
3 Cherokee	John Catterson, Cherokee	1
2 Gross	Dave Lase, Mulberry	1
1 Mulberry	Charley Higbee, Mulberry	1
3 Frontenac	B. T. Cordray, Pittsburg	1
7 Fostoria	Alex Howat, Pittsburg	1
2 Minden Mines	Ray Wolfington, Minden Mines	1
1 Franklin	Joe Wayenberg, Franklin	2
3 Pittsburg	J. A. Culver, R. R. 2, Pittsburg	1
2 Oskaloosa	Jesse Harvey, Oskaloosa	1
4 Klondike	George Creggs, Cherokee	1
1 Fleming	Emile Theys, Pittsburg	1
1 Edison	L. S. Harston, Edison	1
5 Dunkirk	Thomas Harvey, Pittsburg	1
7 Sunshine	M. L. Booker, Sunshine	1
1 Ringo	Chas. Dunn, Girard	3
5 Corona	E. J. Gillespie, Roseland	1
1 Radley	John Christo, Radley	1
1 Cockenill	R. K. Wilson, Girard	2
1 Radley	G. L. Peck, Pittsburg	1
1 Franklin	Ben Purgatori, Frontenac	2
1 Scammon	James McNamara, Scammon	1
1 Mulberry	A. A. Hook, Mulberry	1
1 Frontenac	Chas. Scavezze, Frontenac	1
1 Frontenac	James Ferns, Scammon	1
1 Frontenac	Alex Howat, Pittsburg	1
1 Radley	John Ryan, Radley	2
1 Radley	John Crisso, Radley	1
1 Arcadia	William Hammon, Mulberry	1
1 Pleasanton	Amos Standring, Rich Hill	1
1 Liberal	Roy Butler, Liberal	1
1 Ringo	Eugene Kennedy, Girard	1
1 Ringo	Dave Parr, Girard	1
1 Roseland	Thomas Harvey, Pittsburg	1
1 Litchfield	W. M. Prince, Pittsburg	1
1 Frontenac	Wm. Anderson, R. R. 1, Pittsburg	1
1 Arcadia	William Hammon, Mulberry	1
1 Hume	D. F. Morrell, Hume	1
1 Ardath	E. H. Guss, Arcadia	1
1 Chicopee	Edward Ferns, Pittsburg	1
1 Liberal	Roy Butler, Liberal	1
1 Mulberry	Wm. Rush, Mulberry	1
1 Arcadia	Tim Wheeler, Arcadia	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vo
3524	Mulberry	George L. Crockett, Mulberry	
3602	Minden Mines	J. E. Mewton, Minden Mines	
3669	Pittsburg	Robert Gilmour, Pittsburg	
3682	Croweburg	Geo. Reid, Croweburg	

DISTRICT NO. 15, COLORADO.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vot
186	Rockvale	James F. Moran, Nat'l Bank Bldg., Pueblo	
186	Rockvale	Albert Newcomb, Rockvale	
423	Walsenburg	Charles Allebach, Toltec	
834	Firestone	E. L. Doyle, Denver	
876	Oak View	John Hoard, Oak View	
1082	Pueblo	John M. O'Neill, Trinidad	
1388	Lafayette	Robert G. Bolton, Lafayette	
1662	Curtis	John McLennan, P. O. Box 1408, Denver	
1878	Delagua	J. W. Morris, Delagua	
2060	Aguilar	John R. Lawson, 1661 Williams St., Denver	
2483	Gorham	James Patterson, Gorham	
2546	Chandler	W. D. Dugh, Chandler	
2662	Gallup, New Mexico.....	Leo P. Galvin, Gallup, New Mexico	
2753	Frederick	E. L. Doyle, Frederick	tax
2850	Canon City	G. A. Pippin, Canon City	
2868	Morley	Thomas Conway, Morley	
3001	Maitland	Valentine Petarini Patton, Maitland	
3003	Leyden	J. W. Cunion, 121 Welton st., Denver	
3006	Haybro	John R. Lawson, Denver	
3008	Walsenburg	Chas. Allabaugh, Toltec	
3018	Ojo	Sterge Mavrodis, 3018 Ojo	
3020	Oak Cr��ek	Robert Llewellyn, Oak Creek	
3024	Tioga	Richard E. Shaw, Tioga	
3025	Camp Shumway	John Sherwood, Camp Shumway	
3033	Lester	Fred Franklin, Lester	
3034	Starkville	Joe Bosone, Starkville	
3035	Rapson	E. L. Doyle, Denver	
3044	Tollerburg	Gutierrez, Tollerburg	
3048	Sopris	Harry C. Stewart, Sopris	
3051	Mt. Harris	Robert Llewellyn, Oak Creek	
3053	Tioga	Richard Shaw, Tioga	
3095	Bowen	Alfonso Trujillo, Bowen	
3102	Toltec	Charles Allebach, Toltec	
3105	Ravenwood	Robert B. Huey, Ravenwood	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Puritan	John R. Lawson, 1661 Williams St., Denver	tax due
Ludlow	Robert Smith, Ludlow	1
Strong	Mike Salvage, Strong	1
Los Cerrilloc	Gus Mayer, Madrid, New Mexico	1
Crested Butte	James Hoy, Crested Butte	1
Gallup, New Mexico.....	Steve Katzmann, Gallup, New Mexico	1
Brodhead	Sebastian Pellizari, Broadhead	1
Rugby	Mike Livoda, Rugby	1
Picton	Valentine Patarini Patton, Box 174, Walsenburg	1

DISTRICT NO. 16, MARYLAND.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Piedmont, W. Va.....	Ross Raley, Bloomington, Md.	2
Piedmont	Thos. Wildman, Bloomington	1
Vale Summit, Md.....	Thomas J. Higgins, Vale Summit	1
Blaine, W. Va.....	Ed. McKinzie, Kitzmiller	4
Blaine	Joseph Weicht, Blaine, W. Va.	3
Mt. Jackson, Md.....	Henry Crump, Mt. Savage, Md.	2
Mt. Jackson	Joseph Stayder, Mt. Savage, Box 453	1
Bayard, W. Va.....	Steward Gayford, Bayard, W. Va.	1
Barton, Md.	Joseph Davis, Barton, Md.	3
Frostburg	John Broall, Frostburg	4
Frostburg	Daniel Evans, Frostburg	4
Lonaconing	Pat. McConnell, Lonaconing	3
Lonaconing	Robert Reynolds, Lonaconing	2
Lonaconing	Wm. Trickett, Midland	2
Midland	Patrick W. O'Rourke, Midland	3
Davis, W. Va.....	James H. Cox, Davis, W. Va.	1
Shaft, Md.	Ernest Layman, Shaft, Md.	2
Ben Bush, W. Va.....	H. J. DeWitt, Pierce, W. Va.	1
Thomas	H. J. DeWitt, Pierce	2
Shaw	Ross Raley, Bloomington, Md..	1

DISTRICT NO. 17, WEST VIRGINIA.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Blair	Joe Branham, Blair, W. Va.	1
Independence	W. T. Dadiman, Independence	1
Mammoth	James Van Camp, Mammoth	2
Simpson	C. E. Cain, Simpson	1
Carbondale	Steward Jenkins, Carbondale	1
Hernshaw	Arch Ferrell, Hernshaw	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vo
3524	Mulberry	George L. Crockett, Mulberry	
3602	Minden Mines	J. E. Mewton, Minden Mines	
3669	Pittsburg	Robert Gilmour, Pittsburg	
3682	Croweburg	Geo. Reid, Croweburg	

DISTRICT NO. 15, COLORADO.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vo
186	Rockvale	James F. Moran, Nat'l Bank Bldg., Pueblo	
186	Rockvale	Albert Newcomb, Rockvale	
423	Walsenburg	Charles Allebach, Toltec	
834	Firestone	E. L. Doyle, Denver	
876	Oak View	John Hoard, Oak View	
1082	Pueblo	John M. O'Neill, Trinidad	
1388	Lafayette	Robert G. Bolton, Lafayette	
1662	Curtis	John McLennan, P. O. Box 1408, Denver	
1878	Delagua	J. W. Morris, Delagua	
2060	Aguilar	John R. Lawson, 1661 Williams St., Denver	
2483	Gorham	James Patterson, Gorham	
2546	Chandler	W. D. Dugh, Chandler	
2662	Gallup, New Mexico.....	Leo P. Galvin, Gallup, New Mexico	
2753	Frederick	E. L. Doyle, Frederick	ta
2850	Canon City	G. A. Pippin, Canon City	
2868	Morley	Thomas Conway, Morley	
3001	Maitland	Valentine Petarini Patton, Maitland	
3003	Leyden	J. W. Cunion, 121 Welton st., Denver	
3006	Haybro	John R. Lawson, Denver	
3008	Walsenburg	Chas. Allabaugh, Toltec	
3018	Ojo	Sterge Mavrodis, 3018 Ojo	
3020	Oak Cr��ek	Robert Llewellyn, Oak Creek	
3024	Tioga	Richard E. Shaw, Tioga	
3025	Camp Shumway	John Sherwood, Camp Shumway	
3033	Lester	Fred Franklin, Lester	
3034	Starkville	Joe Bosone, Starkville	
3035	Rapson	E. L. Doyle, Denver	
3044	Tollerburg	Gutierrez, Tollerburg	
3048	Sopris	Harry C. Stewart, Sopris	
3051	Mt. Harris	Robert Llewellyn, Oak Creek	
3053	Tioga	Richard Shaw, Tioga	
3095	Bowen	Alfonso Trujillo, Bowen	
3102	Toltec	Charles Allebach, Toltec	
3105	Ravenwood	Robert B. Huey, Ravenwood	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Puritan	John R. Lawson, 1661 Williams St., Denver	tax due
Ludlow	Robert Smith, Ludlow	1
Strong	Mike Salvage, Strong	1
Los Cerrilloc	Gus Mayer, Madrid, New Mexico	1
Crested Butte	James Hoy, Crested Butte	1
Gallup, New Mexico.....	Steve Katzmann, Gallup, New Mexico	1
Brodhead	Sebastian Pellizari, Broadhead	1
Rugby	Mike Livoda, Rugby	1
Picton	Valentine Patarini Patton, Box 174, Walsenburg	1

DISTRICT NO. 16, MARYLAND.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Piedmont, W. Va.....	Ross Raley, Bloomington, Md.	2
Piedmont	Thos. Wildman, Bloomington	1
Vale Summit, Md.....	Thomas J. Higgins, Vale Summit	1
Blaine, W. Va.....	Ed. McKinzie, Kitzmiller	4
Blaine	Joseph Weicht, Blaine, W. Va.	3
Mt. Jackson, Md.....	Henry Crump, Mt. Savage, Md.	2
Mt. Jackson	Joseph Stayder, Mt. Savage, Box 453	1
Bayard, W. Va.....	Steward Gayford, Bayard, W. Va.	1
Barton, Md.	Joseph Davis, Barton, Md.	3
Frostburg	John Broall, Frostburg	4
Frostburg	Daniel Evans, Frostburg	4
Lonaconing	Pat. McConnell, Lonaconing	3
Lonaconing	Robert Reynolds, Lonaconing	2
Lonaconing	Wm. Trickett, Midland	2
Midland	Patrick W. O'Rourke, Midland	3
Davis, W. Va.....	James H. Cox, Davis, W. Va.	1
Shaft, Md.	Ernest Layman, Shaft, Md.	2
Ben Bush, W. Va.....	H. J. DeWitt, Pierce, W. Va.	1
Thomas	H. J. DeWitt, Pierce	2
Shaw	Ross Raley, Bloomington, Md..	1

DISTRICT NO. 17, WEST VIRGINIA.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Blair	Joe Branham, Blair, W. Va.	1
Independence	W. T. Dadiman, Independence	1
Mammoth	James Van Camp, Mammoth	2
Simpson	C. E. Cain, Simpson	1
Carbondale	Steward Jenkins, Carbondale	1
Hernshaw	Arch Ferrell, Hernshaw	2

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vot
722	Standard	Will Patrick, Standard	
750	Kayford	Ed. Holbrook, Kayford	
760	Laing	James Scoot, Laing	
841	Tunnelton	C. C. Montgomery, Tunnelton	
887	Flemington	Ira Marks, Flemington	
974	Milburn	Fin Johnson, Milburn	
1007	Eagle	J. B. Simms, Eagle	
1037	Carbondale	W. E. Craigo, Carbondale	
1166	Republic	W. H. Tumbull, Jocrin	
1209	Crown Hill	Judson Godfrey, Crown Hill	
1267	Burnwell	Bert E. Skeans, Burnwell	
1276	Boomer	O. A. Nietter, Boomer	
1292	Cannelton	F. R. Shepherd, Cannelton	
1314	Olcott	W. E. Zirkle, Olcott	
1335	Black Betsy	S. P. Alderman, Poca	
1425	Ohley	Henry J. Bayless, Ohley	
1448	Oakland	James E. Corbitt, Longacre	
1469	Austin	John H. Robertson, Austin	
1633	Rhonda	William Stone, Rhonda	
1661	Sharon	Frank Harras, Sharon	
1673	Hartford	John Schray, Hartford	
1674	Marfork	W. M. Evans, Marfork	
1808	Elk Ridge	G. R. Miller, Elk Ridge	
1818	Dry Branch	C. T. Keeney, Marmet	
1846	Whittaker	T. J. Lyons, Whittaker	
1861	Bentree	William Gray, Bentree	
1869	Longacre	Robert Peters, Longacre	
1914	Plymouth	Fred Mooney, Box 248, Charleston	
1931	Donwood	E. E. Oakes, Donwood	
1932	Boomer	M. L. Haptonstall, Boomer	
1950	Montgomery	Floyd Gay, Montgomery	
1952	Bloomingrose	W. B. Foster, Blooming Rose	
1977	Eagle	William Brown, Montgomery	
1982	Ivaton	B. H. Smith, Ivaton	
2014	Raymond City	J. W. Javins, Poca	
2015	Plymouth	Hobert Cundiff, Plymouth	
2018	Haywood	W. S. Reese, Haywood	
2022	Rosemont	Wm. Motley, Rosemont	
2032	Powellton	C. A. Thompson, Powellton	
2063	Sand Lick	Bruce McIntosh, Simpson	
2118	West Columbia	E. Williams, Maggie	
2120	Black Betsy	G. W. Shanks, Black Betsy	
2140	Gallagher	A. T. Lester, Gallagher	
2161	Brydon	Bruce McIntosh, Simpson	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
2 Marting	S. E. Montgomery, Marting	2
5 Lewiston	W. M. Carr, Lewiston	1
7 Monarch	J. W. McGruder	1
4 Ivaton	B. H. Smith Ivaton	1
3 Winifrede	A. C. Porter, Winifrede	3
1 Ivaton	B. H. Smith, Ivaton	1
7 Putney	Fred Mooney, Charleston	3
3 Crown Hill	R. J. Trimble	1
9 Bream	Earl Williams, Big Chimney	1
3 Decota	Frank Keeney, Charleston	1
3 Whitesville	George Carr, Whitesville	1
7 Kayford	James M. Fugate, Kayford	2
9 McClanan	M. F. Kerns, McClanan	1
3 Dorothy	J. B. Thompson, Dorothy	3
5 Jarrolds Valley	George Carr, Whitesville	1
3 Mahan	Calvin Smith, Mahan	1
1 Ward	A. J. Peters, Ward	5
1 Greencastle	T. J. Lyon, Whittaker	1
2 Wevac	C. F. Keeney, Charleston	1
7 Blair	Ben J. Williams, Blair	1
1 Cannelton	Walter Halsey	3
1 Ramage	Luther Baisden, Ramage	1
3 Eskdale	Wm. Blizzard, Eskdale	2
7 Cedar Grove	W. W. Lusk, Cedar Grove	1
1 Wevaco	F. F. Hartwell, Wevaco	1
3 Boomer	Chester Sanders, Boomer	1
3 Boomer	Dave Ware, Boomer	1
3 Clothier	George Norman, Clothier	1
3 Clothier	W. O. Brown, Clothier	1
1 Acme	Bud Smith, Warrior	1
1 Wendell	Joseph Povlok, Wendell	3
1 Wendell	Armendo Folio, Wendell	2
1 Cedar Grove	Rean Martin	1
1 Blair	K. D. Pratt, Blair	1
3 Blakely	Ben Racer, Blakely	1
1 Percyville	C. F. Keeney	1
1 Tunnelton	Taylor Osborne, Tunnelton	1
3 Gilmer	Letcher Townsend, Gilmer	1
3 Flemington	Ira Marks, Flemington	1
1 Coalfork	H. J. Bayless, Okley	1

DISTRICT NO. 18, CANADA.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vot
431	Bellevue	Robt. Livett, Bellevue	
574	Lethbridge	Steve Begala, Stafford Village	
1054	Brule	Hugh McDonald, Brule, Alberta	
1058	Hillcrest	Thomas Price, Hillcrest	
1746	Drumheller	Harry Smith, Drumheller, Alberta	
2314	Fernie	Wm. Potter, Fernie	
2314	Fernie	Thos. Briggs, Fernie	

DISTRICT NO. 19, TENNESSEE.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vo
130	Wallsend	G. D. Morland, Wallsend	
157	Wooldridge	John Baufle, Wooldridge, Tenn.	
200	Oswego	John Baufle, R. 2, Jellico	
587	Ferndale	G. F. Baker, Meldrum, Ky.	
890	Soddy	P. P. Lynch, Soddy, Tenn.	
890	Soddy	T. J. Smith, Soddy	
890	Soddy	J. M. Gorm, Soddy	
945	Arjay	Ben Delph, Arjay, Ky.	
1264	Harrison	E. P. Walsh, Harrison	
1308	Pittsburg	John Jeffrey, Pittsburg	
Less than 10 n			
1327	Davisburg	John Brooks, Davisburg	
2052	Cary	G. M. Stamper, Cary	
2517	Elys	James Gabbard, Elys	
2572	Coalmont	A. G. Duncan, Coalmont, Tenn.	
2673	Tracy City	W. E. Arbuckle, Tracy City	
2687	Meldrum	H. F. Reed, Meldrum, Ky.	
2884	Briceville	J. T. Brooks, Briceville, Tenn.	
2914	Gravity	C. H. Standifer, Gravity, Ky.	
2925	Bosworth	C. L. Vaughn, Bosworth, Ky.	
2929	Longmont	George Collins, Longmont	
2983	Chenoa	J. M. Hurst, Chenoa	
2984	Bennett	D. W. Cannon, Bennett, Tenn.	
2997	Tinsley	Joseph C. Hembee, Tinsley	
3161	Hollingsworth	J. H. Ledford, Hollingsworth, Ky.	
3162	Manring	W. C. Presley, Manring, Tenn.	
3164	Coal Creek	J. J. Henderson, Coal Creek	
3165	Bryson	W. B. Denney, Bryson	
3166	Kensee	Genasl Fraley, Jellico	
3167	Rim	John Paterson, Rim, Ky.	
3169	Shamrock	Quince Padgett, Shamrock, Ky.	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Hartranft	J. A. Branson, Hartranft, Tenn.	1
Fork Ridge	D. F. Price, Fork Ridge, Tenn.	2
Westbourne	A. W. Goins, Westbourne	1
Gatliff	Wm. Brady, Duff	1
Harlan	R. C. Ridings, Harlan, Ky.	2
Ages	Milt Bryant, Verda	1
Kitts	B. Cecil, Kitts, Ky.	1
Nichelson	J. F. Settle, Nichelson, Tenn.	1
Middleboro	H. N. West, Middleboro, Ky.	1
Gravity	C. L. Vaughn, Gravity	1
LaFollette	J. C. Claxton, LaFollette, Tenn.	2
LaFollette	Mathew Broyles, LaFollette	1
Newcomb	E. L. Terry, Newcomb	1
Mountain Ash	John M. Rains, Pleasant View, Ky.	1
Trosper	Stratton Campbell, Trosper	1
Blanche	Charles Eads, Blanche	1
Kettle Island	John Green, Kettle Island	1
Peabody	J. F. Hendren, Peabody, Tenn.	1
Eagan	P. T. Gammon, Eagan	1
Pruden	Joe Demarcus, Pruden	1
Caryville	J. N. Burnetti, Caryville	1
Morley	S. D. Bryant, Morley	1
Balkan	H. A. Lucy, Balkan	1
Varilla	Chesley Thompson, Varilla	1
Colmar	Price Cole, Colmar	1
Jellico	W. M. Hallars, Jellico, Tenn.	1
Chaska	George Hunter, Cupp	1
Gatliff	W. S. Smith, Gatliff, Ky.	2
Gatliff	J. H. Elsevick, Gatliff	1
Packard	Green Hamblin, Packard	2
Wheeler	J. B. Centers, Wheeler	1
Hosman	Robert B. McKeehan, Hosman	1
Wilton	W. R. Hix, Wilton	1
Red Ash	J. L. Goins, Red Ash	1
Tinsley	Joseph Hembree, Tinsley	1
Bell Jellico	A. B. Coon, Bell Jellico	1
Wilhot	R. C. Ridings, Harlin	1
Excelsior	H. F. Reed, Excelsior	1
Clairfield	W. T. Grubbs, Clairfield, Tenn.	1
Burchfield	Jas. J. Blanton, Molus	1
Wallins Creek	C. E. Mattingly, Kentenia	1
Cupp	P. D. Castleberry, Cupp, Tenn.	1
Colvan	Price Cale, Colvan, Ky.	1
Dale	C. T. Smith, Williamsburg, Ky.	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vo
3501	Elk Valley	Alfred Sharp, Elk Valley, Tenn.	
3509	Tatesville	John T. Farmer, Tatesville	
3525	Brumett	W. H. Foster, Williamsburg, Ky.	
3585	Titus	Alfred Sharp, Titus	
3594	Anthras	Rile Chambers, Anthras, Tenn.	
3597	Shamrock	Wm. Feeney, Pineville, Ky.	
3609	Davis Creek	George Hunter, Cupp, Tenn.	
3615	High Cliff	Aaron McKenney, Pruden	
3619	Ralston	W. E. Lynch, Ralston, Ky.	
3642	Caryville	J. M. Sharp, Caryville, Tenn	
3648	Red Ash	R. E. Walker, Caryville	
3644	Vasper	Wm. Nelson, Vasper	
3645	Caryville	John Emery, Caryville	
3646	Block	D. C. Newport, Block	
3650	Coxton	W. M. York, Coxton, Ky.	
3670	Fonde	Will Heaneger, Fonde	
3697	Harlan	B. Cecil, Harlin Town,	
3705	Black Joe	S. N. Saylor, Black Joe	
3727	Elys	James Gabbard, Elys	
3743	Artemus	W. J. Campbell, Artemus	

DISTRICT NO. 20, ALABAMA.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vol
823	Coal City	J. R. Kennamer, Birmingham	
952	Carbon Hill	Jas. D. Segass, Carbon Hill	
1182	Piper	Walter White, Piper	
1424	Caldale	J. R. Kennamer	
1525	Birmingham	W. L. Harrison, 1420 Peter ave., Birmingham	
1734	Altoona	J. R. Kennamer	tax
3223	Bessemer	James Gardner, Bessemer	
3225	Maylene	J. C. Cooper, Maylene	
3233	West Blocton	Wm. Mills, Birmingham	
3234	Red Eagle	Josh Jones, Red Eagle	
3237	Wylam	Jas. Woodman, Wylam	
3238	Pratt City	W. S. Schaffer, Pratt City	
3239	Coalmont	A. L. Briles, Maglene, R. F. D. 1, Coalmont	
3240	Roebuck	Len Perry, R. F. D. 1, Maylene	
3245	West Blocton	James Adams, Blocton	
3246	Johns	G. T. Deason, Box 72, Adger	
3255	Graves	Hansen Phillips, Birmingham	
3266	Sayre	W. S. Swinney, Sayre	
3268	Cardiff	A. Shadrick, Cardiff	

ocation.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
vel	G. E. Browning, Marvel	2
sey	J. H. Watkins, Garnsey	2
iblic	David Alexander, Republic	1
nde	I. W. Doles, Yolande	1
way	John G. Smith, R. R. 3, Carbon Hill	1
as	Ed. Castleberry, Kansas	1
Star	W. P. Ratliff, Red Star	1
ton	John Winn, Parrish	1
nley	Dave Ingram, Townley	1
stic	W. H. Cremeans, Morris R. 2, Majestic	1
ine	N. P. Martin, Quinton R. 3, Maxine	1
o	W. M. Jones, Quinton	1
.....	J. I. Drake, Adamsville	1
Creek	Wm. Marcus, Quinton	1
kwood	J. G. Brown, Brookwood	2
rman	John Bagwell, Kellerman	1
Valley	Walter H. Smith, Coal Valley	2
ral Bridge	J. R. Kennamer, Birmingham	1
met	Henry Bowser, Jasper	1
eellum	Brooks Fuller, Oakman	1
nan	J. F. Christin, Oakman	1
on	John L. Clark, Patton	2
oo	Major H. Francis, Nauvoo	1
worth	J. R. Kennamer, Birmingham	1
na	W. L. Peeples, Carona	1
iant	Walter Thompson, Brilliant	1

DISTRICT NO. 21, ARKANSAS-OKLAHOMA.

ocation.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Hill, Ark.....	William Wooten, Coal Hill, Ark.	1
lsior	Frank Savage, Greenwood	1
Oak	W. E. Thomas, Red Oak, Okla.	1
tington	H. L. Scott, Huntington, Ark	3
s	W. L. Yearwood, Bates	1
ar	Walter McLuckie, Dewar, Okla.	2
ams	Dave Evans, Bocoshe	1
.....	John Galbraith, Hartshorne	2
geport	S. C. Bingham, Bridgeport, Tex.	2
.....	M. J. Cathcart, Lyra	2
gate	Simon Phillips, Coalgate, Okla.	3
3	S. A. Connaughton, Paris, Ark.	1
shorne	W. L. Jones, Hartshorne, Okla.	2
urton	Thomas Guest, Wilburton	3

M.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	V
1131	Coalton	Tony Butch, Coalton	
1170	McCurtain	H. B. Long, McCurtain	
1176	Haileyville	Dan Brator, Haileyville	
1191	Coalgate	Hugh McKellip, Coalgate	
1303	Brewer	Ed. Victor, Brewer	
1315	Jenny Lind	R. C. Petty, Jenny Lind, Ark.	
1366	Lehigh	James Hughes, Lehigh, Okla.	
1526	Hartford	B. T. Card, Hartford, Ark.	
1530	Hartford	Ed. Long, Hartford	
1556	Russellville	R. F. Bunch, Russellville	
1565	Prairie	Geo. Manick, Prairie, Okla.	
1567	Hartford	Ben T. Card, Hartford, Ark	
1777	Cambria	Wm. Morris, Gowen	
1810	Jenny Lind	Lester Henson, Jenny Lind, Ark.	
1811	Phillips	W. W. Walker, Phillips, Okla.	
1814	Denning	Chas. Ireland, Denning, Ark.	
1816	Alderson	Oscar Cook, Alderson, Okla.	
1819	Lehigh	Thomas Gold, Lehigh	
1842	Greenwood	Thos. L. Rachels, Greenwood, Ark.	
1856	Pittsburg	George Yother, Pittsburg, Okla.	
1934	Hartman	H. W. Smith, Hartman, Ark.	
2028	Howe	Harry Brown, Howe, Okla.	
2053	Montana	Jas. Doyle, Montana, Ark	
2053	Montana	W. B. Wilson, Montana	
2053	Montana	Sam Sampson, Montana	
2084	Hughes	C. N. Davidson, Hughes, Okla.	
2097	Hartshorne	John Galbraith, Hartshorne	
2111	Ola	Neff Thurston, Wilburton	
2201	Bryant	Chas. M. Brown, Bryant	
2220	Calhoun	F. R. Hoffman, Calhoun	
2253	Alderson	Orval Neal, Alderson	
2283	Gowen	R. Null, Gowen	
2287	Dewar	Hugh J. Connor, Dewar	
2316	Milton	Andrew McGarry, Milton	
2317	McAlester	Wm. Dalrymple, McAlester	
2332	Henryetta	Jim Cates, Henryetta	
2415	Coalton	Alfred Frid, Coalton	
2492	Adamson	H. N. Cates, Adamson	
2494	Huntington	H. L. Scott, Huntington, Ark.	
2535	Strawn	W. W. Munford, Strawn, Tex.	
2538	Thurber	W. E. Crew, Thurber	
2557	Henryetta	J. A. Strunk, Henryetta, Okla.	
2566	Alix	Jas. H. Arbough, Denning, Ark.	
2590	Haileyville	J. H. Phillips, Haileyville, Okla.	

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Bokoshe	Dave Evans, Bokoshe	2
Wilburton	Tony Koch, Wilburton	2
Thurber	Marco Zannarini, Thurber, Tex.	5
Thurber	John Wilkinson, McAlester, Okla.	4
Greenwood	Frank Rooney, Greenwood, Ark.	1
Hartford	E. O. Holden, Hartford	1
Huntington	George Allsup, Huntington	4
Newcastle	W. E. Wimberly, Newcastle, Tex.	2
Bonanza	George Minton, Bonanza, Ark.	1
Clonsilla	Robert Rutherford, Adamson, Okla.	1
Bache	Owel Neal, Alderson	1
Schuller	Eph Green, Schuller	1
Dewar	Joe Isherwood, Henryetta	1
Tulsa	J. M. Wilkerson, R. 1, Box 118, Tulsa	1

DISTRICT NO. 22, WYOMING.

Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
Monarch	Elmer McElroy, Monarch, Wyo.	3
Reliance	Phil Sturholm, Reliance	4
Lion	John Lawson, Lion	2
Acme	Allen Rennie, Acme	2
Rock Springs	Paul J. Paulsen, Rock Springs	3
Rock Springs	Philip Jucanovich, Rock Springs	3
Rock Springs	Joseph McLee, Rock Springs	1
Rock Springs	Philip Jucanovich, Rock Springs	1
Dietz	E. D. Chesney, Dietz	3
Cumberland	Desire Gaspard, Cumberland	3
Superior	Frank Short, Superior	3
Oakley	H. Bryant, Oakley	2
Hanna	Alex. Kerr, Hanna	3
Hanna	John H. Crawford, Hanna	3
Diamondville	Paul J. Paulsen, Rock Springs	1
Frontier	James Morgan, Cheyenne	2
Glencoe	James Morgan, Cheyenne	1
Rock Springs	W. W. Gildroy, Rock Springs	1
Cambria	John L. Jenkins, Cambria	4
Superior	Walter Short, Superior	2
Hudson	James Morgan, Cheyenne	2
Gebo	John Knowles, Gebo	3
Crosby	E. Bretthauer, Crosby	3
Gunn	F. A. Molk, Gunn	3
Carneyville	John Conlon, Carneyville	2
Sublet	Mike Korman, Sublet	2
Point of Rocks	Paul J. Paulsen, Rock Springs	1

DISTRICT NO. 23, KENTUCKY.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Vot
6	Equality	Chas. Curtis, Ceralvo	
174	Bevier	Wood Hall, Cleaton	
188	Beech Creek	Robt. Rives, Beech Creek	
256	Corydon	W. C. Hopgood, 435 Alvasia st., Henderson	
487	Simmons	A. T. Davis, Simmons	
501	Hillside	H. H. Vincent, Central City	
602	Central City	George Baker, Central City	
607	Mercer	A. S. Gish, Mercer	
630	Browder	E. Martin, Browder	
631	Taylor Mines	H. L. Martin, Beaver Dam	
669	Bevier	Chas. Smith, Bevier	
669	Bevier	Dennis Young, Bevier	
678	Echols	Lonnie Jackson, Central City	
681	Hillside	A. R. Bryan, Hillside	
682	Powderly	J. Jarvis, Powderly	
708	Morganfield	Bally Cartwright, Morganfield	
716	Cleaton	J. E. Phelps, Cleaton	
809	McHenry	J. W. Beockburn, McHenry	
1017	Rockport	Harry Brown, Rockport	
1021	Henderson	Wm. Steinwoechs, 927 Wash. st., Henderson	
1091	Waverly	Clarence Williams, Waverly	
1124	Dekoven	J. E. Baettger, Dekoven	
1152	Baskett	E. S. Higgins, Baskett	
1282	Dekoven	Joe Andrews, Dekoven	
1289	Cleaton	P. L. Brigance, Cleaton	
1309	Morganfield	Bally Cartwright, Morganfield	
1630	Luzerne	C. S. Engler, Greenville	
1735	Midland	J. W. Wright, Midland	
1793	Render	R. C. Owens, McHenry	
1862	Mercer	J. A. Sweeney, Central City	
2166	Mercer	Lewis McDowell, Central City	
2214	Mannington	Robert Gray, Mannington	
2504	Mortwick	A. L. Messer, Mortwick,	
2600	Uniontown	George Schneider, Uniontown	
2613	Graham	James Todd, Graham	
2783	Nelson	W. D. Duncan, Central City	
2870	Diamond Block	J. F. Davis, Drakesboro	
3440	Hillside	A. J. Seiber, Hillside	
3441	Henderson	W. C. Hopgood, Henderson	
3534	Render	J. D. Walker, McHenry	
3590	Owensboro	Lonnie Jackson, Central City	

DISTRICT NO. 24, MICHIGAN.

1.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
8	St. Charles	Ed. McCullough, St. Charles	2
3	Bay City	Wm. Roberts, 173 Filmore st., Bay City	1
4	Saginaw	John Crutcheld, 901 S. Woodbridge st., Saginaw	1
4	Bay City	Robert Gaffney, 510 Farragut st., Bay City	2
4	Unionville	Lawrence Buckins, Unionville	1
6	Flint	John Crutchfield, Saginaw	1
4	Saginaw	John Harris, 2271 S. Hamilton, Saginaw	1
4	Saginaw	Wm. Diamond, Box 420, Cumberland, Md.	1
4	Saginaw	John Hatton, 1601 Gratest st., Sagi- naw, Mich.	1
6	Bay City	James B. Muir, 1118 N. Sheridan st., Bay City	1
4	Munger	John Crutchfield, Saginaw	2
2	Saginaw	Charles Findley, Saginaw	1

DISTRICT NO. 25, MISSOURI.

1.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
5	Keota	Robert Gruber, Keota	8
1	Lexington	George W. Robinson, Lexington	2
1	Lexington	George Canning, Lexington	2
1	Lexington	John Rosenberg, Lexington	2
1	Lexington	W. A. Ford, Lexington	3
1	Lexington	Hub Haydon, Lexington	2
1	Lexington	John Gueguen, Lexington	2
3	Bucklin	George Hepple, Moberly	1
3	Higginsville	Wm. Ward, Higginsville	8
3	Richmond	R. J. Lee, Richmond	5—1 ex.
3	Richmond	D. S. McCall, Richmond	5
7	Higginsville	David A. Frampton, Moberly	1
1	Perry	George Hepple, Moberly	1
9	Higbee	Jesse W. Whitmore, Higbee	3
9	Bevier	Wm. T. Thomas, Bevier	3
7	Fleming	David Smart, Orrick, R. F. D. 3	1
1	Higbee	O. Bradley, Higbee	2
3	Ardmore	Manford Taylor, Ardmore	3
3	Ardmore	P. T. Peterson, Ardmore	3
2	Macon	George Hepple, Moberly	1
1	Elliott	Geo. Hepple, Moberly, less than 10 members	
3	Deep Water	Arch Helm, Deep Water	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
1089	Waverly	John Closterman, Waverly	2
1135	Huntsville	James E. Jones, Huntsville	3
1226	Novinger	John Warwick, Novinger	2
1231	Wellington	Horace Beauford, Wellington	1
1400	Coder	Arch Helm, Wellington	2
1442	Novinger	Jas. Cooley, Novinger	2
1442	Novinger	Jas. Mobney, Novinger	1
1442	Novinger	D. A. Frampton, Moberly	1
1472	Napoleon	George Hepple, Moberly	1
1611	Leavenworth	A. W. Hopkins, Leavenworth, Kan.	3
1827	Lexington	George Miller, Lexington, Mo.	4
1858	Leavenworth	Al. Hopkins, Leavenworth, Kan.	2
1874	Sanwick	D. A. Frampton, Moberly, Mo.	1
1875	Brookfield	George Hepple, Moberly	1
1928	Camden	D. A. Frampton, Moberly	1
1942	Novinger	John Jackson, Novinger	1
2143	Marceline	R. T. Washburn, Marceline	3
2480	Stahl	James Mooney, Novinger	1
2669	Bowen	D. A. Frampton, Moberly	tax due
2686	Kirksville	Ed. Schneideke, Kirksville	4
2695	Trenton	Andrew Steele, Novinger	1
2855	Kirksville	D. A. Frampton, Moberly	1
2862	Waterloo	Arch Helm, Waterloo	1
3450	Wellington	Clyde Taulton, Wellington	1

DISTRICT NO. 27, MONTANA.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
370	Belt	John J. Bahnack, Belt	1
703	Lehigh	John Laird, Lehigh	3
858	Bear Creek	John P. Kane, Bear Creek	3
1340	Bridger	Stephen Ely, Bridger	1
1585	Carpenter	Mack Stigler, Carpenter	2
1727	Bear Creek	Wm. Dempster, Bear Creek	1
1729	Bear Creek	David McKee, Bear Creek	2
1733	Bear Creek	George Irvine, Bear Creek	1
1771	Red Lodge	Adam Whitehead, Red Lodge	4
1771	Red Lodge	Max Novack, Red Lodge	4
2020	Sand Coulee	Stephen Ely, Bridger	3
2020	Sand Coulee	Wm. Day, Sand Coulee	3
2301	Stockett	Steve Evanko, Stockett	2
2659	Washoe	Stephen Ely, Bridger	2
2860	Musselshell	Adam Wilkinson, Roundup	1
2866	Roundup	Val Bailly, Roundup	3

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
3478	Roundup	Adam Wilkinson, Roundup	1
3574	Klein	R. D. Jones, Klein	5

DISTRICT NO. 28, VANCOUVER.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
2388	Ladysmith	David Irvine, Seattle, Wash.	1

DISTRICT NO. 29, WEST VIRGINIA.

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
87	Elmo	Marvin McNeal, Ansted	1
252	Teny	Joe Patton, Teny	1
302	Wright	John Gatherum, Beckley	1
312	Jodie	N. O. Skaggs, Jodie	1
321	Michigan	L. M. McNeil, Lansing	1
654	Whipple	Patrick Gilmore, Whipple	1
693	Ansted	Z. W. Campbell, Ansted	2
847	Stone Cliff	Wm. B. Brown, Stone Cliff	1
1454	Ansted	Z. W. Campbell, Ansted	1
1522	Caperton	F. S. Sellers, Caperton	1
1770	Elverton	J. L. Green, Elverton	1
1788	Wyndal	John Gatherum, Beckley	1
1935	Lansing	S. S. Christian, Lansing	1
1938	Grand View	C. R. Williams, Grand View	1
2016	Mabscott	G. W. Scott, Wickham	2
2046	Cancho	Frank P. Davis, Cancho	1
2205	Spragon	James Harvey, Spragon	1
2321	Sullivan	Lawrence Dwyer, Beckley	1
2325	Warden	Lawrence Dwyer, Beckley	1
2456	Warden	Lawrence Dwyer, Beckley	1
2639	Cranberry	Marshall Price, Beckley	1
2670	Eccles	John Kennedy, Eccles	2
2839	Kay Moore	G. W. Decker, Fayetteville, R. F. 1, Box 31	2
2894	Ansted	Z. W. Campbell, Ansted	1
2898	Fayetteville	L. M. McNil, Lansing	1
2941	Page	J. M. Cox, Page	3
2942	Carlisle	G. O. Risis, Carlisle	1
2953	Edmond	George Blizzard, Edmond	1
2958	Sanger	Sam L. Craft, Minden	1
2968	Minden	Sam L. Craft, Minden	4
2969	Harvey	J. C. Hill, Hill Top	1
2972	Layland	Joe Patton, Layland	1

L.U.	Location.	Name and Address of Delegate.	Votes.
2973	Macdonald	Wm. Fink, Macdonald	1
2974	Hawknest	L. M. McNeil, Lansing	1
2982	Thayer	Lawrence Dwyer, Beckley	1
3082	Lansing	S. S. Christian, Lansing	1
3172	Kilsytne	J. D. Zeller, Kilsytne	2
3194	Scarbro	L. H. Pepperd, Scarbro	1
3196	Red Star	J. C. Hill, Hilltop	1
3197	Sun	Thomas J. Price, Sun	3
3203	Glen Jean	J. S. Baker, Glen Jean	1
3207	Affinity	O. Dempsey, Affinity	1
3212	Stanaford	J. J. Deckerson, Beckley	1
3220	Willis Branch	Lawrence Dwyer, Beckley	1
3247	Raleigh	Willis Cooper, Raleigh	1
3253	Cliff Top	Z. W. Campbell, Ansted	1
3283	Long Branch	John Gatherum, Pax	1
3435	Lawton	Joe Patton, Beckley	1
3502	South Nutall	Joe Green, Elverton	1
3549	Laurel Creek	John Gatherum, Beckley	1
3560	Slabfork	L. Wolker, Slabfork	1

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MOSSOP,
ALBERT NEUTZLING,
T. G. MORGAN,
Credentials Committee.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS.

Delegate O'Neil, secretary of the committee, continued the report of the committee as follows:

ANTHRACITE WAGE AGREEMENTS.

The Anthracite Mine Workers have also secured two supplemental wage agreements carrying with them large and substantial increases in wages since the adoption of their regular agreement April 1, 1916, and continuing to March 31, 1920. In addition the regular agreement carried with it the eight-hour day, which marks the close of the long and tedious struggle of the anthracite mine workers for this great reform.

The committee highly commends the work accomplished in the anthracite region and concurs in the President's report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

FEDERAL FUEL ADMINISTRATION.

The Committee on Officers' Reports concurs in this part of the President's report and recommends that this convention pledge to Dr. H. A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator for the United States, their unqualified support and co-operation in his great task. Also on behalf of the union mine workers of the nation pledge him the maximum production of coal possible in our jurisdiction.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

CAMPAIGNS IN UNORGANIZED FIELDS.

The committee recommends the continuation of the campaigns in the unorganized fields of the country and are pleased at the progress that has been made in Southeastern Kentucky and Eastern Tennessee and Alabama, as well as other sections of the country. We also commend that section of the President's report which reads as follows:

"The International Executive Board, in the early part of last year, decided to take over and administer the affairs of the organizations in the partially organized and non-supporting districts. It became necessary, in line with this policy, to suspend the autonomy of our non-supporting districts in order to more successfully carry on our organizing work. In the past dual authority seriously interfered with the success of our efforts. The result in the above mentioned districts fully justifies the action of the Board in this respect."

The committee concurs in the report of the President.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

LITIGATION.

In the cases of the Coronado Coal Company and others against the United Mine Workers of America and the Hitchman Coal Company against the United Mine Workers, the committee heartily agrees with the report of the President in this most important matter and urge that such steps be taken as will properly protect our interests, referring the entire matter for action to the special committee to be provided by the

President to formulate a policy to meet the issues presented in these cases.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

INCREASE IN PER CAPITA TAX.

After a careful investigation of the report of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer on the financial necessities of our union the Committee on Officers' Reports is convinced that the increased cost of everything necessary to conduct the affairs of our union requires an increase in the per capita tax to the International sufficient to meet their needs. Inasmuch as this is a constitutional question, the matter is referred to the Committee on Constitution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

INCREASE IN SALARIES OF EMPLOYES AND OFFICERS.

The committee concurs in this part of the President's report and the action of the International Executive Board in recognizing the rights of the employes and officers of the organization to receive an advance in their wages, on a percentage basis equal to that received by the membership, in order that they might meet the increased cost of living.

The report of the committee was adopted.

EMPLOYMENT OF FORMER PRESIDENT WHITE.

The committee has carefully considered this portion of the President's report and are of the firm opinion that the United Mine Workers of America should maintain proper representation in the Advisory Department of the Fuel Administration during the period of the war in order that the interests of the mine workers of the country may be properly protected and that our views on all the great questions that are arising and will continue to arise during this time may be properly presented. We believe that the settlements already secured through this agency, benefiting thousands of mine workers, provides more than ample justification for maintenance of this position. Even though the government was willing to pay our representative a salary, the necessity of our union to have an independent spokesman in this position convinces

the committee that proper representation is by having a member of our union, paid and supported by our union, act as labor adviser to the U. S. Steel Administration.

The committee therefore heartily concurs in this part of the President's report and the action of the International Executive Board in employing former President White to fill this very important position and commend to the convention that he be continued during the period of the war.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Arscott, District 12: I would like to have a resolution on this subject read.

Vice-President Lewis: The resolutions bearing on this subject are in the hands of the Resolution Committee and will be reported on by that committee.

Delegate Arscott: If we take action now the resolution will not be acted on.

Vice-President Lewis: The action taken today will precede any action taken by that committee. Action on this report will be final.

Delegate Arscott: I move the calling up of that resolution. Either that or I will move to defer action.

Vice-President Lewis: You cannot call up a resolution under the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports.

Delegate Arscott: Can't I move to defer action?

Vice-President Lewis: No. The committee's report must be voted up or down; you cannot defer action.

Delegate Fontecchio, District 12: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates:—Most of you know that John P. White is no longer president of our organization. Of course, when he resigned the understanding was that he would get a position with the government. There is no dispute as to John P. White's honesty. John P. White was the best president this organization ever had. There is no dispute about that at all. We under-

stand, however, that John P. White is today in the employ of the government and not in the employ of our organization. I object to paying the salary, not because it is too much money to pay him, but because it establishes a precedent in this organization, and in the future any time an officer feels satisfied to resign his office and go to any other employment he can remain on the pay-roll just as John P. White is doing.

I hope the war madness will not work on you as it did last Saturday and make it appear as though the Germans are at the Union Station and if you are not careful they will get you today. We are willing to do our share to help the government during the war, but remember that John P. White has resigned as your officer and is now working for the government. If you accept the report of the committee you might as well declare that you are going to pay the salary of any mine manager, superintendent or even operator. That is what it means. As I said before, any officer or individual wishing to leave this union, if you establish this precedent, can remain on the pay-roll all his life. Suppose you have officers in your organization and they accept positions from other employers or from the government, you will have to pay all these individuals' salaries. If you are satisfied to do that, all right, but it will be establishing a bad precedent.

Delegate Murray, Chairman of the Committee: If there is one part of the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports that we did not expect any debate upon it is this section. I might explain to the delegation that the services of John P. White, the ex-President of this International Union, were commandeered by the United States government; he was conscripted by our government, as it were, into this service as an adviser to the Fuel Administrator. Acting as adviser with Mr. White is Mr. Rembrandt Peale, who is representing the vast interests of the coal companies of America. Mr. Peale receives one dollar per year from the United States government, but his salary while acting in this capacity is well taken care of by the coal operators. We feel that the interests of this great organization should be protected, and the International Executive Board, in its wisdom decided that because of the great task that International President White had to perform he should be continued in this position during the period of the war. If the coal operators of this country can pay the adviser who is acting for them, surely this great United Mine Workers

of America, in order to have our interests amply and properly protected, should say to the world in a dignified way that we are going to pay our former International President a salary during the period of the war to protect our interests.

It is needless for me to debate that question in this convention; the results already obtained speak for themselves. Here you have miners on each side of the hall that two years ago, or before the country declared war, had but very little representation in this convention. I refer especially to the miners from eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. But due to the activity of our ex-International President, acting as adviser to the Fuel Administrator, we have succeeded in securing substantial recognition for the coal miners of eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. Two years ago the coal miners of Alabama were but sparsely represented in this convention. Today they have a splendid delegation here, and I am told that but one week ago, due to the activities of our ex-International President, we succeeded in securing substantial recognition of the organization in Alabama.

Those things are well worth your consideration; they speak for themselves, and this great international convention should say to the people of our nation and to the people of the world that it proposes to continue in an advisory capacity ex-International President White during the period of the war for the purpose of protecting the interests of the coal miners of America.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair wants to recognize on this question a man who, more than any other delegate in this convention, can speak of the services of ex-President White in the districts mentioned by the chairman of the committee. Delegate Bittner, of Tennessee, was on his feet preceding Chairman Murray, and he gave way in order to let the position of the committee be known.

Delegate Bittner: Speaking for every delegate from southeastern Kentucky and Tennessee, speaking for the miners there and for their wives and little children, I can fully support the report of the committee and recommend it for a unanimous vote on this occasion. The argument of my friend who opposed the committee's report was so ridiculous it needs no answer. The precedent that has been established, if it can only be continued, not as a war measure, but for all time in the coal mining

industry of this country, will be well worth the trouble and the money expended by the United Mine Workers of America. When a great strike of 25,000 coal miners was on in southeastern Kentucky and Tennessee the coal operators there, backed up by the powerful steel corporation and railroad corporations, were determined never to recognize the Mine Workers' organization; but because of the fact that International President White was a member of the Fuel Administration as an adviser to Dr. Garfield we were able to get a conference with those operators and a final settlement that meant the greatest victory for the Mine Workers' organization in any non-union coal field in this country for many years. If nothing else had been accomplished than that it was more than worth the few thousand dollars expended in salary.

Yes, we are willing to pay men who work in our interests for the government of the country. If they would appoint our ex-President to serve as President of the United States or as United States Senator the Mine Workers' organization, the intelligent members of our union, would be willing to pay his salary. What was the motive, so far as some of the great captains of industry of this country were concerned, when they decided that the advisers should be paid only one dollar per year? It was because they felt that representatives of labor did not have the money to take those positions at one dollar a year and keep themselves and their families. They thought that by paying one dollar a year salary they would keep every representative of labor in this country off of the advisory boards that are part of our government during this war. That was the purpose, and the man or men who will stand up in this convention and say we are establishing a dangerous precedent and should not pay this salary and these expenses of our International President are merely playing into the hands of men who do not want representatives of organized labor on these different government boards.

There is no man here who can deny the fact that as adviser to Dr. Garfield our ex-International President has probably done more for the coal miners in the unorganized fields of this country than could have been done in ten years without his assistance. I hope, therefore, that this convention will, in a dignified way, in a way that will show its bigness instead of its smallness, approve of the action of the International Executive Board and say to ex-President White: "God speed you on your way

in the great and noble work you are performing as labor adviser to Dr. Garfield."

President Hayes: I think we are all agreed that we should have representation in the Federal Fuel Administration; and I believe we are also agreed that there is no man better qualified to represent this union than former President White, because of the great experience he has had in these matters during the past several years. There seems to be an impression abroad in the land that ex-President White is receiving a salary from this union and also from the government. That is not true. He receives no salary from the government of the United States and he is not able financially to remain in Washington unless he was paid by someone. I want to make that point clear. I need not say that he has assisted us materially and defended our interests on numerous occasions since he has been in Washington. It was decided when the International Board passed upon this matter that if the government paid him a salary we would not pay him. That is right and just, and I think it has met the approval of the great rank and file of our organization.

I don't think this needs any extended debate, but I wanted to bring that home to our delegates so they would know why our organization was paying the salary.

A number of delegates asked that debate be closed.

Vice-President Lewis: Is there a sufficient number who wish debate closed?

A number of delegates arose.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair is of the opinion that debate has not been closed.

Delegate Sivil, District 14: I desire to protest against that report. I don't think for a minute that John P. White is any better than one of the boys who puts a rifle on his shoulder and goes across the water. I don't believe he should get \$5,000 a year and the one who goes to fight the battle get \$30 a month. If he would get a salary like ours I would not object. You know as well as I do that it is a good thing to have John P. White work for the government, but I don't believe in paying \$5,000 to some man while we get about \$500 a year for our work. I object to that

salary of \$5,000 a year. Are you going to pay the man who takes a rifle on his shoulder and goes across the water \$5,000 a year? No, you are not going to do that. If you are going to pay John P. White anything, pay him on the basis we are paid for our labor. For God's sake cut out some of this expense.

Delegate Halls (H.), District 12: I rise at this time to oppose the payment of this salary to former President White. I believe if he had remained in office and allowed the Vice-President to handle his work it would be proper for him to remain on the pay-roll. If the position he holds is so important to the government he should be paid by the government. There is no man in this meeting who has any more respect for former President White than I have, but I am not in favor of creating a new office at this time. One section of the report asks for more per capita tax and the next one recommends a donation of \$5,000 a year. That does not look consistent to me, and I oppose it. We have many officers in the various states that represent labor. I have an appointment to represent labor on the Council of Defense. I would have as much right to resign the job I have, allow another man to be put in my place to draw the wages, then go ahead with the other work and still expect to draw my pay. If you take this step for President White I have the same right to do it in Illinois. I do the miners' work and then work nights as much as I can to help the government win this war. Therefore I am going on record opposing the payment of this salary to former President White.

Delegate McVey, District 12: I believe I have a right to be heard a little bit, for I have been in the organization since its inception. Under the conditions existing today it is necessary for every activity and every industry to have a person in the government to look after its interests. There is no industry in this country that is more essential to carrying on the work of the government than coal mining, and no men are more a factor than the miners. This government is made up of the people and we are part of the government. We don't want to get the idea into our heads that the government is anything else. We are the government and we want a representative there. No man is more qualified to represent us than John P. White. A man is the servant of the interest that pays him. John P. White is our servant and he will look after our interests in

the government. In my opinion that should be the highest office in the organization and we should pay the man who holds it.

Delegate Arscott, District 12: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—The chairman of the committee made the remark that our International President has been conscripted. Well, if he has been conscripted I am not going to oppose the adoption of the committee's report. I believe he should get a salary. I realize the valuable man we have lost in John P. White, if he has been conscripted to look after the affairs of our organization, and I would be willing to continue his salary. However, I don't know that that statement is correct. I understand it is voluntary on his part. I also understand that it is a procedure in the United Mine Workers that when a raise is given by the contract all our officials from the doorkeeper up shall have automatic raises. I notice that our International Executive Board has taken that course and that very little objection is offered to it.

Now we are going to pay another salary to an official that is not functioning direct in the work of the organization he was elected for. We are asking for a raise in the per capita tax. When you go back home and tell the men the International President's salary will be \$10,000, to be divided between Frank Hayes and Mr. White, there will be objections raised. We had no objection to the Executive Board raising the salary, but if the convention will do this it will be wrong. I believe if Mr. White is going to get this \$5,000 a year it should be submitted back home to the rank and file to vote on. I know it is said the joint contract is to be ratified by this convention and I had my instructions how to vote, but I have no instructions as to how I am to vote on this salary of \$5,000 a year to Mr. White.

Delegate Burke, District 13: I don't know what kind of logic the delegates use when they will oppose a proposition of this kind. The operators' associations are paying Rembrandt Peale to represent them, and they will continue to pay him. If John P. White doesn't serve in the capacity of labor advisor to the Federal Fuel Administrator some one else will. If he does not serve, who will? This does not cost you men much more than a cent each for the year. Already district presidents from all over the country have appealed to John P. White to use his in-

fluence to get them assistance in making their contracts. We cannot afford to have any other man than John P. White in that position.

I don't think we should take up any more time discussing this question. Certainly your constituents want you to come here and do the best you can for them. Do you want to take our former president out of the position he now holds and allow Dr. Garfield to put another man in there? If he does that Dr. Garfield will have to select a man who can afford to work without salary from the government. The man who serves will have to get his pay from some source, and I would rather have our International organization pay the salary of the labor advisor of the Fuel Administrator than have him paid by any other interest.

Delegate Harston: I was not instructed directly by my local union what to do when I left home, but was told to do what I thought best when I came here. I don't think there is a man in our organization more deserving of a salary of \$5,000 a year to work in our interests than John P. White. I am willing to pay the \$5,000, and if the proportionate increase the other national officers have received will apply to that, I am willing to have that paid also. I don't think we have a man who would do this organization any more good in a national way than John P. White.

Delegate Jones (J. T.), District 12: I happen to be one of these fellows who have been conscripted by the government and I am entitled to as much consideration as our former president. I maintain that the previous speakers who have wrapped themselves in Old Glory for the past two days seem to have lost sight of the fact that the Service Flag was hanging over their heads. Are not the men represented by these stars as much entitled to consideration as John P. White or any other member of the organization? I have wrapped myself in Old Glory just as patriotically as any other man in this country, although at one time a subject of a monarchical country in Europe. Four of my brothers have sacrificed their lives on the European battlefield. I contend this matter should not be decided by the delegates to this convention. The rank and file should vote on this proposition. If we are going to pay John P. White \$5,000 a year, every man who goes to Europe—and no doubt with my military experience of five years I will be one of

the victims—is just as much entitled to consideration as John P. White or any other official or organizer of the International organization.

Delegate Flyzik, District 10: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I do not want to needlessly consume the time of this convention by discussing the question before you at great length; but I feel it devolves upon me to correct what I believe is an erroneous impression that was sought to be created by some of the former speakers. They have inferred that we are endeavoring to establish a very dangerous precedent by paying the salary of a man to represent the coal mine workers of this country in a political capacity. Let me call the attention of these delegates to the fact that John P. White is not representing the organization in a political capacity, but in an industrial capacity; he is serving in a department created by the government to administer the affairs of the coal miners and coal operators of this nation.

As has been pointed out by previous speakers, if you vote down the report of the committee the coal operators or some of the politicians will put a man in there and willingly pay his salary to do their bidding. Let me cite to you a little experience we had in the State of Washington. When the increase granted to the mine workers of that State was under discussion Fuel Administrator Garfield designated a man to supervise the coal industry of our State. This man, who I understand had political ambitions, immediately began to play politics with the needs and conditions of the miners of District 10. After you had your increase conceded in the Eastern States we met our operators and agreed on a satisfactory contract. When we appeared before our State fuel administrator we were given to understand that he was clothed with authority to wipe out the wide differential that existed between Washington, Illinois, Ohio and the Eastern States. He also told the representatives of our organization that the increase would not go into effect until the first of this year. What were we to do? Some one perhaps will suggest that we ought to strike. If we had pursued that course and remained on strike two or three weeks the mine workers would have lost thousands of dollars in wages, so we took an entirely different course.

We found out that President White was representing us in Washington as labor advisor to Dr. Garfield and we served notice on our

State fuel administrator that the increase would go into effect at a designated time set by the mine workers; and if it did not we would challenge his authority to hold it up. We telegraphed to President White and explained the situation to him. What occurred? The Washington State fuel administrator got his instructions from Dr. Garfield to lay off the miners increases, that he had no power to make that the issue in our State. When he found he could not deny us the increase—still playing politics—he created a commission to hold an extensive investigation to determine whether the coal operators of our State were entitled to an increase in the price of coal to meet the increases granted the mine workers. Even to this date he has not handed down a definite decision. The operators of our State have been paying the increase and hoping they will be able to realize the amount the same as other operators have through the increase allowed them by the Federal Fuel Administrator. So I say that John P. White has already earned his salary, not for one but for two or three years, by the stand he took for the Washington mine workers when we had this dispute with the state fuel administrator.

If this was a political position I would oppose it myself; but it is not a political position, it is a position created to protect the industrial welfare of the United Mine Workers. If you vote against the report of the committee you will not be taking a slam at John P. White. He is willing to surrender the position if you say so, but one year from now you will miss him from Washington and you will be kicking yourselves for voting the proposition down. So far as holding up the war mask is concerned, I have no desire to do that or to appeal to your patriotism on this subject. This is a business proposition. Mr. White is not in Washington to offer advice to the political or military departments; he is there to protect your interests so the politicians and the unscrupulous coal operators will not take advantage of you. So I say it is to your advantage to keep a man in Washington to serve in that capacity and to protect your interests during these abnormal times.

Delegate Sweeney, District 9: Mr. Chairman, I am somewhat surprised at the position some of the delegates take in regard to the report of the committee. We ought to have a man in the important position Mr. White now fills. If we do not have some one to look after our interests we will pay a corporation attorney thousands of dollars. Look

over the reports of the national officers and see the thousands of dollars that have been paid to attorneys. Then you object to giving John P. White a salary of \$5,000 to serve as your representative in the Federal fuel administration. You have paid ten times as much to cheap attorneys who gave you bad advice and set you on the wrong road.

The men who say John P. White should not get this salary, even though we have to increase the per capita tax to do it, are not fit to represent their locals in this convention. You have the Red Cross and other organizations at the collieries and the coal companies' officials will come to the miners and ask for money for these institutions. Anything the superintendent of a colliery asks for you will come across with, but you are split here on the question of paying our former International President a salary of \$5,000 a year to look after our interests. You ought to be glad to pay \$5,000 a year to have a representative like John P. White in such a position to look after your interests.

Delegate McGuinn, District 12: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I sat here all last week and listened very attentively to the debate. This morning I am somewhat surprised to see the different front presented by some of the delegates who spoke on the question of ratifying the Washington Agreement. Last week, as I remember, our government was lauded to the skies; you were told of all the concessions the United Mine Workers had received at the hands of our government, and this morning some of the speakers have told you that if we do not pay John P. White a salary of \$5,000 a year we are not going to get any concessions from our government. Now, how do you suppose the records of this convention will appear to the rank and file? What will they think when they read the records and see that their delegates were told the government had granted all the concessions we asked for, and then on Monday morning of the second week of our convention the government is condemned and we are told unless we pay John P. White \$5,000 salary we cannot get any concessions? That may sound good to some of the delegates and tickle their ears, but it doesn't sound good to me. If it was logical last week to advise the delegates to have faith in our present governmental administration I believe it is just as wise on this Monday morning to give us the same advice and continue our faith in our government.

I, for one, am opposed to paying John P. White a salary of \$5,000 a year. As some of the previous speakers have said, it will cost only a little over a penny a day. If you will take the report of the Credentials Committee you will perceive that numerous delegates have had to appear before that committee—for what? To make a faithful promise to the Credentials Committee and to Secretary Green that they will use their influence when they return home to get their respective local unions to pay up their per capita tax. That does not speak very well for the miners, and, as my friend Sweeney over here stated a few minutes ago, back in the East if the operators and superintendents and pit bosses tell you to contribute a dollar a month this month to the Red Cross and another dollar next month their word goes and you come across. A few minutes previous to that the statement was made that the delegates who were opposing the payment of this salary were not fit to be in this convention. Now, if I am to be any judge and if I am to take Sweeney's remarks for anything, I think the place he had reference to and the men condemned by him are not worthy of membership in our organization. I would hate to get up here and speak as a representative of a local union and tell in one breath of the great loyalty of the members as union men, and then in the next breath tell us that the superintendent controls the organization in that part of the field. That is no credit to the members Delegate Sweeney represents.

I am opposed to paying John P. White a salary of \$5,000 to act as labor advisor to the Fuel Administrator, because of the fact that we have been led to believe that all the mine workers had to do was to ask for concessions from the government to receive them. If that was logical last week it is logical now. If we could get these concessions last week we can get them in the future without paying John P. White a salary. If we cannot get these concessions it is time for the delegates to know whether the statements contained in the records of last week are true or not. I believe the rank and file of this organization have intelligence enough to say by their votes whether John P. White shall receive a salary of \$5,000 a year or not, and until they have a vote on the question I am certainly going to enter my protest against the salary being paid him at the hands of this delegation.

Delegate Pressly, District 19: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—
—I want to speak to you for just a few minutes and appeal to the com—

mon sense and reasoning faculties of this delegation. If any of you delegates were being prosecuted in a civil court and you were not guilty, or even though you were guilty, would you be willing to sit before the judge and have one side of the case argued and nobody represented on the other side?

It has been stated by several speakers that this proposition should be submitted to the rank and file for a vote. I think if it were submitted fairly and squarely to the rank and file the members would unanimously support the report of the committee. If the question were to be asked the rank and file of this organization by the delegates when they go home to their respective local unions, "Are you willing, when you have cases to come before the government, to have Mr. Rembrandt Peale act solely in an advisory capacity for the coal operators and have no one on our side to argue our case?" Are you willing to have Mr. Rembrandt Peale act altogether in an advisory capacity for the operators and have some man whose convictions you know nothing of act for you? Certainly you are not. You should be heartily in favor of having a representative for our side inasmuch as the operators have a man to look after their interests. We ought to have a man on our side whose convictions we know are sound and who is loyal to our organization.

No doubt Mr. Rembrandt Peale receives a salary from the coal operators or from some other source; we know he is not serving for one dollar a year. I believe we need a man on our side who is capable of producing facts concerning labor organizations and the mine workers' organization. Who is more qualified to fill that position than John P. White, who has worked in the mines as a trapper, and has from that place built himself up to the position he now holds? I am heartily in favor of the committee's report.

Delegate Dobbins (Ed.), District 12: I am not surprised at the opposition nor the place from which it comes. Ex-President White has met this same opposition at every stage of the game on every question he has advocated in this union. It is identically the same opposition. I am not going to bring anybody here from the trenches to help me out in my argument; I have been hollering for the boys in the trenches ever since anybody has been in the trenches, and I hollered for them last fall when all the mines in my district were on strike, when the men refused

to work to help the boys in the trenches, and I never got any support from those who are now talking about the boys in the trenches.

I am at a loss sometimes to know what the miners really want. Some time last summer the president of the United States appointed a rate-fixing board. On that board was Mr. Frank Peabody and a lot of other men who were condemned from one part of the country to the other. Immediately a howl went up, resolutions were passed and sent to the international and district offices asking the president of the United States to put a representative of the miners' union on that committee. One fellow, who just got through talking, said that in one breath we say one thing and in the next breath we say another thing. I have not heard anyone who spoke of paying ex-President White a salary that contradicts anything that was said here last week. Last week the speakers said the government treated us right. Nobody has disputed that today. The government has treated us right in giving us what we asked for when we had the proper people there to ask for something. Who will you have there to ask for what is right if you don't have our ex-president? Does any of you want to go there and do it without pay? Can anyone here serve without pay? We may have some who would do it—we had men in our convention last year who offered to take the president's job for less than he was working for.

I say to you the same opposition that has always been here and always will be here—and I hope to God they always will be here so we can say something to them—are opposed to paying John P. White a salary because they are opposed to him personally. They opposed a raise in his salary when he was working directly for us. Talk about the boys in the trenches! I have been their friend all the time, and I would get them all \$5,000 a year if I could. I wish to God we could do it! Those people who will tell you they want to give them \$5,000 a year wouldn't do it if they could. They stood in opposition, first to the government, and then they stood in opposition to the draft. After the men were drafted into the service they did no better. Our constitution provides that when a man is killed or dies from any cause his dependents are entitled to \$250. After a lot of our men were drafted into the service and many others had enlisted our executive board in District 12 passed a motion that if any man entered the service his dues would be exempt and if he died his dependents would be paid the \$250. Gentle-

men, the same men, the same people identically, who are now opposing paying John P. White a salary opposed us in Illinois agreeing to pay the dependents of the men in the trenches \$250. Then they talk about patriotism! It is just a matter of being against John P. White, and that is all there is to it.

I tell you frankly I am opposed to paying John P. White \$5,000 a year. I think it ought to be \$10,000 or \$15,000. I don't think there is any need of taking up much time on this question. I don't care whether it is John P. White or who it is that occupies the position, it is a shame to oppose the payment of this salary. John P. White is only getting from some people in this organization what other labor leaders in the past got from a good many of our members. John Siney was dead forty years before the miners of this country ever knew he was a good man. Forty years after he died in the poorhouse they built a monument to John Siney. Throw bouquets at the leaders who have been true to you while they are living; don't wait until they are dead forty years to recognize them.

A large number of delegates asked that debate cease. The chairman asked for a rising vote to determine whether a majority of the delegates wished to close debate. A large majority of the delegates signified a desire to have debate close.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was adopted by a rising vote, a very large majority of the delegates voting in the affirmative.

The following delegates desired to be recorded in opposition to the recommendation of the committee:

Delegate Linhart, Local 552, District 6; Delegate McCollum, Local 2154, District 6; Delegate McDonald, Local 768, District 14; Delegate Burnett, Local 329, District 12; Delegate Moyer, Local 1418, District 6; Delegate Kiser, Local 2459, District 6; Delegate Stoneman, Local 283, District 14; Delegate Moore, Local 533, District 14; Delegate Mezel, Local 1896, District 14; Delegate Short, Local 1821, District 14; Delegate Butch, Local 1131, District 21; Delegate Orel, Local 2386, District 6; Delegate Munyas, Local 2159; Delegate Croppi, Local 1609, District 6; Delegate Rodgers, Local 1748, District 6; Delegate Bender, Local 2449,

District 6; Delegate Galbraith, Locals 746 and 2097; Delegate Hurlow, Local 3097, District 11; Delegate Dougherty, Local 573; Delegate Heindley, Local 553, District 13; Delegate Schniedeke, Local 2686, District 25; Delegate Rogers, Local 766, District 12; Delegate Russell, Local 1916, District 12; Delegate Simmers, Local 839, District 6; Delegate Coulson, Local 2650, District 12; Delegate James, Local 553, District 13; Delegate Kennedy, Local 794, District 12; Delegate Johnson, Local 1910, District 12; Delegate Vaughn, Local 798, District 12; Delegate Reed, Local 798, District 12; Delegate Gilgrass, Local 1063, District 13.

Delegate Barter, Local 553, District 11, and Delegate Shepard, Local 1702, District 11, desired to be recorded as opposing the motion, not because they objected to paying the salary to former President White, but because the question had not been referred to a referendum vote.

Secretary O'Neil continued the report of the committee as follows:

HOME FOR AGED MINE WORKERS.

The committee concurs in this section of the President's report and refers the matter to the special committee appointed by the International President for them to make a complete report to this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

OUR POSITION IN THE WAR.

The committee heartily concurs in the views expressed by the President on this important matter, but, inasmuch as there are a great many resolutions concerning the war in the hands of the Committee on Resolutions, we refer this part of the President's report to this committee to bring in a resolution for adoption by the convention stating our position in the war.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

NATURALIZATION OF MEMBERS.

The committee concurs in the recommendation of the President that the manual be amended by incorporating in the order of business the following: "Are there any members present who desire to become citizens

of the United States?" We also recommend that the International officers issue a circular letter to the local unions calling their attention to this action and request each local union to appoint a committee on naturalization to attend to this work.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion we commend the President for the able report he has given us and commend the official staff of our union for the splendid progress made since our last meeting as shown by the report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Hayes in the chair.

REPORT OF VICE-PRESIDENT LEWIS.

The beginning of the Vice-President's report deals with his recent appointment to the position of Vice-President and a brief statement of the duties engaging his attention while serving in that capacity. The Vice-President briefly reviews the activities of the organization in increasing wages since the last convention. The committee concurs in this part of the Vice President's report and commends him for the able assistance rendered our organization in our wage negotiations.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

ORGANIZATION OF NON-UNION FIELDS.

This section of the Vice-President's report dealing with the campaign in the non-union fields has been covered in action taken by the Committee on the President's Report. The committee, however, heartily concurs in this part of the Vice-President's report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

STATISTICAL REPORT.

The statistical report submitted by Vice-President Lewis is a credit to our organization and contains much valuable information for our membership. The statistical tabulations are prepared in a manner that

can be read and understood by anyone. The committee heartily commends our Statistician for this report, recommending that the delegates to this convention file a copy with their local unions calling the members' attention to the important information it contains.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

REPORT OF JOHN L. LEWIS, MANAGER OF UNITED MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL.

The report of the Business Manager of the Journal and the Secretary-Treasurer of our organization indicates clearly that the experiment authorized by the convention in 1914 of changing the form of our Journal from a newspaper published in one language to a magazine published in three languages has not been a financial success. In fact, the deficits of our official organ have increased with each successive audit since the change, except during the four and one-half months commencing July 15, 1917, to November 30, 1917. The Committee on Officers' Reports have endeavored to conduct an impartial investigation into the affairs of the Journal by hearing the views of the editors and Business Manager, but are convinced that the time they have to devote to investigating the proposition involving all of the complex problems and details of publishing a newspaper is too limited to reach a definite conclusion. Therefore, we would recommend that the International Executive Board be directed to conduct an exhaustive investigation into the affairs of the Journal, being given authority by this convention to make such changes in the form, the time of issuance and such other changes in the mechanical make-up of the paper as their investigation may lead them to determine. We further recommend the continuation and publication of the three languages as at present until the next International convention, when the International Executive Board shall submit a complete report of their findings on all matters pertaining to the financial possibilities of the Journal, as well as its value as an educational force in our movement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

REPORT OF SECRETARY-TREASURER WILLIAM GREEN.

The introduction of the report by Secretary Green deals with statistical information concerning the membership of our organization for

the years 1915, 1916 and 1917; also with the membership by years since 1890 to the close of business for the last fiscal year. The information contained in this feature of the Secretary's report indicates the splendid position of our union and the paid-up membership for November, 1917, of 410,600 is one of which, under the circumstances, we may be proud. He also calls attention to local unions not paying tax on their full membership. The committee concurs in this part of the Secretary's report, and recommends that the laws of the union be strictly enforced on all local unions for failure to pay tax on their full membership.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Foster, District 6: I would like to ask Secretary Green a question. In his report for the last half of 1916 there is an item of "\$500 extra expenses paid for John P. White during New York conference." The members I represent want to know why that extra expense was incurred when the constitution sets forth that he shall be paid a salary and all expenses.

Secretary Green: I will have to ask for just a little time to get the data for you. Sometime during the proceedings of this convention I will procure the data and give you that information. I cannot give it offhand now.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

AID.

The committee concurs in the report of the Secretary in the aid rendered to the different districts.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

LOANS.

The committee concurs in this part of the Secretary's report and commends the International Union for the creditable showing made in their efforts to liquidate the National organization's debt to the different districts, and recommends that districts that have not paid their full amount due for this purpose be required to do so.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

The recommendations contained in this part of the Secretary's report to amend the constitution are concurred in and are referred to the Committee on Constitution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

COLLECTION OF BACK ASSESSMENT.

This section of the Secretary's report is concurred in and recommend that local unions that have not yet made settlement for their back assessment be required to do so.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

TRAVELING AUDITORS.

We concur in the report of the Secretary concerning the Traveling Auditors and commend the standardization of the local union books and method of auditing.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

FINANCES.

The statement made by the Secretary on the finances of the union is a powerful argument, showing the absolute necessity of increasing the revenue sufficiently to meet such situations. However, this matter has been acted upon by the Committee on Officers' Reports in the President's report. We concur in this part of the Secretary's report and also refer it to the Committee on Constitution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

MONEY IN COLORADO BANKS.

We concur in the Secretary's report on this matter and recommend that the attorneys in these cases be retained and the suits pressed to a conclusion.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

JOURNAL.

We concur in this part of the Secretary's report, but inasmuch as the Committee on Officers' Reports has acted upon this matter in the Business Manager's report, no further action is necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

COURT DECISIONS.

In view of the fact that President Hayes dealt extensively in his report on this matter and recommended that a special committee be created to formulate a policy to meet the issues presented in these cases, the committee on Officers' Reports recognizing the great injustice done our cause in these decisions, concurs in the report of Secretary Green and refers this part of his report to this special committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lawson, District 15: I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that I am in favor of this recommendation of the committee, but I believe this convention should give some expression as to the way you feel concerning this matter. I understand there is some sentiment and some expression along the line of not putting up a bond in the Fort Smith case. I want to draw the attention of this convention in a very brief way to the danger our organization is facing in that case.

In the event we fail to put up the proper appeal bond of about \$800,000, and this appeal is permitted to go by default, notwithstanding the fact that we can still appeal, there is danger that at the expiration of the time given our organization to appeal we will find a deputy sheriff at the door of every bank in this country where we have funds ready to put a blanket on the funds of our organization. They will either collect the amount of damages awarded in the Bache-Denman case or they will put an injunction on our funds, and if there isn't sufficient money in the banks to satisfy this judgment, I anticipate the same people will go out and put a blanket on the homes of our members. If there is sufficient money in the banks to satisfy this judgment and it is collected by the Bache-Denman people, by the time you are ready to appeal and meet them in the higher courts they will not have the money to pay back the

damages they have collected, because they are not a responsible company.

I point this out so the committee will have something to guide them in their deliberations. The committee should not overlook the fact that we must take care of these cases. It might be a good plan to ignore the federal courts of this country and say we will pay no attention to what they say and do; but there are only two ways in which to combat this action, which is brought with the full intent and purpose of destroying this organization. One way is through political action in Congress and the other is to fight it through the courts of our country. If we do that, let us do it in the proper way. If we put up an appeal bond and the company succeeds in collecting this amount of damages, and the court should refuse to hasten this case, but let it drag along for two or three years, there is only one way the organization can force the hands of the federal court and that is by a general strike. We might as well be plain in the matter. I don't believe there is anyone in our organization today, especially after what we heard last week of the need of our people furnishing coal, that would favor a general strike to force the hand of the federal court; I don't believe anyone is going to favor a general strike at this time as a method to get a fair and square deal for our union. We can put up an appeal bond in the right way and go into the courts in the right way. In the end we will not only win our case, but our organization will be vindicated and we will have demonstrated to the people of our country that the United Mine Workers is not the kind of organization the plaintiffs in this case seek to show it is. I am in favor of the report of the committee, but I want to say that in my judgment the only thing this convention ought to do is to provide for an appeal bond so that we can go into court in this case on its merits.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

(Concluded in Volume II.)

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By
MARY BURKE EAST

PROCEEDINGS

of the

TWENTY-SIXTH CONSECUTIVE AND
THIRD BIENNIAL CONVENTION

of the

United Mine Workers of America

held in the

City of Indianapolis, Indiana
January 15 to 26, 1918
INCLUSIVE



VOLUME II

1918
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PROCEEDINGS
of the
TWENTY-SIXTH CONSECUTIVE AND
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JANUARY 15, 1918

President Hayes: The chair desires to state that a special committee will be appointed to consider the matter of litigation, and when that committee reports the question will be discussed thoroughly.

President Hayes announced the following appointment:

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER COURT DECISIONS.

Delegates John Moore, District 6; Frank Farrington, District 12; Philip Murray, District 5; John Wilkinson, District 21; Edward Stewart, District 11; C. F. Keeney, District 17; John Brophy, District 2; Thomas Kennedy, District 7; Martin Flyzik, District 10.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF SECRETARY-TREASURER.

Chairman Murray: Secretary Green called attention to the fact the other day that he had omitted in his printed report the question of bonding local unions. The Committee on Officers' Reports has acted on the supplemental report he presented last week. The committee recommends that the supplemental report of Secretary Green in reference

to the bonding of local officers be referred to the Committee on Constitution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

CONCLUSION.

The committee heartily concurs in the views expressed on the war by our Secretary and recommends that this part of his report be referred to the Committee on Resolutions for their consideration in the preparation of a resolution stating the position of the United Mine Workers of America in the war. We would also commend the Secretary-Treasurer for the splendid and complete report he has presented to this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary O'Neil: This completes the report of our committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

PHILIP MURRAY, Chairman,
CHARLES O'NEIL, Secretary,
J. C. LEWIS,
JAMES DOYLE,
JOSEPH RICHARDS,
MARTIN FLYZIK,
C. F. KEENEY,
ARCHIE FORBES,
JAMES J. M'ANDREWS,
Committee on Officers' Reports.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

SIXTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., January 21, President Hayes in the chair.

Secretary Green read the following communications:

"William Green, Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"To my great disappointment and regret my work in connection with the food situation renders it impossible for me to be present at convention. I take this means of conveying to officers and delegates my earnest good wishes and my hope that our great organization may continue its progress and that the time is not far distant when all mine workers of our country shall be enrolled in its membership.

"JOHN MITCHELL."

To the Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Gentlemen: The officers of the Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota (Slovenic National Benefit Society) of Chicago, Ill., wish you success in your endeavor and interest for the benefit of the working class of people.

Our organization consists of approximately 20,000 members, of which the majority belong to the U. M. W. of A. We, therefore, as well as our daily newspaper "Prosveta" (who daily write for the benefit and interest of all organized labor) wish and hope for your success.

Respectfully and fraternally yours,

JOHN VERDERBAR,

Supreme Secretary Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota.

ADDRESS OF CHARLES KRUSE, PRESIDENT MIGRATORY WORKERS.

Mr. President, Delegates and Citizens of Indianapolis—I want to take this opportunity to introduce to you a class of people we know but very little of, or have up to within a very few years felt much concern about, the Migratory Workers, also known as the casual workers, the seasonal workers, and best known as the hoboes. There are three mil-

lion of this vast army of men that are employed under the present conditions to do the seasonal and emergency work of our country, and they are not organized. I dare say not more than three per cent. of them are in organizations. They are the men that maintain and reconstruct your railroads, do seasonal work, such as harvesting, building dykes, building levies and doing the kind of work that will save lives and property.

It will interest you if I say that during the year 1916 this vast army of migratory workers in our country were allowed to work twenty-one weeks; they were paid the lowest wages; they were housed and kept under the most deplorable conditions. While they were allowed to do this twenty-one weeks' work we required of them they lived the balance of that year somehow. You don't know how they lived, but they existed, for they are here; they are still alive. You supported them when they were idle; you helped maintain their existence during the time they were unemployed.

It is the purpose of the organization of which I have the honor to be president—and I am proud of being its president—to organize these men; to fight for better conditions for them; to abolish three of the most glaring abuses in connection with keeping those men unorganized and keeping them submerged; first, to abolish the privately conducted employment bureaus in our country; second, that they shall be furnished transportation to and from the job; third, that the vagrancy laws that are applied today to this vast army of men shall be amended. More than 7,000 of them were arrested last year, many of them after they were coaxed into a locality on the promise of work. They were arrested and made to do community work, where it was to be done, to the injury of the citizens of the community. In some instances the men were treated worse than the peons of Mexico, worse than the former slaves in our southern country.

The federal government is now taking some interest in us, and four years ago we were able through the organized labor movement to establish what is known as the Federal Employment Bureau. The Federal Employment Bureau, however, does not go far enough. We have the word of our good Secretary of Labor only recently that under the unfortunate conditions we are facing at the present time it is his aim and purpose to establish an employment bureau controlled and regulated by

the federal Department of Labor in every United States postoffice. It would be an information bureau where men and women could learn where to secure work without any charge or fee. Seven million dollars was taken out of the pockets of the migratory workers in 1916 for information as to where they might find work.

I know you have very important affairs to deliberate upon that concern your organization; but this is your problem also and we need your support. The last convention of the American Federation of Labor endorsed the proposition and instructed the presidents of the various State Federations of Labor to send out an ultimatum through their respective states that the organized forces go to the legislative halls and work to abolish privately conducted employment bureaus. Do this when you go back to your homes, add your help in this direction, and when you are helping me and my class you are helping yourselves.

On the 29th day of this month we are going to hold our thirteenth annual convention in Indianapolis, and I invite you people and the citizens of this city to come and listen to the claims and demands of men who have no standing and no protection.

Secretary Green: While the convention has endorsed the Washington Agreement, to be enforced during the period of the war or not to exceed two years, it will be unnecessary for the convention to take action on resolutions dealing with scale. That matter has been disposed of by the action of the convention. A number of resolutions which we term miscellaneous have not been referred to any committee, but they have been printed and will be distributed later and made a matter of record. They refer to scale matters.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Chairman Harlin: The committee has a resolution from Maryland, submitted to the secretary and by him referred to our committee, which was not printed in the pamphlet containing the resolutions. He informs us that this resolution came in time to be included with the other resolutions. The committee will read the subject matter of the resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 205

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The mine workers employed by the Maryland division of the Consolidation Coal Company have appealed to the State's attorney to institute proceedings against the Consolidation Coal Company for robbery at the weigh scales where the miners' coal is weighed and recorded; and

Whereas, J. Philip Roman, State's attorney for Allegany county, Maryland, took cognizance of the appeal of the mine workers and secured the services of two experts from the federal bureau of standards from Washington, D. C., to examine the scales and report to the grand jury their findings thereon; and

Whereas, The examination conducted by the experts from the federal government showed that the scales were so arranged that the mine workers were systematically robbed of over six hundred pounds per car; and

Whereas, The grand jury handed down indictments against the Consolidation Coal Company on three different counts for inaccurate weighing of the miners' coal, to which the coal company pleaded guilty when the cases were called in court and paid a fine of nine hundred dollars and costs; and

Whereas, Under the laws of the State of Maryland the Consolidation Coal Company can be forced to make restitution to the mine workers for all coal stolen from them as far back as any record can be produced; and

Whereas, We have in our possession sufficient evidence to make a case against the Consolidation Coal Company, and force restitution to the mine workers of wages systematically withheld for years by Jere Wheelwright's Coal Company by short weighing the miners' output; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A. assembled in Indianapolis in regular session beginning January 15, 1918,

hereby authorize and instruct the International Executive Board to investigate the prospects of restoring the unpaid wages of the miners employed by the Consolidation Coal Company, which wages were purposely withheld by reason of the short weighing methods practiced by the aforesaid company, and take such legal steps through the courts or otherwise that will enable the mine workers, members of our organization, to get restitution of wages and justice from the Consolidation Coal Company.

WM. DIAMOND,

President District 16.

F. L. THOMAS,

Vice-President.

WILLIAM J. TRICKETT,

Secretary-Treasurer District 16.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Diamond, Acting President, District 16: I think it might be well to inform the delegates why this resolution has been presented. For the last two or three months I have been located in Washington, D. C., representing to the extent of my ability the United Mine Workers of America. One of the coal companies that had its representatives there endeavoring to have a hearing by the agencies of our government was the Consolidation Coal Company. It was their proud boast that they had invested five million dollars in Liberty Loan bonds. That statement was made while I was in Washington. I immediately made the statement to the officers of our federal government that those Liberty Bonds bought by the Consolidation Coal Company were bought with money stolen from men at the weigh scales. Two experts were sent down from Washington to make an examination of the scales and they found that in every instance those scales were so manipulated that as high as six and seven hundred pounds was taken out of every car. The two experts reported to the grand jury in Allegany county, Maryland. The grand jury immediately indicted the Consolidation Coal Company. We helped collect the evidence for the purpose of prosecuting them, and when we took the matter up in court the Consolidation Coal Company's attorneys pleaded guilty in order to prevent us from giving the evidence we had in our possession. Under the laws of the State of Maryland

we can make the Consolidation Coal Company pay for every pound of coal they have stolen from their employes.

We have several cases that, according to the advice of the attorneys we have consulted, we can bring into court and make the company come across with unpaid wages. The miners of my State are willing to let the entire expense be taken out of the unpaid wages when they are collected. The reason we want the International to get behind this is because every time the miners there assume any responsibility they are victimized. We have a good strong organization down there but we have not as yet effected an agreement. Our case is now before the Federal Fuel Administrator. For that reason we would like to bring as much pressure to bear upon the Consolidation Coal Company as possible so that our case before the fuel administrator will meet with success. I know every delegate here is willing to help the miners of George Creek get justice from the coal companies. I think after you understand our purpose you will adopt the resolution.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION NO. 33.

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That a State endowment fund be created to take care of the widows and orphans in disasters similar to the one which happened at Christopher, Ill.

ONIE DEAN, President,

J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,

JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 1865.

The committee recommended that Resolution 33 be referred to the various district organizations. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 35.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The wages of a workingman are not adequate for his livelihood and therefore not sufficient to allow him to save for his old age, and as most of the countries of Europe have decided that a man who has spent the best part of his life doing useful labor ought to receive a pension at the age of sixty when he is no longer fit for useful work, we, the members of Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill., have, after careful consideration,

Resolved, That such a man at the age of sixty, or a man who has been crippled or otherwise disabled by his work, has performed just as useful labor to his country as our soldiers and therefore is entitled to a pension; and, be it further

Resolved, That the above resolution shall not only be taken up at our National convention, but that its delegates to the A. F. of L. shall also be instructed to sustain the resolution and demand legislation to that effect.

WILLIAM CRAIG, President.

THEODORE DESERF, Rec. Sec'y.

LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution 35. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 41.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Brother J. P. White having resigned and being no longer in our employ; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Union No. 1149 is not in favor of paying him any salary or giving him any donation from the time he left our employ.

C. E. STERLING,
EARL TYGART,
RALPH SHEAD,
Resolutions Committee.

Local Union No. 1149, Gross, Kan.

The committee reported that the subject matter of Resolution 41 had been disposed of by the action of the convention during the morning session.

RESOLUTION NO. 47.

Sublet, Wyo., December 10, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

At our regular meeting held on Thursday, December 6, 1917, the following resolution was adopted.

We, as members of Local Union No. 2752, located at Sublet, Wyo.,

Resolved, That the foreign section of the Journal be continued for another term and also try and add other nationalities so as to increase the subscription of the foreign section.

E. WARD,
JOHN B. SMITH, President,
JAS. ROBERTSON,
Resolutions Committee.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution 47. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 59.

Ojo, Colo., December 18, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas. We believing that each district shall employ one scale mine inspector for the benefit of the miners.

Disputes between miners and operators have grown up every day. The coal companies always bring their own inspector for their benefit, or if they do call for State Mine Inspector he never does anything for us because they play political schemes. Be it

Resolved, That brother delegates be requested to consider this resolution, as it is necessary for us to do something by this time.

STERGE MAVRODIS.

L. U. 3018, Ojo, Colo., District 15, U. M. W. of A.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 60.

Ojo, Colo., December 18, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It is necessary that this assembly consider the matter up today when all delegates represent their local unions. It has been disputed too much in regard to the local officers' salary. Be it

Resolved, That brother delegates be requested to consider this resolution, which will be of benefit to all of us.

STERGE MAVRODIS.

Ojo L. U. 3018, District 15, U. M. W. of A.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution No. 60. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 61.

Ojo, Colo., December 18, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The United Mine Workers Journal ought to be published in Greek and Spanish languages, as thousands of the miners in the West cannot speak English. Be it

Resolved, That all brother delegates be requested to take this into consideration, as it is necessary.

STERGE MAVRODIS.

Ojo L. U. 3018, District 15, U. M. W. of A.

The committee reported that the subject matter of Resolution No. 61 had been acted upon by the Committee on Officers' Reports and no further action was necessary. The report of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 62.

Ojo, Colo., December 18, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believing that the Greek miners are entitled to representation in the International organization, as great number of them who are working in the western coal mines are not English speakers, they should have representation. Be it

Resolved, That this biennial convention of our union be requested to consider this resolution. **STERGE MAVRODIS.**

Ojo L. U. 3018, District 15, U. M. W. of A.

Secretary Smith: The committee has taken no action on this resolution. The Greeks are entitled to representation the same as members of any other nationality.

RESOLUTION NO. 63.

Waverly, Ky., December 15, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We declare to this world our objects are to enforce laws that exist and to enact and enforce laws that do not exist; therefore be it

Resolved, That the inspector inspect the mines as provided by the state laws and make a report, and that such report be strictly enforced and adhered to, as provided by the state laws. And be it further

Resolved, That the handling of powder and explosives in and around the mines be strictly enforced and adhered to. Be it

Resolved, That the operators furnish bath rooms for their employes properly heated and ventilated. Be it

Resolved, That men loading after machines work single and be allowed two (2) rooms, unless he desires to work double and it is agreeable to the operator, then he shall have three (3) rooms. Be it

Resolved, That we admit no pro-German into our union while the present state of war exists, or any nationality of the German allies or any nationality that may be hereafter engaged in war with the United States, unless supplied with naturalization papers. Be it

Resolved, That operators handling powder, tools or any miners' supplies receive a fair but limited profit, affixed by this convention; and be it further

Resolved, That all mine workers get their coal at the maximum cost of mining same.

**JOE PIKE,
JAS. WEBB,
JOHN WOODS,
CHAS. BARNABY,
L. U. No. 1091.**

The committee recommends the entire subject matter of Resolution 63 to the district organizations, with the exception of the fifth resolve, which is referred to the Committee on Constitution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolutions Nos. 65, 73, 85 and 106 were referred by the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Constitution.

RESOLUTION NO. 71.

Ellsworth, Pa., December 18, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Ex-President John P. White, in his report published in the Journal of issue of November 15, 1917, where it contains definite adverse criticisms of the foreign sections, Slovak and Italian; be it

Resolved, That the delegates to this convention take action and instruct the Executive Board to publish the Miners' Journal, not only in Slovak and Italian languages, but to publish in Hungarian, Lithvinicu, Horvat, Polish and Russian languages, because only through the foreign sections will we be enabled to instruct and naturalize the foreign brothers of our union and keep them well posted about our unionism.

Yours truly,

ROBERT NISBET, President.

JOHN MAYER, Secretary.

Local Union No. 1190, U. M. W. of A.

Secretary Smith: This matter has been acted upon by the Committee on Officers' Reports and disposed of. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 74.

Crosby, Wyo., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That all company men in and around the mine be paid time and a half for overtime and double time for Sundays, and while it is not our intention to cause any hardship on the operators at the present time, we ask that if this resolution is adopted in our convention that it shall not go into effect until after the war. But we do not think that it is right when our fellow workmen coming back from the battlefields and we are working double time to make a good living and they are suffering from starvation for the want of employment. And while we see no other way to keep the operators from asking company men to work overtime, we think that if this resolution is adopted it will cut out all unnecessary overtime and will give employment to thousands of our fellow workmen.

Resolved, That the contracts in all the districts in the United States shall run out at the same date, as we do not believe that it is right, if one State goes out on strike, that the neighboring states work double time to mine the coal and ship the same into the State where our fellow workmen are out on strike.

LOCAL UNION 2700.

Secretary Smith: As this matter deals with the question of scale no action has been taken by the committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 76.

Bridgeport, Ohio, December 11, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

At the meeting of Local Union No. 2592, held in December, 1917, the question of the United Mine Workers Journal was taken up by the members of our Local Union in detail. We found that in a report of our International Secretary-Treasurer the income for one year for the Journal, from June 1 to December 1, 1916, was \$15,236.03; from December 1, 1916, to June 1, 1917, the income was \$21,088.37, making a total of \$36,324.40. The expenses for one year of the Journal, from June 1, 1916, to December 1, 1916, were \$48,517.42; from December 1, 1916, to June 1, 1917, \$49,819.15; making a total of \$97,836.57.

The International Secretary-Treasurer refunded to the Journal \$61,512.17.

Resolved, That the United Mine Workers Journal will be printed in one language, or more than one language, but every language will be printed separately. And the Journal will be \$1 for a year's subscription in any one language; and those desiring the Journal in three languages will have to pay \$3 for the three separate subscriptions to the Journal.

Signed by the committee for Local Union No. 2592.

FRED SINGERMAN, President.

PETER SMITH, Secretary.

CHARLEY CHADWELL.

JOE ANGELO.

Secretary Smith: This subject matter has been dealt with by the Committee on Officers' Reports and disposed of. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 80.

Fredericktown, Pa. December 21, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That we demand The United Mine Workers Journal be printed in the same order after the convention as it was before the convention.

L. U. 688.

STEVE BARTOSH, Secretary.

FRED GENNOTT.

JAS. ZAIC.

C. SERGHETTI.

GEO. PATICA.

Secretary Smith: This subject matter has been dealt with by the Committee on Officers' Reports and disposed of. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 82.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Never in the history of the trade union movement has a penalty clause for stoppage of work ever been established; and

Whereas, The penalty clause in the agreement made between the coal operatives and the officials of the U. M. W. of A. was never sanctioned by the rank and file of the organization; and

Whereas, The existence of such an obnoxious clause destroys all local autonomy and centralizes the whole power of the organization into the hands of a few officials, thereby destroying whatever democracy the rank and file held within the organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, while we recognize the exigency of the war situation and that the present contract would be altered with its elimination, at the same time we go on record in condemning our officials for inserting such a

e, and we urge that they use every power to remove said clause from future agreements that may be made after the war.

LOCAL UNION NO. 376.

Secretary Smith: This matter was settled by the action of the convention in ratifying the Washington agreement. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 95.

This resolution was withdrawn at the request of the delegate who introduced it, and the committee took no further action.

RESOLUTION NO. 96.

Rock Springs, Wyo., December 29, 1917.

he Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The agreement reached by miners' representatives and operators in the Washington conference, setting forth a scale of wages for the central competitive field, which was meant for a basis upon which increases should be granted throughout the jurisdiction, and approved by Dr. Garfield subject to President Wilson, granting the operators sufficient increases on the selling prices at the mine to cover the increases received upon by the miners and operators; and

Whereas, We believe that the feeling among the rank and file was, is now, that to enable the toilers to meet the increased cost of living for masses of labor, whether day labor or piecework, should receive an increase of at least \$1.40 per day; and

Whereas, The diggers and loaders have received no such increase or nothing in comparison thereto, it having developed that under our wage statement that an average loader must load 20 tons per day to receive an increase of \$1.40 on his day's work, a thing impossible; and

Whereas, The confused and jumbled manner in which the agreement has been submitted to the employes through various methods, the latest leaving the loader to presume that he must pay out of his increased wages sufficient to guarantee \$1.40 per day increase to other classes of

higher that has to do with the production of coal, when he himself is not receiving that \$1.40 per day increase; therefore, be it

Resolved, That upon the question of ratification, which comes up in our next convention, that Local Union 2282, U. M. W. of A., requests that a scale committee be appointed in the convention to readjust the scale and, if need be, make further recommendations for increases that the agreement may carry out, as far as possible, the wishes and expectations of the rank and file, as well as conform with prevailing conditions in the various districts. And that we request other locals in our jurisdiction to do likewise.

P. S. JURANOVICH, President.

FRANK GATES, Secretary.

Resolution No. 10 was not acted upon by the committee as it dealt with a local matter.

RESOLUTION NO. 102.

Croweburg, Kas., December 17, 1917.

Resolved, That the delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Triennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The Central Competitive Field has been the basing point for many wage scales and working conditions for the U. M. W. of A.;

Whereas, The Central Competitive Field has higher coal and practical conditions and different conditions than some of the other fields.

Whereas, We have in this district (No. 14) horsebacks, faults, rash conditions and no coal. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we deem it unjust for any district or group of districts to make agreements for any other field outside of their

B. F. GISH.

E. HODGE.

JOE MYERS.

Committee.

Approved by the Local Union, District No. 14.

Resolution No. 102 was not acted upon by the committee as it dealt with scale matters.

RESOLUTION NO. 107.

Neffs, Ohio, December 18, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the undersigned members of Local Union 193, U. M. W. of A., take this opportunity to protest against the system of soliciting subscriptions for the Miners' Journal.

Whereas, As we find a few chosen members of our organization are appointed as agents to solicit subscriptions for the Journal at the various mines, and said agents receive one-half of subscription money for their labor, which we think is too much; and

Whereas, We think the system is not satisfactory for the reason that the agent goes to each mine just once a year, which does not increase the circulation of the Journal enough; therefore be it

Resolved, That Journal agencies be given to the various locals and a percentage which will be determined by the convention go into the treasury of locals for doing the work; and be it further

Resolved, Said percentage should not exceed 25 per cent.

**WM. HENSLEY,
IRA KIMES,
CHAS. PERUNKO,
ROBT. EMERY, Secretary.
J. B. GRANDON, President Local 3562.
ANT. VARAK,
JOHN PASTRNAK.**

The subject matter of Resolution No. 107 was disposed of in the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports and no further action was necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 108.

Neffs, Ohio, January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolutions adopted by Locals Nos. 3562 and 193, U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The United Mine Workers Journal, by its Slovak and Italian parts, has done and is doing a noble and beneficial work of education and progaganda for the united action in attainment of better working and living conditions of our members who are not able to speak and read the English part of our paper; and

Whereas, This work shall rather be encouraged and continued instead of suppressed, be it

Resolved, That we, members of the Locals Nos. 3562 and 193, U. M. W. of A., energetically protest against the statement of our past president, Brother John P. White, and against his recommendation that the Journal should be edited in the English language only. And be it further

Resolved, That we recommend rather to open the pages of our Journal to other nationalities when our members desire it, as it was the wish of our brother Slovaks and Italians. Under all circumstances we want the Slovak and Italian part in our official Journal continued, as we hope it will be, for the advancement of our labor cause.

PETE VALOCIK, Secretary.

J. B. GRANDON, President L. U. 3562.

JOSEPH KOLODZICJ, President L. U. 193.

ROBT. EMERY, Secretary.

Secretary Smith: Resolution No. 108 deals with the Mine Workers Journal. This question has already been acted upon.

RESOLUTION NO. 111. .

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It has been called to our attention, through the Mine Workers' Journal, that the International Executive Board has been

paying Ex-President White his salary from the International treasury since he has been adviser to Dr. Garfield without the consent of the rank and file; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International Executive Board be demanded, by this convention, to replace said money at once or stand expelled from the organization at once.

ONNIE DEAN, President.

JAMES BAIRD, Financial Secretary.

J. H. GOSS, Recording Secretary.

From Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Secretary Smith: Resolution No. 111 deals with the Mine Workers Journal. This question has already been acted upon.

RESOLUTION NO. 114.

Byesville, Ohio, December 29, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It has come to the attention of the miners of Ideal Local No. 1753, located at Byesville, District 6, that the National Executive Board, through no constitutional right, has voted to pay ex-President White a salary of \$4,000 per annum for services rendered as an advisor to Fuel Administrator Dr. Garfield; and

Whereas, We believe the National Board should have consulted the different locals, through circular letters, of their action, and get at least the feeling of a majority of the membership's consent; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Ideal Local 1753, located at Byesville, State of Ohio, District No. 6, protest such action of the International Executive Board.

WM. CLUGER, President,

G. W. EUBANKS, Secretary,

Local Union No. 1753, Byesville, Ohio.

Secretary Smith: Resolution No. 114 deals with a question that has already been acted upon by the convention. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 115.

Byesville, Ohio, January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Let us get ready and prepare for peace in time of war, when our boys return from the trenches.

Whereas, There is reason to believe that the nation's war experience will effect a revolution in the attitude of the American coal mining industry, the entire question devolves upon our success in solving the labor problem. The eyes of the world will be focussed upon the coal miners of America when reconstruction begins.

1. I believe we should demand a decent living wage contract, based on a reasonable wage with a minimum and sliding scale.

2. It would eliminate all dreaded strikes, which are a waste of energy and should be avoided. It would be necessary to have commissioners, those three commissioners, with one chairman, to work in conjunction in order to solve the different problems and put the whole scheme in working order.

3. Commission of the employer.

4. Commission of the employe.

5. Commission of the commonwealth.

I suggest it would be the business of the commissioners to regulate production or the market would go to pieces. Also to market the coal. The real problem is to eliminate the pirate and the poacher. neither a member of the employers nor the laboring class. He is a regular menace to the coal mining industry.

WM. CHUGER, President of Local 1753

G. W. EUBANKS, Secretary.

JOHN KERR, Delegate.

Secretary Smith: No action has been taken by the committee upon this document, for the reason that it is not a resolution.

RESOLUTION NO. 116.

Shoring, Pa., December 30, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the officers and members of Local Union No. 718, U. M. W. of A., of Shoring, Pa., in special session assembled, present to your earnest consideration the following resolutions:

Whereas, the United Mine Workers' Journal, through its additional pages in the Italian and Slovak languages, has proved a most efficient means of education to our foreign brother of these nationalities and has rendered invaluable service, service which cannot be estimated in cents and dollars, to the U. M. W. of A., its officers and its members; and

Whereas, There are still a great percentage of our brethren who can read only the Hungarian, the Polish and the Russian, and who desire that at least official circulars and other very important data of our organization be printed in our Journal in their own language; and

Whereas, Heretofore the United Mine Workers' Journal has always caused a financial burden to our organization through a great lack of support, many inefficient agents and, much so now, when the price of printing and of paper has gone high up; be it

Resolved, That owing to the wonderful and necessary service the Italian and the Slovak parts of our Journal have already rendered, that these parts be by no means eliminated; and, be it further

Resolved, That all official circulars and every other important data of our organization, together with editorials thereon, be printed on a separate leaf in our Journal in the Hungarian, the Polish and the Russian; and, be it further

Resolved, That the International Secretary-Treasurer and the International Executive Board appoint competent agents, 60 per cent of

whom shall speak and write thoroughly, besides the English, at least one or the other of the above mentioned languages; also appoint a capable administrator who, in conjunction with the editors and the International Secretary-Treasurer, shall form a board of management and censorship, and that the price of the Journal be changed from \$1.00 per year to the following rates: To non-members, \$3.00 per year, or 10 cents per single copy, and that each member of our organization be compelled to receive the Journal at the rate of 10 cents per month, to be collected in the same manner as per capita tax.

Given under our hand and seal, this 30th day of December, A. D. 1917.

VANAR FLIPP,
ANDY COLLEGE, Record Secretary.
ANDY BOPELE, Financial Secretary.

Secretary Smith: Resolution No. 116 deals with the Mine Workers Journal. This question has already been acted upon.

RESOLUTION NO. 123.

Staunton, Ill., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Because of the nature and difficulties of the position of the Mine Examiners, being compelled to work at night and entirely alone, subject to any and all possible events, and deprived of the proper and natural time for rest; be it

Resolved, That the Mine Examiners or Fire Bosses be placed on an equality with other monthly men belonging to our organization, such as hoisting engineers, or in case an hourly rate is agreed upon that it be equal to the shot-firers'.

FRANK W. SCHAEFER, President.
A. C. SCHNEIDER, Financial Secretary.
FRANK PASKE, Recording Secretary.
Local Union No. 755.

Secretary Smith: As this is a scale matter no action has been taken by the committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 155.

Willisville, Ill., January 1, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, According to the financial report of the International Secretary-Treasurer the deficit for the United Mine Workers' Journal was more than \$49,822.78 (at the last International convention). So it is about time to put the Journal on a different paying proposition; and

Whereas, The present method of soliciting subscribers for our Journal does not place the Journal in the hands of our members; and

Whereas, Under the present method only about 50 per cent. of the money collected gets to the Journal office; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all State agents, or agents getting a commission of 50 per cent., be discontinued at once, and that local agents be placed in each local instead to solicit subscribers for our Journal at a commission of 25 per cent.

**JOHN TRUCANO,
MARSAN WRIGHT,
CHAS. BRADLEY,**

Local Union No. 165, U. M. W. of A.

Resolution No. 155 deals with the Mine Workers Journal. Action has already been taken upon the matter.

RESOLUTION NO. 156.

Lansing, Ohio, December 26, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

At a meeting of Local Union No. 1609 in December, 1917, the question of the United Mine Workers' Journal was taken up in detail. We found that in a report of our International Secretary-Treasurer the income for one year for the Journal from June 1, 1916, to June 1, 1917, totalled \$36,324.40. The expenses for one year of the Journal, from June 1, 1916, to June 1, 1917, amounted to \$97,836.57. The International Secretary-Treasurer refunded to the Journal \$61,512.17.

We, the Committee on Resolution for Local Union No. 1609, Lansing, Ohio, beg leave to submit the following resolution and we sincerely hope that the International Resolutions Committee will give it full consideration and have it come before the International convention:

Resolved, That the United Mine Workers' Journal should be printed in one language or more than one language, but every language should be printed separately, and the subscription for the Journal in any one language should be \$1.00 a year and those desiring the Journal in three languages should have to pay \$3.00 for the three separate subscriptions to the Journal.

JOHN A. LENNEE,
ANDY CRAPPI,
LUIGI BETA,
STEPHEN HENINK,

Committee on Resolutions for Local Union No. 1609.

Secretary Smith: Resolution No. 156 deals with the Mine Workers' Journal. Action has already been taken upon the matter.

RESOLUTION NO. 163.

Saginaw, Mich., January 4, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas. The continual distress of our brothers, who receive accidents in the coal mines, on account of insufficient pay provided for in many of our workmen's compensation laws, compelling many of our members and families to appeal to charity for subsistence, and many victims are being subterfuged by court decisions incurring expense to the brothers, and in some instances the operators evading payment entirely, and that there seems to be no relief in sight from the political field; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United Mine Workers, in National Convention assembled, go on record advocating a reasonable compensation scale of payment from the mine operators for our injured members and rea-

sonable damages to the widows and orphans of our members who receive fatal accidents.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES FINDLAY,

Local Union No. 2822, Banner Mine, Saginaw, Mich.

The committee recommended nonconcurrence in Resolution No. 163.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Findley, District 24: It seems to me this is a question of importance. We have gone before the legislature in the state of Michigan and tried to secure amendments to the compensation law of that state. We have a law providing for compensation for three weeks and medical assistance to an injured employe. The maximum is ten dollars per week to the employe, and not less than four dollars per week. Men in this progressive age are not able to exist on four dollars a week. Unless the organizations will awake to the conditions and put their economic strength behind this question there seems to be no relief in the legislative field. If we had the support of the labor movement behind us this law that the operators oppose would be amended. The Michigan State Federation of Labor, in the last session of the legislature, pleaded for an amendment to the state law. This is the argument the Commissioner of Labor put forth on Senate Bill No. 90:

"James V. Cunningham, State Labor Commissioner, and Walter Nelson, Detroit attorney, who at one time was employed by the Michigan Workmen's Compensation Mutual Insurance Company, spoke in rebuttal. Mr. Cunningham, in his talk, made a strong plea for the workers of the state. He, having made a study of the subject, was able to present his views in a very forceful manner, shattering the arguments of the opponents. His talk will be long remembered by those present, coming as it did from a public state official. Shortly after his hearing, an article appeared in the Detroit News stating that Commissioner Cunningham might be removed from office on account of his unfair attitude on the compensation amendments. One of his strongest statements in his talk was that the employers set the wages they will pay the workers who produce the products for the market; they then set the price the product

will be sold at, and now they insist on having all to do with setting the price they will pay their injured workmen."

It is evident that these insurance companies will never take action to conserve human life. This is a progressive movement, and we should keep pace with this sort of legislation. Many of you men, before twelve months from now, may be victims of accidents and will be in need of compensation. Many of our members have been lying on their backs for a year, paralyzed as a result of accident. I would like to recommend that you go on record advocating this principle in the cause of humanity, and in our next scale convention, if the war is over—and I hope it will be—we can take the matter up.

Chairman Harlin: This convention has, time and again, gone on record favoring compensation for injured workmen in industry. In most of the coal mining states we have compensation laws, and the principle recognized generally is that the industry shall bear the burden and pay the costs of these compensation laws. We understand that such a law exists in Michigan, and the committee, so far as it could understand the intention of the introducer of this resolution, believed it was his intention through the resolution to have the organization endeavor to have a scale of compensation agreed to between the miners and operators. We agree with everything he has said with regard to the desirability of members receiving adequate compensation, and we feel that in the best of the laws that have been enacted adequate compensation has been provided; but the reason why we nonconcur in this resolution is because, in the opinion of the committee, it is not practical to endeavor to negotiate this question in our wage agreement. In my judgment the only action the convention can take, if you desire to act in a constructive way, is to adopt the recommendation we have made, with the understanding given by the committee.

Delegate Crutchfield, District 24: I don't see how Brother Findley has the authority to introduce that resolution. I was in his local union on the night the matter was up for debate and his constituents told him plainly this was no place for him to introduce such a resolution. I understood it was killed almost unanimously because this convention has no authority to deal with the laws of the state of Michigan. If he would get busy in his political campaign and take a little action to elect mem-

ers favorable to the working men instead of the members he has supported that gave us no consideration in enacting laws for the benefit of the state he would get something.

I had the pleasure of serving on a committee in the state legislature to advocate an amendment of the mining laws. We went there and the representative from Michigan was on the labor committee and he never gave us two minutes of his time. Now, Delegate Findley is supporting this man at the present time. If he will use agitation to get men in the legislative chamber who are favorable to labor legislation, instead of taking up the time of this great convention with matters we have no authority to handle, I think Delegate Findley would be doing something for the benefit of his constituents.

Delegate Findley: President Crutchfield states I have no right to bring the resolution here. I deny his assertion; it is false. My local union has never had the opportunity of having the resolution presented, because President Crutchfield was there to oppose anything any of the members of the organization would introduce for the benefit of its members.

Secretary Smith: As Chairman Harlin has already stated, this resolution is impractical, and it would be an absurdity for this convention to go on record concurring in it. I don't think it needs further debate; the delegation here can see how impractical the resolution is, and I have no doubt the recommendation of the committee will be sustained.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 165.

Benton, Ill., January 7, 1918.

to the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, In our district it is generally practiced that drivers take their mules in before starting time therefore they are forced to be away at least 20 minutes before other employes start to work, therefore the drivers are forced to work 51 hours in the week to get 48, we, as the Resolution Committee, recommend that the company place all mules

on partings and remove same after the day's work is over, therefore it will not work a hardship on the driver by being encumbered with his mule before starting time and after quitting time, therefore they will have an equal chance with all other employes, such as day men, who have regular places of employment and no responsibility;

Whereas, The driver is responsible for his mule at all times and must remain with his mule at all times, whether before starting time or after quitting time, therefore should anything occur to his mule he can be held responsible and discharged for same; and

Whereas, Mr. Garfield, Fuel Administrator, wishes the mines to work steady, we, as miners, in consideration of the great world conflict, wish to give our best service to our country, and as the conditions at the mines are poor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention take this in consideration and remedy it any way in which they see fit, as the drivers feel that they are entitled to full remuneration for their work and that this condition works a hardship on the drivers, therefore we, the Resolutions Committee, endorse this resolution.

(Signed) ROBERT WILKEY,

Local Union No. 1959.

Secretary Smith: This is a matter that can be handled only by District 12 and the committee has taken no action.

RESOLUTION NO. 167.

Liberal, Mo., January 7, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The International Board members have voted a donation of \$5,000 annually to John P. White, ex-International President of the United Mine Workers of America; and

Whereas, We, believing John P. White, in a measure, if not altogether, responsible for the infamous and uncalled for automatic penalty clause which is not being imposed on any other class of workers in the United States, therefore branding the United Mine Workers as

ing so disloyal and unpatriotic to their country that it was necessary use compulsory methods to have them produce one of the most necessary commodities for the successful prosecution of the war; therefore, it

Resolved, That we condemn the International Board members for their action, and furthermore, as John P. White has not made the least protest against the great injustice done one of the most loyal and patriotic class of workers (the United Mine Workers of America) by forcing them to accept the infamous automatic penalty clause; be it further

Resolved, That we condemn him for the stand he has taken against the mine workers, and we demand that all salary and donation to him be discontinued at the reading and adoption of this or similar resolutions.

(Signed) W. M. LAUGHERY,

WALTER MILLER,

BERT ROUSE,

W. V. BRADEN,

WERDEN COWLES,

M. M. DAVIS,

Committee on Resolutions.

Adopted by Locals No. 3064 and 3322, District 14, Liberal, Mo.

Secretary Smith: The subject matter of Resolution 167 has already been acted upon by the convention. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 177.

Neffs, Ohio, December 18, 1917.

Sub-District 5 of 6, U. M. W. of A.

By the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the undersigned members of Local No. 193, take this opportunity to protest against this continual way the operators are trying to throw the coal shortage onto the miner for his non-attention to work, and where, as we know, that the mines are not working half time, and at this mine the men turn out every day to work, just to be turned back home without anything; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the coal commissioner send out investigators through the various coal fields to find out and put the blame to the place it should belong.

(Signed) WM. HENSLEY,
IRA KIMES,
CHARLES PERUNKO,
ROBT. EMERY, Sec'y,
J. B. GRANDON, President,
ANT. VORIK,
JOHN PASTRNAK,

Local No. 3562.

Secretary Smith: The subject matter of Resolution No. 177 was acted upon in the report of the committee on Resolution No. 110. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 183.

Lehigh, Mont., December 24, 1917.

United Mine Workers of America, Local Union No. 703, District 27.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolution No. 1. Owing to the shortage of work in the past few years and the small demand for men we are of the opinion that less hours to work will give every man a chance to work; so be it

Resolved, That the international officers of the U. M. W. of A. try and get either a six-hour day or eight hour, bank to bank.

(Signed) SAM COCKAYNE,
ANDY MESSAGE,
JOHN LAIRD,

HUGH MOONEY, President,
SAM COCKAYNE, Rec. Sec'y.

DAN MISCOVIC,
Resolution Committee.

Secretary Smith: This is a scale matter and has been acted upon in ratification of the Washington Agreement. No further action is necessary.

RESOLUTION NO. 194.

the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We have many old and disabled members of our organization who have helped to build our organization to its present financial condition; and

Whereas, As many of them are unable to work any longer in the mines and are not able to earn their living any longer by their labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates to this convention do everything in their power to create a pension or an Old Folks' Home, so that we will be able to care for our aged and crippled members.

J. EMORY,
ELIX SANDY,
M. MAYER,

Local Union No. 1356.

ARCHIE PHILLIPS,
JOHN SWISHER,

Local Union No. 948.

CHAS. BISHOP,
O. McNEER,

Local Union No. 41.

JOHN SHAFFER,
FRANK THOMAS,
EVANS.

Local Union No. 1103.

THOS. PITCHFORD,
AUGUST HUDOCK,
JOHN JACOBS,

Local Union No. 503.

CHAS. WONDERLAND,

Local Union No. 2676.

ANDREW STEVENS,
J. M. ADAMSON,
E. C. FARRELL,

Local Union No. 1944.

C. M. KOONTZ,

Local Union 3222.

Secretary Smith: This subject matter will be covered by the report of a special committee. Therefore the Committee on Resolutions has taken no action.

Resolution No. 195 was referred to the Committee on Constitution and the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Wilkinson, District 21, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and submitted the following:

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 21, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There is now pending before the United States congress a bill known as H. R. No. 195, and

Whereas, A clause in this bill gives the State of Oklahoma the preferential right of purchase of coal deposit on certain lands adjoining the Oklahoma State penitentiary and located on the segregated lands belonging to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, and that it is the known purpose of the governor of the State of Oklahoma to operate aforesaid coal deposits by convict labor.

Whereas, This bill is now before the senate and immediate action is necessary; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and delegates of the United Mine Workers of America, in convention here assembled, hereby authorize our International officers to immediately wire our avowed disapproval of convict labor in mines and request senators, congressmen and others to vigorously oppose Section 5 of the bill known as H. R. No. 195 and also Senator Owens' amendment of same.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN WILKINSON, President,

Dist. 21, U. M. W. of A.

E. F. ROSS, Secretary-Treasurer,

Dist. 21, U. M. W. of A.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution submitted by Delegate Wilkinson.

Delegate Wilkinson: The reason for my request is that the bill referred to has already passed Congress and is now before the Senate. It is in reference to convict labor in the mines. I would like to explain to you the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. I sent a committee composed of ex-President Stewart of District 21 and one of the attorneys that represented us in the Bache-Denman suit. When they went to Washington they found the Senate committee had a telegram from President Samuel Gompers, which read: "American Federation of Labor favors employment of convict labor by the state, for the state, the

product of such work not to go into competition with other labor and not to be sold for profit or commercial purposes and to be used only for state agencies and institutions."

I would like to state that the original bill has been in Congress for about two years, but it was not brought up until this time when they included a section giving them the right to coal deposits to be operated by convict labor to the extent of 960 acres of four-foot coal, amounting to 3,840,000 tons, which would mean a loss to labor of approximately \$10,000,000. In the Southwest, as you know, by reason of the Bache-Denman suit, there has been determined opposition to organized labor, and this is another attempt to defeat the aims and objects of organized labor in the Southwest. Senator Owens has introduced this amendment: "And, provided further, that such coal deposits under said land shall not be mined by convict labor for the purpose of sale to any private agency, individual, person or corporation, or be sold for profit or commercial purposes."

I took this matter up with our attorneys, and this is the general opinion they give, provided this section should pass: "But under the law Congress has no power to enact a law that will interfere with the state right to mine coal. Congress cannot enact a law that will prevent the state from conducting its business and internal affairs as it sees fit, for, just as soon as the state becomes the owner of the property, the United States will have no more control over it and it will be subject to the state laws alone." If that bill goes through it will establish a precedent in Congress, and once it is referred back to the various states they can operate their mines by convict labor in every state. We contend there is sufficient work for convicts on the public highways to make better roads, which are of more military importance than the mining of coal, and we contend that convicts should not be used in mines, not only because we believe it is a severe penalty, but it is out of accord with the penalty that should be imposed upon convicts, because they will accept risks that are not connected with their usual occupations.

The motion to adopt the resolution introduced by Delegate Wilkinson was carried unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

Delegate Farrington, Chairman of the Committee: In making our report to you the committee has decided that we will give you the number of the resolutions relating to any particular section of the constitution under discussion and inform you of the action of the committee on the respective resolution. The resolutions will not be read unless the authors or the convention should ask that they be read.

The committee recommended no changes in the Preamble.

Chairman Farrington: No resolutions have been introduced relating to this section of our constitution. I assume that under the usual procedure of our previous International conventions, when no resolutions have been offered and the committee has no recommendation to make the chair will declare the old section re-enacted without the necessity of offering the motion to adopt.

The Preamble was declared adopted.

Delegate Wieck (E.), District 12: . Can a delegate amend the constitution from the floor?

President Hayes: No, the resolutions must be in the office ten days prior to the convening of the convention.

Delegate Wieck: Is the committee empowered to bring in amendments when no resolutions have been presented?

President Hayes: Yes, the committee has that power.

Delegate Wieck: Is that ruling in conformity with Section 17, of Article XII of our constitution?

President Hayes: Yes.

Delegate Wieck: What I want to bring out is whether the committee has power to present amendments that have not been brought in in conformity with that section of the constitution.

President Hayes: The Committee on Constitution has always had that power in previous conventions and they have that power now. The chair so decides.

Article I and Article II were readopted, no resolutions having been submitted and no changes recommended by the committee.

Sections 1 and 2 of Article III were adopted, no resolutions having been submitted and no changes recommended by the committee.

Section 3, Article III. The chairman stated that Resolutions 34, 42, 51 and 94 related to this section; that the committee nonconcurred in each of these resolutions and recommended that the section be re-adopted as it now reads.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Frampton, District 25, called for a reading of Resolution No. 34. The secretary of the committee read the following:

RESOLUTION NO. 34.

Waverly, Mo., December 7, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The International officials and the officials and representatives of the Central Competitive Field have assumed the authority to meet and negotiate contracts for the Central Competitive Field and set the basis for negotiating and outline a policy to govern the outlined districts without them having the right to participate or without being called in consultation and being given a voice and vote on any policy that the outlined districts are expected to comply with; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Article 3 of the International Constitution be amended by inserting the following, to be known as Section 4 of Article 3:

"No International official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers will have the authority to meet and make a basic agreement and formulate a policy to govern any other district without all districts being given an opportunity to be represented and have a voice and vote on any question affecting wages or conditions or any policy that any other district will be expected to comply

with. Any International or district official found guilty of violating this section shall be removed from office."

Submitted by Local Union No. 1089, located at Waverly, Mo.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 171, Lexington, Mo.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 493, Nokomis, Ill.

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 2709, Norris City, Ill.

Local Union No. 649, Peru, Ill.

Local Union No. 956, Ardmore, Mo.

Local Union No. 286, Higginsville, Mo.

Local Union No. 2855, Kirksville, Mo.

Local Union No. 1226, Novinger, Mo.

Local Union No. 380, Missouri City, Mo.

Local Union No. 2143, Marceline, Mo.

Local Union No. 258, Bucklin, Mo.

Local Union No. 919, Bavier, Mo.

Local Union No. 1135, Huntsville, Mo.

Local Union No. 2686, Kirksville, Mo.

Local Union No. 298, Richmond, Mo.

Local Union No. 1032, Macon, Mo.

Local Union No. 2862, Waterloo, Mo.

Local Union No. 1611, Leavenworth, Mo.

Local Union No. 743, Lebanon, Ill.

Local Union No. 673, Soldier, Pa.

Local Union No. 1053, Ellisville, Ill.

Local Union No. 2619, Beckemyer, Ill.

Chairman Farrington: The committee nonconcurs in Resolution No. 34.

Delegate Frampton, District 25: We have reached the place in the deliberations of this convention, where, in my opinion, we want to correct the evils you have all been complaining of so long, and you can do so by adopting this resolution and enforcing it. If it is not enforced the adoption of it, of course, will not avail very much. I was speaking

to a member of the Constitution Committee, who informed me the committee was going to nonconcur in this resolution, for the reason that what is contemplated by it is already in the law. Is that the position of the committee?

Chairman Farrington: No; it is not the position of one member of the committee. I have no authority to speak for the other members. I have heard no member of the committee say the matter is already covered by the law.

Delegate Frampton: Then if it is not a law, is it not time we made it a law? Is it not time, when a policy is being fixed to govern this organization and every district is expected to comply with that policy, they should have a voice and vote in formulating that policy? Can the committee or anyone else assign any reason why I, as a representative of one district, should be deprived of having a right to a voice and vote on a policy this organization expects me and my district to put into execution? If not, then this convention should not hesitate to adopt this resolution and let it become a law.

There is no reason why this resolution should be defeated on account of our country being at war. Surely, it will not have any effect on increasing or decreasing the production of coal in this country to enact and put into our constitution a law that allows every district to have something to say on any policy that district has to comply with. So, surely, we will not have the flag waved at us in this instance. It may be said the penalty provided for in this resolution is too severe—to remove the officials who do make such attempts from office—but if it is, it will be very inconsistent upon the part of some who are members of this convention to recommend that this be not adopted because of the penalty clause. They took a position that the members of our organization, the humble members, should be penalized and the penalty assessed before they had a hearing. Surely, they cannot tell this convention, and be consistent, that they don't believe they should be penalized if they should usurp authority and try to dictate to this organization in a few districts what the entire organization should do.

It is stated by the chairman of the committee that this is not already a law; so we will discuss that no farther. But the chairman of the committee, in debating a question no later than Saturday, took occasion

to state to this convention that one of the representatives of the outlying districts was late in making his complaint; that he should have butted into the joint conference in Washington between the operators and miners of the four states in the Central Competitive Field and taken a position against the penalty clause. Now, I was present, and in defending this resolution I want to let this delegation know the embarrassing position an outlying district officer is placed in under those circumstances. I took it for granted that the outlying districts were only privileged to listen to the deliberations of that conference, and if they had any question to take up, it could not be taken up in the joint conference, but they could consult with other members who were formulating the policy according to precedent and try to get them to frame it in such a way it would not affect their districts. In New York the first supplementary agreement was made. As one district we were not notified that conference was going to be held, much less invited to attend. We were given to understand that we were expected to comply with what was done there by the Central Competitive Field—and I know something about the effect it had in my district. However, that was a voluntary increase granted in the New York conference, and, coming as a voluntary increase, without waiving any rights, I now look at it as different from the second supplementary contract that was negotiated in Washington. In the second supplementary contract we waived our right to take up any internal matters or to adjust any of the things we were looking forward to get. When that policy was being discussed I think every district should have been called in and consulted. Each district should have had something to say as to what should be done under such circumstances.

Prior to that meeting in Washington, the three resident officers of my district, knowing the effect the first supplemental agreement had on our membership in Missouri and the misunderstanding our members had of it, after seeing in the press that there was a conference to be held in Indianapolis, wired to the president of this organization, John P. White. "Understand by press reports there will be a meeting of the operators and miners of Central Competitive Field, September 6th, for the purpose of asking increase in wages. We earnestly request that we be permitted to participate in conference or at least be called in con-

sultation and have something to say about any policy our district will be required to comply with."

That telegram was signed by myself and the other two resident officers, and was sent prior to the Indianapolis meeting that preceded the Washington conference. We thought if there was any contract to be made that would invade our right to take up anything we wished to take up and adjust in the future we wanted something to say about it. I received the following telegram from ex-President White, sent from Des Moines, Iowa, August 30th, and addressed to myself: "Message received. There is no way I can arrange to have you participate in conference." That was the first conference that was held in Indianapolis, September 6th. I came over to Indianapolis and the presidents of other outlying districts came. I took the matter up with President White, and he informed me he was confident there would be no objection to my sitting in the conference. I took up the question of a consultation among the different districts as to what the policy would be. President White informed me that he would give the matter consideration. It developed at the conference that action was deferred. Later the Washington conference was arranged. Before leaving Indianapolis I requested President White to inform me when the Washington conference would be held and received this telegram, signed by President White and addressed to myself: "Interstate Joint Conference Central Competitive Field will be held Raleigh Hotel, Washington, Tuesday, September 25th."

The representatives of all the outlying districts were in Washington. At the time the miners were in conference among themselves, with no operators present, to determine the policy they would pursue, how much they would demand, and what was the next step to be taken when they met the operators, we were present. At that meeting I asked the privilege of the floor to explain to the conference a few things that might affect our district if they pursued certain policies. One thing was the differential between the thick and thin veins of Missouri. I was given the floor. When I asked for the privilege of the floor, President White asked the conference if there was any objection to giving it to me. We did not vote, but were permitted to make suggestions. In that conference I explained my position.

After the joint conference convened the miners' representatives pre-

presented their demands, which were submitted to a sub-committee. We waited around Washington for the sub-committee to report. When the sub-committee reported it was not to the miners, but to the joint conference of operators and miners. We were in that joint conference with the operators and miners of the Central Competitive Field listening to a debate of what they would do. We had no voice in that conference. That is the conference where the chairman of the constitution committee said Saturday that President Howat should have made his protest in regard to the penalty clause. If you had been there and had been familiar with the past policy of conferences of the Central Competitive Field, would you have attempted to break into a joint conference of miners and operators of districts other than your own and tell them what to do? I don't think any of you would have that much nerve. If you had, and it was proper to do that at that time, surely, you will have to stand up here and vote for a law that gives you the right to do it next time.

If you will permit the defeat of this resolution in this convention through argument or any kind of manipulation you should not have any complaints to make in the future, and when you come back you will be confronted with the same thing you were the other day—the Central Competitive Field, the chosen few, who will formulate a policy, lay down a law you are compelled to follow and abide by, and put you in a position of either going before the public, whether there is a war on or not, and repudiate the contract. If you don't want to be placed in that position you should arise to the occasion now and not be influenced to defeat this resolution, but make a law that will give you a voice and vote on any question that affects your districts.

You have heard from the rostrum ever since this convention convened, "our country is at war," but this contract you are working under terminates with that war. It may be that if this war is prolonged and the high cost of living is not controlled the mine workers of the country will again become restless and clamor for another advance in wages. Should that time come and they meet in joint conference with the operators to consider that question, is there any representative from an outlying district that will rise here and say, "I don't want to be represented in that conference?" If you do, you have the opportunity; you can concur in the report of the committee.

If the war terminates tomorrow, or six months hence, and your contract terminates with it, who will outline the new policy? Will the Central Competitive Field do it, or will every district under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers have a voice and vote in saying what the next step will be that this organization will take? If you want to be represented there, have the courage today to meet the issue and vote for this resolution; if you haven't the courage, don't come here in the future and complain about what the Central Competitive and the international officials have done to you.

I have another request to make. In taking the initiative in this fight for what I believe to be right, I don't know what argument may be made or what misrepresentations will be used; but before the vote is taken, if I desire, or if anyone else who is misrepresented by a speaker desires to reply, I hope the chair will not close debate until I have replied or someone else has replied to some misrepresentation or attack. I wanted to reply the other day, but debate was closed. I have no complaint to make of that now, but I trust this convention will give me or anyone else that much fair play and give me a right to reply, inasmuch as I have taken the initiative in the fight and I don't know what argument will be presented.

If you vote to concur in the committee's report and turn down this resolution, when you go back home and tell your people, "I voted to put in the hands of the Central Competitive Field and the international officers the responsibility of outlining the policies of the organization," stick to that, and don't come to future conventions and complain about what may be handed to you if you take that ridiculous position in this convention and place the stamp of your approval upon that kind of policy.

Delegate Farrington, Chairman of the Committee: I want to preface what remarks I have to make on this question by assuring Delegate Frampton that, so far as the chairman of the Constitutional Committee is concerned—and I think I may say in so far as my associates on the committee are concerned—he need have no fear that we are going to resort to a distortion of facts in order to force the recommendation of the committee through the convention. I have known Delegate Frampton a long time, and I have never found it necessary to do anything of

the kind when I debate with him anything that may concern the policy of the organization. I resent the insinuation on the part of any delegate that this committee is here trying to force through the convention something which should not be adopted by the convention. When the time comes that I have to resort to that sort of reflection upon any committee I will feel I am losing my standing with the delegation. The committee has nothing to conceal in this matter, and, so far as I am concerned, Delegate Frampton may speak again and again and again on the question. The committee has no objection to his doing so whatever.

The committee nonconcurred in the resolution because to have concurred in it would have meant that this organization was adopting a procedure which would have destroyed a long-established precedent and one which has proved to be of inestimable benefit to the members of the organization. Delegate Frampton would have you believe that none of the members of our organization have any part in adopting the basic wage agreement except the miners living in the territory making up the Central Competitive Field. When he attempts to convey that impression to your minds he attempts to do something that is not true and will not be borne out by the actual facts in connection with the procedure that has been recognized by the organization ever since we have had an organization.

Those of you who have attended international conventions in times gone by will no doubt have a distinct recollection that in every international convention, just previous to the scale conference period, a scale committee is selected by the convention. On that scale committee there are representatives from every district under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America, and that scale committee drafts a program for the guidance of the organization in so far as the negotiation of the wage agreement is concerned. And that policy is, without fail, presented to the convention for the purpose of ratification or rejection. Practically every scale that has been negotiated for the members of this organization has had its basic program outlined by an international convention.

Delegate Frampton, in his resolution, proposes that no officer, international or district, shall have the right to sign a wage agreement if that agreement is to have any effect or relation to any other district

making up the organization. In other words, the districts composing the Central Competitive Field, viz., Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois, are to be denied the right to go into joint conference and negotiate a wage agreement for their constituencies unless they call in Delegate Frampton, Delegate Howat and representatives of other districts and submit their work to them for approval. And if the program is adopted a similar procedure must be followed by the miners in the Southwest. They will be denied the right to negotiate a wage agreement unless they call the officers from Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois into conference and submit their work to us for our approval. The same condition will prevail wherever wage agreements are negotiated; no one will have the authority to enter into a wage agreement unless all the officers of all the other districts in the organization are called into the conference for the purpose of approving the agreement.

Now, let us see what that sort of procedure means. So far as the miners are concerned it might be all right, but we must not lose sight of the fact that in joint conferences there are operators there participating in the conference, and I want to ask you if the operators from Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois are going to enter into negotiations with the officers representing those districts with the understanding that anything done in the conference must have the approval of the officers representing the other districts in the organization? In other words, do you believe the operators from those four districts are going to negotiate with the officials from all the other districts under the jurisdiction of our organization? If the miners want the right to participate in these joint conferences, even though they may not be a part of the territory that is to be covered by the agreement negotiated, then we must also concede the right to the operators, and the inevitable result will be that we will not have any interstate conference at all, but the miners and operators will be meeting in one general conference for the purpose of negotiating a wage agreement.

If you believe the adoption of this resolution will bring about that sort of proposition, then you ought to vote for it; but I am inclined to believe that when the officers representing the Central Competitive Field attempt to induce the operators of that territory to meet them in joint conference and then tell them nothing can be agreed to unless the officers of every other district under the jurisdiction of the miners' union approves

of the agreement, you will have some difficulty in inducing them to participate in a joint conference. When you do that you will not have accomplished anything other than has already been recognized by the organization in times gone by. I repeat that every international convention outlines the program for the guidance of the officers so far as the negotiation of wage agreements is concerned.

I don't know of any condition that has been fastened upon the miners outside the Central Competitive Field by reason of the action of those making up the Central Competitive Field that has proved injurious to the men in other districts. I think almost everyone will agree that the organization in the Central Competitive Field is in a position to secure about as good a joint agreement as it is possible to be secured. I don't know of any section that has ever been written into the Interstate Agreement specifying that that shall be the basis for the negotiation of other agreements. It is true the organization itself has recognized that principle and has said to the membership everywhere that the agreement negotiated for the Central Competitive Field will be applicable to the outlying districts. That has been the policy, but we have not always been able to enforce it, because many of the districts have not been able to secure the same improvements in their agreements the miners of the Central Competitive Field have secured.

The organization, in order to meet an extraordinary situation, has been compelled to accept for the miners in the outlying districts conditions that were not as advantageous as the conditions secured for the men in the Central Competitive Field. I assume that is a condition that will always prevail as long as we have an organization. Districts to which wage agreements are applied are usually embraced in a certain zone because of the competitive relations that exist between the various units making up that zone. Freight rates, mining rates, mining conditions and everything that enters into competition in the sale of coal is given consideration, and those territories where the conditions are nearly similar are placed in one zone when it is possible to do so, and a wage agreement is negotiated for that particular zone.

At the present time, and for several years, the miners in the Northwest and West, Washington, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado, have been attempting to establish what they would call the Rocky Mountain

Joint Movement. Up to the present time they have not been able to meet with the operators in that territory have refused to meet with the union on that basis; but if the time should come that that sort of arrangement is established in that territory, if this resolution is adopted, that territory will be prevented from negotiating a wage scale if there is embraced in it anything that would be likely to affect any of the outlying districts. There is hardly a contract negotiated that has a section that affects outlying districts.

The committee holds that the policy of the organization in the past has been successful. The men in the Central Competitive Field have been able to get the very best that could be had, and if they had to choose those conditions, no matter what they might be, in the Central Competitive Field, that organization should not be called upon to finance an experiment calculated to secure improvements for the men outside that territory that were superior to the improvements secured for the men in the Central Competitive Field.

Mr. Frampton says that perhaps the penalty provided for in the resolution is too drastic—implying, I presume, that he felt that some officers of the organization were opposed to the adoption of this resolution because it might create a condition that would result in their losing their official positions. As far as I am concerned that is not the factor that influenced my action on this committee. We believe the penalty provided for by the resolution is a bad one; we believe that if we adopt this by this convention it will destroy every element of a policy that has brought success to the United Mine Workers of America for many years. We believe that with that policy in effect the organization will still be able to bring to our membership every improvement in conditions it is possible for them to secure. To adopt the penalty provided for in the resolution simply means chaos and disturbance in our joint negotiations and relations with the mine owners of the

We cannot expect to have the operators from the Central Competitive Field meet in joint conference, not only with the officers of the union in that territory, but also with the officers from the South-Western and every other district under the jurisdiction of our organization. We are satisfied they will not agree to any such one-sided arrangement. If

all the miners of the country are going to be represented in such a conference, then certainly the operators of Illinois, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and Indiana will not be present unless all the operators from the outlying districts are represented. I am convinced that the best interests of this organization would be conserved if the convention ratifies the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Wilkinson, District 21: I discussed this proposition with President Frampton some time ago, and it was brought to our district convention that has recently adjourned. The intent of Frampton's resolution was discussed there. It is not the purpose of the outlying districts to break into any conference with the operators, but I believe the time has come when this national organization should set out some well defined policy whereby the Central Competitive Field and no other territory will have the power to settle the destinies of outlying districts. I have been a staunch advocate and supporter of the national administration, but this is one time when I must insist that some well defined policy should be set forth to govern future proceedings.

It is true the Pittsburgh Policy Committee ratified the contract of the last convention. That was in 1916. In the New York conference the policy was set forth in such a way that it was impossible for any other district without mutual consent to change that agreement. That is the thing I am getting to now. I believe this organization should expand, as it is embracing more territory in unorganized fields. I believe the time has come when we should adopt a policy that will give the outlying districts and the fields that have been organized recently a voice and vote in the policy of the organization. What is the interest of one should be the interest of all districts. I don't believe we should take part in any discussion with the operators of the Central Competitive Field conference, but I do believe that before any wage scale is negotiated, before any amendment is made to it, or before any supplemental contract is made, the presidents of all the outlying districts should be called together for consultation.

I appreciate the fact that in the negotiation of the last increase we were called to Washington. We went there, but we had no voice or vote. There was no policy committee there, and I believe only five of the outlying districts were represented. There may have been more, but I did not know it. As far as I am concerned I am going to attend any such

conference. I want to benefit by the arguments advanced to secure the increase. I believe the representatives of every district should be present at such negotiations. Before those contracts are negotiated there should be a consultation with all the districts.

Delegate Mitch, District 11: This resolution was considered by the committee at great length. This resolution represents what has been the policy of the organization, or at least the first part of the resolution does. Under normal conditions it has always been the policy, as stated by Chairman Farrington, to outline our policies in an international convention. This resolution has, no doubt, grown out of the discontent and dissatisfaction felt by some in regard to the Washington Agreement. Delegate Frampton stated that some member of the committee agreed with the spirit of the resolution. I don't know what member of the committee he had reference to, but I do remember talking to him about it, and I don't want the impression that the committee's report is not as has been stated. I said to Delegate Frampton that the committee non-concurred in this resolution because it was the recognized policy of the organization under normal conditions. I believe that is the way the committee looked at it. That is the policy as far as our side of the house is concerned; but the operators of the Central Competitive Field, no doubt, would refuse to meet and negotiate a scale with the operators of the outlying districts. The international organization, through long years of experience, found that the best policy has been that followed by the Central Competitive Field, which has been the governing power for the outlying districts.

At New York, where the first supplemental agreement was negotiated, because of the fact that we had signed a contract that did not expire until April, 1918, we looked upon the increase as a voluntary one. There was nothing any of us could do but endeavor to induce the operators to give us that increase. The Washington conference took on a different aspect. The low coal proposition was mentioned by Delegate Frampton there. He wanted to protect his membership by having a word in the conference. That was one of the demands in the Washington conference, and all along the line there was argument in regard to what we could get to benefit the outlying districts as well as the Central Competitive Field. President Farrington had this proposition to deal with in his own district, and on the sub-committee we did everything in

our power to get something over 10 cents a ton for low coal, but we had to agree unanimously that it was impossible to get it. That question was not overlooked. In all of our negotiations we have always taken into consideration the outlying districts.

The committee, in considering this proposition, felt that to put such a law into our constitution would tie the hands of the international officials in such a way that they would have to get the consent of operators of outlying districts to agree to a conference. If that had been the law we would have been unable to make the progress we have made in the last two conferences. The great rank and file elected the international officials, and if they did not do what, in your opinion, is conserving the interests of the organization in general, it is your duty to cast your vote accordingly when the proper time comes. I myself have disagreed with international and district officials in joint conferences because I could not subscribe to some particular policy that affected my district, but at no time have I said they were not trying to conserve the interests of this great organization in general. To tie the hands of the international and district officials so they cannot use their best judgment, and, having a knowledge of general conditions before them, go and serve the membership in the way they are elected to serve, you are doing something that will mean destruction to your organization. The officials, no doubt, will tell you this policy has been one of the fundamentals that has built up the organization and has benefited the outlying districts. I think the report of the committee should be adopted.

Delegate White (J. P.), District 13: Mr. Chairman and Delegates-- I rise to support the report of the committee and oppose the adoption of the resolution. The committee's report is not only logical, but it follows closely all the precedents that have been established for the guidance of this organization. I listened very attentively to what President Frampton of Missouri said about the aims and purposes he had in mind. President Frampton is endeavoring to deal with the conduct of conferences, and in his desire to throw around them what he considers safeguards against impositions he has lost sight of the fact that the great responsibilities devolving upon those officers is wrapped up in wage negotiations. If he had been an attendant at these conventions many years ago, when this hall echoed with the voices of men pleading eloquently for

ter conditions in the outlying districts, I think he would better understand the situation.

The little district I represent, season in and season out has pleaded for recognition in the councils of the Central Competitive Field. We are directly competitive that we feel it is necessary to be a part of that interstate conference. All those efforts were unavailing, and times without number we were disappointed and sent away; but we kept the faith and never lagged in our efforts to secure for that little district the same progress that was made by the districts that are members of the Central Competitive Field. In 1906, when this great wage conference was dissolved and we had to resort to sectional settlements, the demoralization that set in by reason of having this great conference abandoned was felt in the outlying districts as well as in the Central Competitive Field. We went on for several years without having the Central Competitive states in a conference. Then we had what was called the three-state conference, and the proceedings will bear testimony to the fact that we pleaded for a rehabilitation of the old Central Competitive Field conference.

In 1912 we were again able to negotiate a four-state agreement which granted a wage increase and other conditions. In 1914, in Chicago, that wage conference was dissolved because we could not agree and were compelled to go out and negotiate sectional settlements. We renewed the Central Competitive Field conference and in 1916 secured another increase in wages and the universal mine-run. There was some agreement in that conference; there were some parts of the Central Competitive Field that did not want to subscribe to the terms and provisions of that agreement. We regretted that we were compelled to disagree with the representatives of the mine workers of Indiana, but we took a stand, and now our good friends in Indiana will admit that it brought beneficial results. Our movement is together; our universal mine-run has been established, and these things were secured first by the Central Competitive Field.

Delegates have complained here that a mistake was made in not bringing into consultation our Friend Frampton and others from the outlying districts. It may be true that we made a mistake in not consulting the outlying districts, but if you will examine the records of the confer-

ences where we secured the last two increases in New York and Washington, you will find that we had very little time to do anything but get busy and secure the wage increases in order to allay the unrest in our fields. Some of the men were demanding bonuses and were willing to take them without a contract. We had to act quickly.

There has been a larger latitude allowed in the conferences, of the Central Competitive Field conferences in late years than was practiced in the earlier years. All the representatives of the outlying fields are welcome to sit in those conferences. When we formulate our demands in convention, all the districts, including the anthracite region, are represented on the Scale Committee, and when the scale committee of the Central Competitive Field goes out to meet the operators they are instructed to submit their report to a policy committee representing all the districts in the country. That policy committee decrees whether or not the scale committee's report shall be submitted for ratification to a reconvened convention of all the mine workers or to a referendum vote of the rank and file.

Had we been negotiating an agreement in the usual manner, Brother Frampton and no other delegate could have come here today offering complaints. The fact of the matter is that Brother Frampton had some local inequalities in his district that he himself admitted were not placed in the district agreement by any act of the international organization or its officials. These inequalities had crept in there, and during the negotiations for these voluntary increases in wages they were not able to correct them. I presume these inequalities do affect seriously the men in the thin seams, but that is no fault of our great organization. Even in the Central Competitive Field, where they have such strong, cohesive organizations, the mine workers have inequalities they hope to correct in due time, but they can see, as sensible men should, the larger things in this agreement; they take into consideration the circumstances surrounding these negotiations and they appreciate the achievements attained. The rights of our people are amply safeguarded in the established policies that will govern you when you come again at the end of the war, or at the expiration of two years if the war should continue, every safeguard that has been yours in the past. If some of you have made concessions—as some of you seem to think you have—in agreeing to the penalty

clause, you will be amply protected when you come back to your normal basis of negotiations.

If it were possible to enlarge the scope of these negotiations I am sure the mine workers would not object to it; but I find to carry out the principle propounded by Brother Frampton, you might just as well say—and with equal force—that the district organizations in the Southwest, before they go to negotiate, should call in the local unions and take advice and counsel from them. But they do not do that in the Southwest, as Brother Frampton knows very well. They negotiated an agreement in the Southwest, and when they failed to achieve what they thought was right, they did not even ask the rank and file about it, but proceeded to order a strike in all the districts in the Southwest. They did not even consult the international officials before doing it.

The thing I want to dispel from the minds of the delegates is the suggestion contained in this resolution. I had heard that this thought was very thoroughly drilled into the minds of the men when they were convened in the district conventions of the Southwest District. That seemed to be the place where some of the leaders of the Southwest found a crumb of comfort for their failure to carry out their specific ideas of what they should have in their contracts. In accepting the larger gains—which was wisdom on their part to do—they took comfort in the fact that had it not been for the international officials and the Central Competitive Field they would have been able to breathe into the negotiations of the Southwest a larger degree of benefit to the men.

I shall regret, of course, if my act in negotiating the scales I have referred to here has been the means of preventing any district in the country from realizing the maximum of their desires. But we can all understand that we cannot enlarge these negotiations, because we have to consult with the other side in a wage conference. For years we tried to get the coal operators of the Central Competitive Field to enlarge their conferences, but they would not do so; and to adopt this resolution means, in my judgment, serious trouble for the mine workers. It provides a penalty if officers do not adhere to policies contemplated in the resolution. It has the implied suggestion that something was wrong and that grave harm came to the men of this country, particularly in the South-

west, by reason of this proposed policy not having been carried out at the time of our recent negotiations.

Guard well your basic wage conference, that conference that has been a beacon light to the less fortunate districts of the country. It has been the aim and hope of the miners in the non-union fields; it is the ideal that has been held up to them; it is the torch they hope some day will light them to the heights reached by other districts. You will remember the chaos that existed in our organization when the interstate joint conference was dissolved. We pleaded and begged and fought to rehabilitate that movement. We succeeded, and we have it today.

No good can come from the adoption of the resolution at this time. The convention has already ratified the Washington Agreement. The officers of this organization are responsible to the rank and file; they speak, not only for the men of the Central Competitive Field, but for the men of the Southwest, the men of the anthracite coal field, and the men of the mountain districts of the far Northwest. What Brother Frampton seeks to obtain by this resolution will come back to you with normal conditions. The Washington Agreement was negotiated under most extraordinary conditions. There is absolutely no need to leave the impression in this convention that the officers of the International organization are not giving heed to the needs and paying attention to the conditions that exist in the outlying districts. I hope for the sake of this great organization of ours that nothing will be done that will have for its object the dissolution of the basic wage agreements, or that will so handicap your international officials that their power to extend the scope and influence of this organization will be lessened.

I cannot agree with Brother Frampton in all he says has transpired by reason of his not having been made a part of the Washington conference. It is true he wired me, but I had no authority to say to Brother Frampton, either through the advice of the Central Competitive Field representatives or from any law that was in effect in our constitution or our agreement, that I was going to do the thing he required of me to do. And even though I had done so, the fact would still remain that I was going to negotiate that agreement with the operators of the Central Competitive Field and the representatives of the mine workers of that field.

There is no need of this resolution unless it is in the minds and hearts of the men of this convention that the officers have usurped their authority; that it was not necessary for us to take the course we did in order to secure these increases in wages, and when you reach the end of the expiration of this agreement, whether it is one month or six months or two years, the former policy of the mine workers will be again put into effect and when the negotiations are completed they will be put before you for endorsement or rejection. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I favor the adoption of the committee's report.

Delegate Howat, District 14: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—Our country today is at war fighting for the democracy of all the people of the world. The United Mine Workers of America stand for the principles of democracy, and therefore before I proceed with my remarks in connection with the question now before the house, for fear I may not be able to get the floor again—and I tried it yesterday three or four times—I desire to ask the chairman of the convention if I will be given an opportunity tomorrow morning to reply to the personal attacks made on me yesterday by former President White and to correct some of the misstatements he made to the delegates of this convention. His remarks reflect on my honesty and integrity. I want to make this request before I proceed to discuss this question, because it is so difficult to get the floor in this convention.

President Hayes: The chair has always tried to recognize the delegates in their turn and has no desire to take the floor away from Delegate Howat. You will have the opportunity at any time to arise on a question of personal privilege if you wish to do so. It is now time for adjournment and you will not have time to make an extended argument. I will recognize you immediately after convening in the morning when this question is taken up.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, January 22.

SEVENTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 22, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, January 22, President Hayes in the chair.

President Hayes: We have with us this morning a woman from the West as a fraternal delegate from the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, formerly the Western Federation of Miners. It is an unusual honor for a woman to act in the capacity of delegate from our sister union. Mrs. Langdon has long been active in the service of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and has taken an active part in many of the strikes waged by our sister union. She is a member of the Denver Typographical Union, an honorary member of the Western Federation of Miners and an honorary member of District 15 of our organization.

ADDRESS OF MRS. EMMA F. LANGDON, FRATERNAL DELEGATE FROM INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS.

Mrs. Langdon: Brother Chairman and Brothers of the United Mine Workers—I have listened to some addresses in this convention that I consider gems, jewels of speech that will live in history, speeches that are masterpieces. And I have arrived at the conclusion that I would almost rather make a contract with this organization to meet the kaiser single-handed and alone and accept an "automatic penalty clause" that would banish me to the land of goats if I failed than to attempt to talk to this convention after all the brilliant addresses that have been made, but I never have ran away in the past and I will not be a slacker now.

While I feel that this is one time when silence would indeed be golden, yet I fully realize at the same time that perhaps some of the forty or fifty thousand men whom I represent here would not understand if I do not say a few words, but if they could hear me or happen to read what I say they will be absolutely certain I should have remained silent.

I will be the sole representative of your sister organization in this convention, as I have been informed that Mr. Powell of Arizona, the

other fraternal delegate, will not be here and that he is no longer in the mining industry. While I have never met Mr. Powell personally, yet I regret that he cannot be present. He was a candidate for president of our International Union in the last election and should at least be a big man to aspire to that position. I am sorry he is not here to bear his share of responsibility in representing the organization in the capacity he was chosen to fill.

The President of our International, Brother Charles H. Moyer, has all along expressed the hope of being with you in this convention, but on account of serious developments in Arizona and some other parts of our jurisdiction it was necessary to call an Executive Board meeting, and the Executive Board is now in session in Denver, which makes it impossible for him to be present. It would have given him much pleasure to be here. So it is left to me, in my very humble way—and I never felt more humble—to bring to you the fraternal greetings, the friendship, the brotherly love and good wishes of the officers and members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, formerly the Western Federation of Miners.

Brothers, we have been told by some great man that some are born great, that some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them, or words to that effect. I feel that the biennial convention of the Western Federation of Miners, now the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, held in Great Falls, Mont., July, 1916, placed a real laurel wreath upon my brow when they entrusted to me the honor of representing them in this convention. It is an honor that could come to very few men and only one woman at this time, as I am the only woman honorary member, the only woman representing the organization officially in the field, and therefore the only woman eligible under the present constitution to be elected delegate. It is certainly a privilege never to be forgotten to represent the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in this, one of the most important, if not indeed the most historic convention of the greatest organization in North America, if not in the world.

I was not in the convention when elected, but was sweltering in the heat of Oklahoma trying to win a strike of zinc smeltermen with great odds against them, and when I read the wire from Great Falls notifying

me I had been elected I said: "1918! I will be dead and forgotten by then!" But time rolled on and I have been kept so busy that January, 1918, came before I was ready and contests with wage-workers and the corporations have not ended yet, for I was trying to win a contest between a ten-million-dollar corporation and 141 smeltermen when I came here, and can report that I believe it has been settled successfully.

I have no speech to make to this convention and I shall not tell you I am not an orator—you all know that who have heard me talk, and the rest of you will find it out in a few minutes if you remain. I believe there comes a time in the lives of all of us when we would be glad to be able to mold our thoughts and opinions into expression in beautiful language. This is the time in my life when I would like to be able to do it. I am reminded of an old colored lady, who had a neighbor whose husband was sick. The neighbor saw the doctor's carriage at her neighbor's house and became inquisitive.

"Liza, who am ailing over to your'all's house? I see dat doctor's new-fangled contrapshun standing over dar every day."

"Mirandy, somethin's been ailing Rastus er long time; don't zactly know what 'tis. He sleeps well; he shure does eat well, but he just sets on de veranda all de time and can't do no work 'tall."

Miranda replies: "Hump! Look 'er here, Liza. Dat ain't no disease dat man ov your'n is got. Dat am a gif'."

And, brothers, I consider it a divine gift to be able to express ourselves in eloquent language, but it is a gift I do not possess. I speak one language, understand one other and am beginning to speak a second language. I speak Arkansas English, understand Missourian, and if I continue in charge of the organization of the zinc smelters in the South I am afraid I will learn the profane language, but will try not to do so. But to be serious. Pope said, "Truth needs no flowers of speech," and I will confine my remarks to the truth.

In the International from which I bring greetings are able men—competent men and some orators that could have taken their places here with some of your best so far as ability is concerned, and they have made a mistake in selecting me, but, however incompetent I may be so far as talking is concerned, I believe I am as well acquainted with the United

ine Workers as an organization, as familiar with your policy for many ars, have been as near in perfect accord with it and as well acquainted th as many of the individuals in the rank and file that make up your nderful membership as any one man in our International, and I shall t except one.

Since 1904 I have had occasion many times to visit district conven- ons and local unions of this organization, first in the interest of my ok on the Colorado Labor Struggles and later on many times, too many mes, when the metalliferous miners needed both your mōral and finan- al support I was sent for reinforcements, and when the choice of terri- ry was left to me I came to you, for it was results I wanted and I soon arned where to go to get them. And you never failed. I think I know ery poorly constructed stairway and every interurban stop that leads o a union hall in Kansas, Illinois and some other territory.

I visited locals during the lock-out in South Dakota and during the eat copper strike. Sometimes we had to come to you for help when ou yourselves were in a life-and-death battle with the corporate might f this country. During your great fight in Colorado the metalliferous iners were fighting for their very existence in Michigan, and after all eir financial resources had failed, knowing that you would not see them o down in defeat so long as you had one penny, we were compelled to me to you, even though your load was heavy, and I for one can truth- lly say I never visited one local during the winter of 1913-14 that did t give every dollar in its treasury to our International in answer to my eal to help feed the women and babies in the great copper camps of ichigan.

I merely mention these matters to show you that I, as well as any an in our International, know the great hearts that beat in the breasts f the men that dig the coal of this country. I went through the great ght in Colorado in 1903-04, in District 15, and was made an honorary embers at the Pueblo convention in September, 1904. Again I was in olorado when you fought the great battle in 1913-14; I know something of the hopes, ambitions, dreams and noble aspirations of the coal miners and I did not read it in the daily papers of this country. I learned by going to you to ask that you send bread to others in distress, and you never failed. I know your history, and it is a creditable one.

Pardon me for being reminiscent for a few moments. About twelve years have passed since I visited a convention of your International. I attended the special convention in April, 1906—a joint convention of the miners and operators. Many changes have taken place since that time—really epoch-making events, too. The U. M. W. of A. have more than doubled their membership, you have fought some wonderful battles and have never been absolutely defeated in any of them. Your President, Mr. Frank Hayes, whom I have had the honor of claiming for a friend for at least twelve years, had not cast many ballots then. He was Secretary-Treasurer of Sub-District 6 of District 12, and it has been a great pleasure to see Frank climb to the top of the ladder and yet not become inoculated with that terrible disease commonly called “swell-head.” Many people can stand failure and survive, but few indeed can reach the highest pinnacle of success and keep their poise.

I consider an officer of this organization at this time one of the most important personages in the United States. An officer of your union has always held an important position, but now, with half the world dependent upon you to keep the wheels of industry turning, certainly a great responsibility rests upon the man at the helm in either the International or any local of this organization. I know you will all be equal to the great task. I ask your President to forgive the personal reference.

The Hon. W. B. Wilson was then Secretary-Treasurer of your International. He is now in the President's Cabinet. He was extremely kind to me when I was decidedly a “tenderfoot” from the West. There are others that we met here in 1906 that have steadily and rapidly progressed since then to positions of honor and trust. The last words I said to the 1906 convention were:

“I hold out my hands to you both” (speaking at that time of the Mine Workers and the Western Federation of miners).

The W. F. M. was not at that time affiliated with the A. F. of L. I was an active member of the Typographical Union then, as I am today. I was an honorary member of the U. M. W. of A. affiliated with the A. F. of L., and an honorary member of the W. F. M., not affiliated with the A. F. of L. I was a close friend of some of the officials and many of the rank and file and a great admirer of the organization, for I lived in

ctor, Colo., during the Cripple Creek war and admired the dauntless spirit displayed. I was here in the interest of books I had written on the eastern troubles and was invited to make your convention a talk.

There were two factions at that time quite active among the delegates, some for and some against the policy of the A. F. of L., and attempts were made to get me to interfere where I had no business. I declared, "I hold out my hands to both miners' organizations," and each is able to handle its policies without my interference. I am glad that when I come again to visit you our organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and glad you send fraternal delegates to each convention. Naught but good can come of sending fraternal delegates to every organization that comes in close relationship with yours. It is not enough to talk solidarity, but we should adopt the means to achieve it.

The last time we attended either a district or national convention we came as representatives of the Western Federation of Miners. For several years past the organization has considered changing the name, but definite action was taken until 1916. Long ago our organization had extended beyond the name it bore, for the jurisdiction reached to Ontario, New Jersey, and one of the fiercest battles ever fought for the right of men to organize was waged in the northern peninsula of Michigan. I have three 100 per cent. organizations of zinc smeltermen in the State of Arkansas, so our territory extends as far east as the Atlantic, north to the Great Lakes and south into Arkansas and Tennessee; it included all of Canada, all of the United States, including Arkansas, you see, and therefore the word "Western" was not any longer suitable. As the organization accepted every man that worked in or around a mine, mill or smelter, whether he was a practical miner, engineer, charged a furnace or did common labor, he was eligible for membership, so, therefore, the "miners" without mention of the other classes of labor included in the membership was erroneous and misleading and the title could have been changed years ago.

The matter was discussed by the membership for some time. Official action was taken in 1916 at the Great Falls convention, submitted to a referendum and the new name "International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers," became effective October 17, 1916. I want to say here

and now that the name of the organization was not changed because the officers or members are ashamed of the history of the old Western Federation of Miners. Those of us that love the organization most know that mistakes were made in the early policy. To err is human, and as our organization is composed of human beings, it has made mistakes.

Speaking of mistakes of others is a dangerous subject, but at the risk of being loudly denounced by some revolutionist of the "Jaw of the West," or some other section, I shall mention that perhaps the two most serious mistakes, in my personal opinion, were opposition to wage agreements, contracts with the employers, and remaining for a number of years aloof from the labor movement of the United States. But when you are fully acquainted with the beginning of the history of this organization you will not find it passing strange that they did not feel they had any special desire to put their feet under the same banquet table with the mine owners of the West; for their first introduction to the operators of Idaho was confinement in bull pens or jails, and the mine owners did not show any great desire either to fall into the arms of the miners' unions that were being launched back in the '90's. And so when the organization met in Butte in May, 1893, with their hearts still sore and feelings outraged as a result of the tragic struggle in the Cœur d'Alene in '92, the convention that founded the old Western Federation, that was to have such a historic career, hurled into the faces of the men they believed to be their oppressors the sweeping declaration, "We recognize no identity of interest between the employing and working classes," and adopted the battle cry: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

Brothers, our International remained aloof from the labor movement not because the organization had any quarrel with the organized movement of the country, but because they had a large membership that believed in the industrial plan of organization, and they were so imbued with the determination not to be divided into crafts and trades that they preferred attempting to stand alone rather than become a part of what they believed was a craft international. They attempted a number of times to form internationals that would measure up to their ideals, but never succeeded in launching one that realized all their dreams.

If you will be patient a few minutes I wish to mention a few matters that you may not have considered before. In 1902 Charles H. Moyer was

ected president of the International. The same convention adopted a solution declaring in favor of independent political action, and this solution did not assist in lessening the hatred borne the metal organization of the West. In 1903 the great Cripple Creek war came on and continued ferociously until 1905. The president of the organization spent very few weeks at headquarters, but was dragged from one bullion to another, and at the close of 1905 was taken to Idaho. Later he was exonerated from all trumped-up charges, but not until 1908 can we truly say he began his real term of office, and as soon as he was at the helm he submitted to the membership what he considered was the wisest policy to pursue. After some delay steps were taken to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the organization, after more delay, was granted a charter with the same autonomy in the metal mining industry that you hold in the coal mining industry.

The Victor convention, held in 1912, amended the constitution, striking out the clause prohibiting wage agreements and substituted a section providing for agreements with the mine owners and the check-off, then successful operation in your organization.

We may have chased some butterflies in the past; we may have entertained advanced theories and dreamed of class consciousness, unity and solidarity; but if the organization was wrong then it must be right now, for they have adopted exactly the same system and plan of organization you have today, and their foremost policy, until the world is safe from imperialism, will be backing the Government of the United States.

The path of the Western Federation was not strewn with roses. The organization is but twenty-five years of age. They have been years of storm, stress and struggle. They won the title of being a fighting organization. They have won no meeds of praise from the world, these men who clambered down the mountain trails and wandered down the world's highways to lift all who toil level with earth's proudest and richest; but in doing this they won the love of the workers and the hatred of the oppressors everywhere. And I say to you here and now with all the strength and energy I have, we have no apologies to offer for the story made by this organization when all the facts are considered.

Before the organization of the Western Federation of Miners the

men of the mines worked from twelve to sixteen hours a day under the most miserable conditions. No attention was paid to timbering. Men were cheaper than timber, cheaper than change-rooms, cheaper than bath houses or ventilation machinery. Eight-hour laws have been put upon the statute books of every State where we have strong organization, California, Utah, Montana, Colorado, South Dakota, Michigan, Missouri and British Columbia among the list.

We are told by some that we have lost strikes, that we lost the Michigan strike, that we lost the Bingham Canyon (Utah) strike. We no more lost the Michigan strike than you did the Colorado strike. While we may have lost what we most desired in those strikes, recognition of our organization, carrying with it an agreement with the mining companies there, we did not lose everything in these or any other strike, for there is not a man digging copper or treating copper in Michigan or in Utah today that is not being paid a big increase as a result of the great battle waged for the right to organize there. Sanitary rules have been adopted and enforced that were never considered before, and for the first time in the history of Michigan the eight-hour law is being rigidly enforced. The pity of it all is that the strike-breakers, the traitors to our movement, that have remained there are enjoying the benefits that the organized workers paid for with their dimes and dollars and sacrifices.

We have not only had the money power of this country to fight, but we have had the misfortune—or shall I say we have been cursed—to have more than our share of I. W. W.'s turned loose in our territory. We have had a great number that worked in the Western mining camps that while they cried "Solidarity," were continually busy disrupting the metalliferous miners' International. As fast as we built up the organization in one section, they disrupted it in another.

They never rested until Butte No. 1, our largest local, was overthrown, and have done all in their power to disrupt Arizona. I do not believe I will exaggerate the conditions that we have had or the curse the I. W. W. have been to the bona fide labor movement if I should state that they have been a greater factor in retarding the progress of organization in the metal mining industry than the mine owners of the West. After the president of our organization advocated the affiliating of the Federation with the A. F. of L. they turned their especial vitrol and

venom upon him. We notice that while they howled "Solidarity" they were busy dividing the workers. If they had given their time to the organization of the unorganized I would have no quarrel with them, but they did not do that. They gave all their energy to disruption, and while they have shouted for years for revolution, we find them slackers, draft resisters, and some of them are in jail, where they would probably prefer to be rather than in the trenches fighting for real freedom.

Our organization has fought battles that proved the dauntless courage of the men of the mines. They have been deported, imprisoned, had the power of the injunction and the state militia used against them, and yet in spite of all the demons that have been turned loose upon the organization they have set up a standard upon the very crest of the continent that all the storms of military despotism has not been able to overthrow. We have no great strikes on at this time and the membership is as large perhaps as at any time in the past and practically no internal dissension within the organization.

In the face of all this you must admit that your sister organization has been greatly handicapped. Indeed, it is marvelous that we have the organization upon the splendid basis it is today. Consider for a moment the hardships endured by President Moyer. I am like Mother Jones, so far as eulogizing individuals is concerned, but facts, indisputable facts, can never harm anyone. What battles have raged around this quiet, determined man, a man that is wholly adverse to the limelight, unassuming, extremely conservative, yet considered radical. He never flinched when imprisoned upon trumped-up charges; never went about the country telling of his martyrdom; never shirked a duty and never turned aside because life or liberty was in jeopardy. Very few voices are raised in behalf of those who direct labor's conflicts; too often they are vilified and misrepresented. No man to my knowledge has been more misunderstood or less appreciated or given more to the cause of labor than the president of our organization. Capitalism has directed some of its fiercest attacks against him; he has been imprisoned falsely, put in bull pens; he is broken in health as a result of the treatment accorded him. He was assaulted, shot and deported from Michigan. These are just some of the experiences, just part of the price he has paid because of his position as president of an unpopular organization and because of his devotion to the cause of labor; and when he advocated the affilia-

tion of the organization with the American Federation of Labor he brought the hatred of every I. W. W. upon him. He has not had the entire co-operation of his own organization. He is in absolute accord with the present policy of the A. F. of L. and with the government (which I should have put first), and is using his influence every day to assist in every way possible. We of the West, who know this man as he really is, and not what the tyrant and disrupter represents him to be, admire him for the enemies he has made. And I mean by that for his unswerving loyalty in spite of the most terrible trials.

So again I say to you, and I think you will agree with me, when you consider all the handicaps we have had, the location of metal mines, difficult and expensive transportation, shortage of funds and the many other obstacles, that it is remarkable we have made even the progress we have. We really feel we have bright prospects for making wonderful headway in organization work this year.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE'S POSITION ON WAR.

Brothers of the United Mine Workers of America—No more important convention ever assembled in the United States than this convention, representing as it does about four hundred thousand fuel producers, when the world is involved in war for the establishment of democracy. There are those among us that strongly believed in international peace and advocated it at every opportunity until the United States was forced into war. I feel on the subject of war as I do on the subject of strikes—I believe in exhausting every effort to adjust, and if all fails, if it finally resolves itself into a strike or giving up every constitutional right of the organized workers, if it is a strike or absolute serfdom, then I say strike, but never until all else fails. After all, a strike of the wage-workers is only a war, a small war, involving the employes and the employer; in fact, a strike is exactly what Sherman said of war—and you recall what that was.

I believe the great majority of the organized workers of the land wanted peace; they also believe that the great man at the head of this nation wanted peace, and the workers fully realize that he did everything possible to keep the United States out of the war; but we feel it was a case of war or sacrifice every principle for which our forefathers fought,

and therefore we have war. Some of us that advocated peace so strongly before this country became involved were not only thinking of the brave men that would have to shoulder arms and march away to the inspiring tune of "Dixie" or "The Star-Spangled Banner," but we thought of the mangled forms carried away on stretchers, or left to fill unmarked graves, or brought back to their loved ones, blind, crippled or maimed. But it is too late now, we are in the war; it was forced upon us and we must win. I think not only of the heroes there on the battlefield, but also of the bereaved, gray-haired mother at home, with her heart crushed, of the vacant chair, the orphans, the desolate home, the rivers of blood and tears, the loved ones at home waiting for news from the front. All that speak pay tribute to the brave men that have enlisted or have been drafted and marched away in reply to the call of duty.

I would not take one word of praise from our country's defenders, but I wish to speak a word in behalf of the women of this nation. In every great conflict, in every struggle, in every strike, women have their part to play. During a strike they must manage the home on a very small income, stretch a five-dollar bill to do the work of twenty, perhaps, and, if worthy wives and mothers, encourage father, husband, brother or sweetheart to remain loyal. Do not forget that the women of this country are giving up husbands, brothers, sons and sweethearts to the nation in this great cause; that the women are mothers of the soldiers and the sailors; that they are nursing the sick and dying. Do not forget that every inch of red in Old Glory has been drenched with a mother's tears, and that every star represents a mother's heart that gave her boy to fight for justice and right.

I say to you men of this land here and now, that the woman that is worthy the precious name of mother, that is fit to be the mother of men, will be found at her post of duty in her limited sphere. This nation will have the backing of the true womanhood and we will fight until the soil of every state in the United States is soaked with the blood of those we love and until the blue of the ocean turns to red to abolish imperialism, Czarism and Kaiserism. We will show the world that we are worthy of our ancestors, that patriotism is not dead and that we are not cowards. There is only one human I hate worse than a coward and that is a traitor. The labor movement stands for justice, we are organized to help the weak, the meek and lowly, and the United States in this war is fighting

for the very principles for which our movement stands. We of the labor movement know the war is not for money, for markets or because we wish to be pirates of the sea. We know it is to defend democracy, to forever bury tyranny and overthrow monarchy. We are right, the labor movement is right, and the United States is right.

FUEL, METAL AND WAR.

More than 19,000 members of this organization have joined the colors, but that is not all you are contributing to this war. Being the largest organization, of course, you have contributed a great amount of money to the Red Cross and in many other ways given the government great support. But I was thinking today before I began to speak of the great importance of the two internationals—the United Mine Workers of America, the producers of fuel, and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the producers of metals. You were always of vital importance, but never before has the important place that you must hold in winning this war been so strikingly apparent to the public. Fuel and Metal! What a combination just now!

Brothers, the international organization from whom I bring greetings, is composed of the men that delve into the bowels of the earth, open the granite hills and bring out gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc and other metals for the world's enrichment and use. Their product finds its way into the mills and smelters, where the virgin metal is transformed into copper sheets, wire, cannon, machine guns, machinery and engines of all kinds and descriptions. It is the product of the metal mining industry that makes up a part of the wealth of the world, but what good would any of it be without you, the fuel producers of the world? Without coal we could not even operate the metal mines or smelters. We certainly could not fight the Kaiser. We could not operate railroads; our ships could not ply between the continents carrying rich cargoes of food to the starving Belgians; we could not transport soldiers to France; we could not send the product of mines, mills and factories, and we could not get a substitute at this time with which to produce light, heat and power. Without coal our entire industrial fabric would crumble. These are some of the reasons that I say the product of your labors, coal, and the product of the metal miners are the most essential results, next to food,

f all the work that the human race is doing at this time. Coal, metal and transportation are enormous factors.

Since those fateful days in the late summer of 1914 when the Kaiser unleashed his war dogs upon a world unprepared, it is the coal miners, fuel producers, who, next to the soldiers of France, have the important role in saving the world from the evil designs of this war-crazed monarch, and if you should stop your labors for even a short time it is easy to see that this tyrant could enslave the world. The coal miners are vitally needed for the successful conduct of the war, and I know every man attending this convention will make a firm resolution that you will allow no one the right to stop the processes of your labors until this war is over. I know you will be true to the confidence and trust the nation has placed in you.

Our international is composed of metal workers, metal miners and meltermen, and while they may have chased some beautiful butterflies and possibly made some mistakes in policy in their early history, they will have but one policy until this war is over, and that will be to back the government of the United States. When the awful carnage is over we will firmly face the future and work to the end that capital and labor will have a better understanding of each other. The toilers never have failed in the past to do their duty and they will not now. Our forefathers left ploughs standing in the field and waded in blood to their knees in 1776 to free this country from king rule, and again they or their sons or grandsons unsheathed the rusty old swords to strike the shackles from the black slave; and whether we wanted war or not, we have it, and the great mass upon whose shoulders rests the stability of this nation will again do their full duty.

ORGANIZATION.

Brothers, in conclusion, I want to say that never before in history have we been in so powerful a position as at this time; never before commanded more respect, because never before have we been so well organized or stood so loyally together. Never before in the history of the United States has a president of this nation left the capitol to go to another city and appear before a labor convention; and we can truthfully and proudly say we acknowledge him as the greatest president since the

great emancipator, and even Lincoln did not have the great combinations of capital to contend with and manage that President Wilson has been confronted with. Abraham Lincoln foresaw just such a situation. The labor organizations of this country will stand as a unit behind this great man at the head of the government that deigned to bare his head before the men that keep the wheels of industry revolving. I heard one man say—speaking of the president's visit to the convention of the American Federation of Labor—that it was undignified. If it was I wish our Supreme Court and more men in high office could be undignified in the same manner—recognizing the right of labor to organize.

PAYS TRIBUTE TO MR. GOMPERS.

While paying tribute as one very humble citizen of this country to the chief executive of this land, I shall not overlook the part the man at the head of the labor movement, with headquarters also in Washington, has had in bringing the chief executive of this nation and the labor movement in such close touch with each other, in being able in his masterly way, to bring to organized labor the recognition the movement so richly deserves. It has required tact, diplomacy, and a master hand, and no one less than a statesman could have done it. I do not care who condemns me for saying it, I say here and now you have to hand it to Mr. Gompers for his share in it, and, to use a slang phrase, I take off my hat to the president of the American Federation of Labor and his colleagues for their splendid, diplomatic and creditable work. No one ever did it before; let us give credit where credit is due. Organization is the measure of social progress; organization is the measure of what freedom we enjoy today—we know over what a rough road the workers have borne humanity—their path has not been strewn with flowers. The pioneers of this great movement have been persecuted, prosecuted, vilified and misrepresented, the injunction used against them, deported; there have been Ludlow disasters and Michigan fire disasters; but in spite of injunctions, unfair judges, some unfair courts, and all the combined efforts of the opponents and oppressors, the organized movement of this country stands stronger and greater and commands a greater respect than ever before in history.

Organized labor is the product of conditions. This is an age of organization, combination, specialization and centralization. In every

ld and phase of human life men have combined in groups and work as unit. Capital is organized, business is organized, the professions are organized. Labor must organize and remain organized or go down into freedom. The combination of dollars has compelled the combination of men—you have had nothing handed to you on a silver platter (except functions); all that you have you have won through your organization. It helps those that help themselves, and it is absolutely impossible to do anything for the man that doesn't care to do anything for himself. The only way to help yourself is to unite with your fellows.

All the bitter struggles that your history records in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Colorado, Alabama, Illinois, or in any other section, and the great struggles of the organization that sent me here, Coeur d'Alene, Leadville, Cripple Creek, South Dakota and Michigan, were efforts to make the future rise fair and bright and unstained by blood and tears; and if right shall ever rule in this land it will be largely because of the sacrifice these two organizations have made in fighting the battles of the oppressed.

There is not an eight-hour law upon the statute books, a law limiting the hours of labor for men or women, a law prohibiting child labor, or any other law protecting the workers in mines, mills or factories, numbering, ventilation, outward swinging doors, or any kind of protection to health or life that was not put there by the dimes and dollars and sacrifices of the members of organized labor. And while the organized labor movement of this country made the contributions and fought the battles the benefits radiate to all the workers. So it will be seen that we not only bear our own burdens, but we must carry the load of millions of others that take what we pay for and fight for, but do not lift their share.

The labor problem is a world problem, as wide as the universe, and education, which can only come through organization, is the solution. The organized movement has a great task, to organize and educate the unorganized, or the unorganized will disorganize the organized. As powerful as the United Mine Workers are today, so long as any part of West Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee, or any other territory is not one hundred per cent. organized this great organization is in jeopardy.

The labor movement is here to stay. Industry has knit the bonds

of a world brotherhood that knows not the boundary line of nations. You do the world's work. You erect the skyscrapers; you span the mountains with steel; you have made the desert to flower in harvest; you have pushed back the frontier to the Pacific ocean, reared a golden empire in the West; you have dug the gold from the granite mountains; you have harnessed the Niagara and poured into the channels of commerce the golden streams that turn the wheels of a world's industry. You have built the palace and spread the banquet table and you are learning to keep a ticket of admission for yourselves. Now you are confronted with the solemn duty of upsetting a throne, of banishing forever from the face of God's earth imperialism, czarism, militarism, and establishing a world democracy. And you can do that, too! For there will be no slackers found in our ranks—in the ranks of these two internationals. All that prophet has foretold, or poet dreamed of; all that Schubert played into his "Serenade," all that Kubelik and Mischa Elman echoed of Schubert's dream upon their violins awaits the coming of labor into its own. The world's constructive thought is in the ranks of labor, the light of dateless futures driving them on.

To make their dreams come true is the mission of the labor movement of the world. Our task is great, but our courage is equal to it. Labor is coming into its own, for

There is a moving of men like the sea in its might,

'Tis the grand and resistless uprising of Labor;

The banner it carries is justice and right!

It aims not the musket, it draws not the sabre;

Yet the sound of its tread over the graves of the dead

Shall fill despots with dread, for it is sworn

That the land of our fathers shall be,

The home of the brave and the land of the free.

And I say unto you that that day is fast approaching. The labor movement shall and must win because it is right; and the United States must win this war for the same reason, because they are fighting for the same principle that the labor movement is fighting for—Justice and Right, and right must win.

There is a glory in being right and a splendor in being true,
 That nothing else in all this world can give to you,
 For right is right and God is God, and right the day must win,
 And we WILL WIN.

I thank you for your patience and endurance.

President Hayes: I know I express the sentiment of this convention when I say we deeply appreciate the fraternal greetings of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization. We want Mrs. Langdon to carry back to her constituents our pledge and assurance of support. In any way we can support our sister union we will do so, to the end that all the men working around the metalliferous mines, mills and smelters of this country might become members of our sister union.

Delegate Baker, District 23, International Board member, asked the privilege of the floor to make a statement concerning conditions in his field, and said: "You are all well aware of the fact that there have been several attempts to extend our great organization into the non-union sections of Western Kentucky. We made an attempt last year to organize the men in that section of our country, but that attempt, I am sorry to say, was not successful. Not because of the shortcomings of our representatives, but because we did not have the proper material to work upon. After prosecuting an extended campaign into the territory I have mentioned we put forth every effort in our power to educate our people. That section of the United States is, in my opinion, the darkest spot on the North American continent. The situation there seems to be one of the most deplorable that has ever existed any place in this country. Our people are clubbed, arrested on false charges and cast into the dungeons of that section. Everything in that section is dominated by the most vicious corporations and officials. This includes the municipal and county officers as a rule. In order to put this matter before the public one of the representatives that went through this campaign, who suffered many hardships and injustices, has prepared an account of the exact situation in that section of the country. I refer to Brother W. O. Smith, who is here on the floor of the convention this morning with the magazine he has prepared picturing as best he could the horrible conditions that prevailed in that section of the country. I believe it would be of interest to the movement to read this magazine and

see exactly what the conditions are in that part of our State. The time is rapidly approaching when the searchlight of investigation will be turned on those dark spots of America and the conditions there will not long endure. I do not believe the American people would permit the mine workers of this country to suffer as the miners of western Kentucky are suffering on account of the serious situation existing there. I think it would be beneficial to our organization if Mr. Smith would be permitted to address the convention for a few minutes. He can give you some valuable information with reference to the manner in which our people have been arrested and imprisoned. Some of them are now in filthy jails in western Kentucky because they are unable to furnish bonds. They are unable to secure fair and impartial trials before the courts of that State. I feel sure you will be more than pleased with what Mr. Smith will have to say."

Arrangements were made for W. O. Smith to address the convention later.

President Hayes: Some time ago I invited Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to address the convention. He has accepted the invitation and will be in the city tomorrow. I will appoint John H. Walker and Paul J. Smith to meet President Gompers and escort him to the hall.

The chairman stated that discussion would be resumed upon the question pending at the close of the previous session, the report of the Committee on Constitution, which non-concurred in Resolution No. 34, offered as an amendment to Article 3 of the Constitution.

Delegate Howat, District 14: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I am opposed to the report of the committee. I believe the rank and file of the miners of the Central Competitive Field are opposed to it. The officials of the miners' organization in this convention have been preaching democracy here day after day from the time we convened until yesterday evening. If the resolution now before the house stands for anything in our organization it stands for democracy, it stands for justice and a square deal for the coal miners in the outlying districts of this country. I want to read a portion of the resolution. It says: "No international official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America will have the authority to meet and make a

basic agreement and formulate a policy to govern any other district without all districts being given an opportunity to be represented and have a voice and vote on any question affecting wages or conditions or any policy that any other district will be expected to comply with."

I don't see why any official of this organization should be opposed to the resolution. I want to ask if the coal miners of this country do not believe that is fair? If any district or group of districts are going to meet to outline a policy to govern the mine workers of this country, don't you think it is fair that all of you should have a voice and vote in saying how you will be regulated? For many years the officials of the Central Competitive Field have been meeting with the coal operators in their respective districts and agreeing on wages and conditions of employment. The miners from the outlying districts have had absolutely no voice or vote on these questions. I say it is high time the coal miners of this country in the outlying districts were beginning to stand up and assert their rights as United Mine Workers of America and say that in the future they expect to have a voice and vote, or that they expect the officials of their respective districts to have a voice and vote on any policy and scale of wages that is going to be agreed to if they expect to be regulated and governed by the agreement that is made.

If the officials of the Southwest met before the officials of the Central Competitive Field and made an agreement with the coal operators in Kansas City, and the miners of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania had to be regulated and governed by the wages and conditions of employment we would agree to, I believe they would object and would have a right to stand up and say they did not propose to be governed by an agreement made in the Southwest, in the making of which their officials had no voice or vote. I believe the coal miners here from the Central Competitive Field should be willing—and I think they are willing—to stand up and say the officials of the outlying districts will have a voice and vote in future on any policy that is to be outlined by the United Mine Workers of America governing wages and conditions. •

We have been meeting our operators in Kansas City every two years, and the first thing we run up against is the agreement in the Central Competitive Field. The last agreement provided that there could be no change in any contract unless it was mutually satisfactory to both sides.

That means that when your officials meet with your coal operators and the operators say when a certain provision in the contract is reached: "That clause is satisfactory to us, we will not change it," that clause has to stay there. If the operators say, "No, it stays in there," that settles it. That is what we ran up against in Kansas City two years ago, and we have run up against it for many years. After we received an increase of 3 cents a ton and 5 per cent. on the day wage scale no other conditions were to be imposed that would increase the cost of production to the coal operators. Any change that you get in your contract that is not going to increase the cost of production to the coal operators isn't going to be worth much to the coal miners of this country.

That is the kind of fight we have been up against in the Southwest for several years, and I hope the miners in this convention will realize the injustice of a condition of that kind being imposed upon the miners in the outlying districts. I hope you will stand up here today and be counted and registered in favor of the adoption of this resolution and against the report of the committee. I am at a loss to know why any official of this organization that preaches democracy to the coal miners should be opposed to a resolution of this kind. I maintain if it stands for anything it stands for democracy. We have worked under the conditions I have described for many years, and we hope the delegates here will say that in the future the men in the outlying districts will have an opportunity to be represented in any conference where an agreement they are expected to live up to is negotiated. I have no fault to find with the officials pursuing the policy they have in the past, because it is part of their duty. The constitution did not make any provision for what we are asking today, consequently there could be no blame attached to the officials for what they did.

We had no voice or vote in the making of the Washington Agreement, we had nothing to say there in that meeting of miners and operators. There have been conditions put in the agreement in the Central Competitive Field that were unfair to the coal miners of outlying districts and we had to agree to them, although we had no voice or vote in the negotiations. Time and again we had inequalities we expected to have a right to take up and regulate, but when we met with our operators we were confronted with the proposition that nothing was to be

done that would add to or increase the cost of production. I say that is unfair, and I hope the miners of the Central Competitive Field here to-day will see the justice of what we are asking. We are only asking that the mine workers of the outlying districts have a right to a voice and vote in making the agreements that regulate their wages and conditions.

I don't believe it is necessary to make a great deal of explanation to show the coal miners in this convention the justice of this resolution and the requests we have made here. In the future we expect as long as we pay dues and assessments into this organization that you men will be fair enough, regardless of what some of the officials may say, to vote to concur in this resolution. Show that you believe in a fair deal to the coal miners of this country, and show that you still stand for this great principle of democracy we have heard so much about since we have been in Indianapolis.

A number of delegates asked that debate close.

President Hayes: This is too important a question to decide hurriedly. It affects the future of our movement. The delegates will be in order.

Delegate O'Neil, District 2: Coming from one of the largest outlying districts of the United Mine Workers of America, I feel it is my duty, if I can, to state the position of the miners of central Pennsylvania on this question. We, too, have felt in the past that the policy of the Interstate Competitive Field in making wage agreements that restricted the outlying districts in settling their internal affairs or local grievances in such a manner that they could not add to the cost of production to the operators has been a mistaken policy. However, the miners of central Pennsylvania, as I understand their position, do not agree with the proposition made by Delegate Frampton in this resolution.

At a special convention of District 2, held in DuBois, Pa., last April, the miners adopted a resolution which asked in effect that at the next scale convention of the United Mine Workers of America the convention go on record stating that, so far as wages are concerned and the percentages of advances adopted, that would be the basic scale; but the internal questions should be submitted to the different districts. Our position is diametrically opposed to that stated in the resolution. Rather

than be made a part of the interstate joint movement the miners of central Pennsylvania would prefer to be given independence of action in settling their internal differences and domestic inequalities. The resolution I refer to was adopted unanimously in our convention last April; and in order that they might protect themselves against any such clause in future agreements they adopted a resolution that provided that all future agreements negotiated in central Pennsylvania would be submitted for ratification to a special district convention.

I agree in part with the position taken by the Southwest delegates, because we have felt at times that we were tied up to a policy that prevented us from getting things we wanted in central Pennsylvania; but we believe the policy of tying us up to the Central Competitive Field movement in a sort of half way would be worse than the present condition. Of the 410,600 paid-up members in this union about 65,000 of them belong to the anthracite region; about 185,000 are members of the four States making up the Interstate Competitive Field—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and western Pennsylvania. In the soft coal districts there are approximately 160,000 members outside of the Central Competitive Field. Once a satisfactory agreement is reached for these districts they can out-vote the others in the soft coal fields. We object in central Pennsylvania to this convention making us a party to a conference where we would be unable to meet our operators and participate in the vote. That would be against our wishes. It might tie us up to an agreement that the miners of central Pennsylvania would not ratify.

We agree that the adjustment of local inequalities and internal differences should be referred to each district to work out in its own way, and because we do believe that is one of the reasons I am opposed to being made a member of the Joint Interstate movement where I cannot meet my operators and where the members of four districts control a majority of the vote. Our position in that case would be materially weakened. That is the way the miners of central Pennsylvania view it. They went on record unanimously as being opposed to being tied up by the Interstate Competitive Field when it comes to settling their internal questions.

International Secretary Green: It is a conviction with me that a large number of the delegates misunderstand the proposition you are

now considering. I am satisfied that your minds are confused, that you are governed perhaps largely by your feelings in the matter rather than by your judgment, and if you will permit me just a few moments I will endeavor to clear the situation, present some facts to you, and after you are in possession of those facts you may act accordingly.

This is a most important question. It is a question of policy, and questions of policy affect the very life and well being of our union. This proposition that is now before us provides that this International Union, if it adopts the resolution, is committing itself to a policy that may prove to be impossible, impractical, and if it is impossible and impractical, then I am sure the delegates will not adopt it. The danger in this resolution is not in what it states clearly, but it is in what is stated by inference, by innuendo, and for that reason it is misleading to the greatest degree. It proposes that the organic law of our organization shall be amended so that a joint conference of miners and operators in this country cannot be held unless all the miners and all the operators in this country participate in it. If that is not the case, then I certainly misunderstand what the author of the resolution said it proposed to do. It proposes that the Interstate Joint Conference of Miners and Operators shall be so enlarged that the representatives of the outlying districts must be brought in. Is there any man here who believes the representatives of the miners from the outlying districts can be brought into a joint conference of miners and operators of the Central Competitive Field unless the operators from those same outlying districts are to be brought in? Is it to be a one-sided affair? Remember that when you are making a contract there are always two parties to it.

What has been the policy of our union? I think the policy has been what a great many people have said on this floor it ought to be while they have been advocating the adoption of this amendment to our law. An international convention of the United Mine Workers of America was held in this city in 1916. Representatives of local unions from all over the country came here. The contract then in force would expire on March 31, 1916, and we had to negotiate a new scale. What happened? In that convention in 1916 a scale was drafted—by whom? All the representatives of the miners of this entire country. The demands of the miners were formulated here in this hall, and the scale the miners were instructed to present to the coal operators in the Central Competitive

Field, which is the base district in this country, was formulated here. That is democracy. The delegates framed it.

After the scale was formulated by the scale committee it was reported here to the delegates and ratified by a majority of the votes of the convention. Then what happened? By the instructions of this convention the representatives of the Central Competitive Field met with the coal operators of the Central Competitive Field and presented to them the scale that had been drafted by the representatives of all the miners of America in an international convention assembled. This scale committee was told that after they had completed their work they were to report their action to a policy committee that had been selected by the international convention. Wasn't that democracy? Every district in this country was represented and every district had something to say as to what would be the policy of this great union.

This resolution is misleading, in that it leaves the inference that our policy has been to not have all the miners of the country participate in the policy of the Mine Workers. That policy committee was created by the convention. The miners' representatives and the operators of the Central Competitive Field met. What is the Central Competitive Field? Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Western Pennsylvania. The reason the Central Competitive Field has always been the basing point is because before there were conferences in any other sections in this country, before groups of districts met anywhere, the joint conference in the Central Competitive Field was formed and met to adopt a basic scale. But these miners met the operators under instructions from this sovereign body. I want you to get that clearly in your mind. The miners of the Central Competitive Field were the agents of the International convention. They met the operators and presented a scale they did not formulate, but that the representatives of the miners of this entire country had formulated. They went with instructions.

I want to tell you gentlemen that no more effective arguments were ever produced for the adoption of all you asked for than were produced by your representatives, the miners from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Western Pennsylvania. But they did not get all the scale demanded. Did you ever know a time when we formulated a scale in international convention and then met a group of operators that gave us all our

demands? We could not get them all; some things had to be compromised, others given up; but after they had completed their work, had exhausted all the power at their command, had exhausted all their arguments, the policy committee that had been created by the convention was called in. That policy committee came from Kansas, from Oklahoma, from Missouri, from Wyoming, from Washington and Montana—every district was represented on it.

The members of that policy committee went to Pittsburgh and there was submitted to them the work that the Central Competitive Conference had done. The scale committee told their fellow miners that were called in: "We have met the operators of the Central Competitive Field; we submitted the demands of the international convention. We have secured part of them; there are others we cannot get unless we go on strike. What shall we do?" That policy committee, composed of representatives of every district in this country, after some deliberation, discussion and argument, decided by a vote of 56 to 15 to accept the report of the scale committee.

Delegate Price, District 11: How many organizers did you have in that 56 and 15 that were clothed with the power of district officials to outvote us in Indiana?

Secretary Green: Brother Price, you are asking a question I cannot answer. I am talking now about the mode of procedure that was adopted. What you ask is foreign to the question. Each district selected its own members of the policy committee and sent them to that meeting in Pittsburgh. That committee was composed of the representative men of the respective districts that sent them. The policy committee assembled in Pittsburgh, and after they had deliberated on the question they decided to adopt the proposition that had been drafted, subject to a referendum vote of the miners of this entire country. Was that democratic?

Now, let us go over the matter step by step. First, the international convention was assembled. The international convention adopted a scale. That was democracy. The convention sent its agents out with the scale. The agents met the operators and did all they could, then reported back to the policy committee. Even the policy committee was not clothed with authority to adopt what had been done by the scale committee, but decided to submit it to a referendum vote of

the miners of the entire country. The proposition was submitted to the miners of the country and adopted by a majority vote. If that is not democracy, I don't know what democracy is. Did that deprive the miners of this country of a right to have something to say as to the policy of the organization? Did it deprive them of the right to pass upon what the policy should be?

Some complaint has been made about a clause in the agreement which provided that in the settlement of disputes nothing could be done that would increase or decrease the cost of production. There isn't a miners' representative who participated in those joint conferences that would have that section in the scale if he could cut it out. But it was one of two things, either agree to that or a strike, and the miners of the country believed at that time that the chances were against them and that it would be better to secure the agreement with that clause in it than to strike. The miners of the country voted for that section and adopted it. They are the ones who said what the scale should be. Isn't that democracy? Isn't that shaping policies in accordance with what is contained in this resolution? Aren't the men who compose our membership formulating our policy, giving instructions and, in the last analysis, passing upon what the scale shall be?

This proposal is an amendment to the constitution. It says: "No international official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers will have the authority to meet and make a basic agreement and formulate a policy to govern any other district without all districts being given an opportunity to be represented and have a voice and vote on any question affecting wages and conditions or any policy that any other district will be expected to comply with. Any international or district official found guilty of violating this section shall be removed from office."

I have no objection personally to the spirit of the resolution. I believe that the representatives of this organization should shape its policies and that everybody should have a voice in saying what they shall be. Then, in the final analysis, I believe that all the members of our union should say that what has been done shall be approved. That I heartily concur in, but we are getting the cart before the horse when we attempt to amend our law to provide for these things. If we were to adopt a

solution in this convention instructing the delegates who participate the joint conference in the Central Competitive Field to use their influence to have the interstate conference enlarged so that all the miners and operators of the entire country could participate, then we would be pursuing the right policy. But when we attempt to control the other party to the contract by amendments to our own organic law we are following a policy that is both impractical and impossible.

Suppose for a minute, after knowing all that I have explained to you regarding the actions that have been taken, that two years from now when we meet, or at the expiration of the contract term, we come into convention, formulate our demands as usual and go out to meet the operators in the Central Competitive Field and say to them: "Our convention in regular session amended the laws of our union so that if this conference is to be held the miners' representatives from all sections of this country must participate in the conference, and unless you agree that all the miners' representatives from every district in this country be seated no conference will be held, we cannot participate because if we do we will be removed from office." Suppose the operators come back and say: "Well, gentlemen, this interstate conference has been arranged for the four districts. We are willing to meet with you as heretofore, but we are not willing to extend the scope of the conference. Especially are we unwilling unless the operators of Iowa, Montana, Wyoming, Oklahoma and other bituminous districts are brought in here, and the anthracite operators as well." Where do you think we would be in that case? We would be up against a stone wall and we could not even proceed with our negotiations.

In the making of joint agreements we must take into consideration the other fellow; we cannot make the joint agreement ourselves. If we could it would be different from any agreement we have. That is the trouble with a great many of us sitting in this convention; we think that all we have to do is to go to the other fellow and say: "This is what we have done," and he will hurry to hand it to us on a silver platter. My experience in about fifteen years of dealing with the other fellow is that he is about as stubborn a man as I have ever met, and usually he has something to say in the making of agreements. We would find ourselves face to face with a situation in which the machinery of this organization would stop and we would have to come back here, hold another con-

vention and tell you we could not go ahead. If this convention decides that no international officer shall participate in a conference with a group of operators anywhere unless the miners from all over the country are brought in, as one international officer, I guarantee you I won't participate.

There has been some complaint because of the Washington Conference, and perhaps there is some basis for it; but we were not meeting in New York in April and in Washington in September for the purpose of negotiating a new agreement. The agreement we entered into two years ago was still in force. We were simply meeting for the purpose of securing an increase in wages over the present scale. What we were asking for was an increase in prices over what had been agreed to and paid. Two years ago, when we entered into that agreement, we agreed that scale should be effective from April 1, 1916, to March 31, 1918. But conditions changed, the war came on and prices went up. Nobody could have foreseen those things. We felt we had a right to share in the rising price of coal; the cost of living had gone up, and so we called the operators in, not to make a new scale, because the scale was still in effect, but for the purpose of getting an advance on the prices that were embodied in that scale. That is the difference.

Whenever a new scale has been negotiated by this union it has been drafted first by the miners in convention, and when your representatives met the operators of the Central Competitive Field they carried with them the scale drafted by the miners in their international convention. Before they could determine a scale for the Central Competitive Field the policy committee had to act upon it, and before it was finally ratified the miners of the entire country had to vote on it. Can you improve on that? That is democracy.

When we secured 60 cents a day for the drivers, and in Washington, when we secured \$1.40 a day for them, we were not negotiating a new scale, but we were demanding from the operators that they give us a voluntary increase in wages above the scale that was then in effect. And then we went further than that. Even the miners' representatives in the Central Competitive Field did not accept that which was done there finally, but they accepted it—listen to this—they accepted it subject to the approval of this international convention of the United Mine

Workers of America. Isn't that democracy? The matter was submitted to you and for two days you sat here as a jury listening to the voice of reason. You heard the facts and then after two days you voted. The vote by which you approved of what your representatives had done in Washington was overwhelming. I want to ask you if that is democracy? Yes, it is. You were the policy committee then, you here in this convention, you were the check and the balance.

When you infer that you have nothing to say about the policies, that they are formed by a little group, you are wrong; that deduction is wrong, it is almost criminal to present such a situation, for that situation really does not exist. We should not take some action here because we are angry at somebody, that will block the machinery of this union in working out our wage problems. I don't think the scale of wages in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and western Pennsylvania is of such a character that the problems they have worked out have not been to the benefit and credit of the miners of this country. I want to see the time when a joint conference of operators and miners will be held that is so big and so comprehensive that every miner and operator in every district in this country will be seated together, and there we can work out our wage problems. That is the ideal; I would like to see it, but I don't want, in order to gratify that consuming desire, to sprag the machinery of this union, to prevent us even getting together when this contract expires, and perhaps prevent us from negotiating a contract. If that is done we may have to come back here and undo the very thing that we impulsively may do today.

In my judgment the report of the committee ought to be adopted. I am giving you my judgment—you can do as you like after I have said what I have to say. I say again it is my judgment that the report of the committee should be adopted. If the convention then wants to do something constructive, something helpful, something that will improve what we believe is not what it ought to be now, let us adopt a resolution instructing the delegates who participate in the joint conference of miners and operators in the Central Competitive Field to demand that that interstate conference be enlarged so as to take in all these other groups of districts. Then when we meet we will lay that demand before the operators and try to prevail upon them to carry into effect the wishes of this convention. Then we should instruct them that even though they do

meet no scale can be adopted and no definite action taken until representatives from every district in this country are called in for the purpose of passing upon the work they may do. If that is done we will be pursuing a constructive policy, the interests of this union will be preserved and democracy will prevail in the organization.

Delegate Morris, Local 1441, District 12: I want to ask Mr. Green in regard to the increase that we have secured. Who is getting the benefit of the \$1.40 a day? I will give you an illustration. In the camp where I work the men who were loading coal were loading two cars to the man. After the increase the company placed five cars on two men; in other words, the men now are loading two tons 1,000 pounds more today for the increase. Accordingly they have speeded up the motor-men, the trip runners and all other company men. They have given the loader 10 cents increase and have kept 35 cents increase for themselves.

Secretary Green: What is your question?

Delegate Morris: Who got the increase?

Vice-President Lewis: I rise to support the report of the Committee on Constitution, which is to non-concur in Resolution No. 34, submitted by Delegate Frampton of Missouri. I can appreciate the sentiment that might exist in the minds of many men who feel perhaps that an improvement can be worked out in this proposition; but I want to call your attention to the fact that even if this convention this morning were to unanimously adopt the proposal of Delegate Howat and Delegate Frampton it would in no way create a departure from past custom. This amendment proposed by Delegate Frampton provides: "No International official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers will have the authority to meet and make a basic agreement and formulate a policy." I want to point out most emphatically that never in the history of this organization has any agreement been formulated without the consideration of every district in this organization. The basic agreement under which we are working today and which applies throughout this country is a basic agreement which was negotiated in 1916, wherein the fundamental demands were created by an international convention. After your representatives had met the operators they submitted the result of their negotiations to a policy committee that met in Pittsburgh. Every district had a representative on

that policy committee. I recall very vividly that Delegate Frampton was in that meeting on the 16th of April, 1916, and that he voted against the ratification of the Mobile and New York agreement.

The Washington Agreement was nothing more nor less than a voluntary increase given the miners by the coal operators of America. It is true that your representatives asked the coal operators for this increase and pointed out reasons why it should apply, but in every instance we held that we were violating our contractual relations. We did not have an opportunity to make a basic agreement in the Washington conference. It was simply a voluntary agreement; consequently the adoption of this agreement would in no way change that policy.

I want to call your attention to the fact that the Interstate Competitive Field is simply a basing point for our organization in the making of a contract. There are other competitive fields. We have the Southwest Competitive Field, we have the Northwest Competitive Field, we have the Eastern Competitive Field. There is a great tonnage of coal produced in District 2, the bituminous field of Pennsylvania. All that coal goes to the Atlantic seaboard and to the great manufacturing communities of the East. That in itself is the reason why the coal operators of this country in fixing the basis of agreements with the United Mine Workers of America decline to permit the operators of these fields to sit in the conferences of the Central Competitive Field. The same is true of the South. Alabama, Tennessee, eastern and western Kentucky have a tonnage that does not materially compete with the vast tonnage produced in the Central Competitive Field.

I regret, Mr. Chairman, to see the delegates to this convention seeking to change the policy that has done so much good for this great institution and is recognized, not only by the coal-producing units of America, but by the public at large. Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois comprise the great bulk of our membership. Why do you want to assume that the outlying districts could secure greater concessions from the operators were they allowed to have a free will in negotiating the contract? There is no sentiment in this proposition; it is a business proposition solely, and I trust you are not going to let a matter of sentiment interfere with your decision.

The spirit of the resolution, if carried into effect, would tend to disrupt this great central competitive movement. I can recall the day when the interstate movement of the Central Competitive Field was not kept intact. I can recall when the miners of Illinois had a great strike because the operators of that State would not abide by the contract made by the other operators of the interstate field. That contest was waged and we were successful in securing what we fought for. If you do anything that in any way is going to affect the stability of the interstate movement you are paving the way for great disruption in the future.

We have no way to compel the Central Competitive Field operators to meet in conference with the outlying district operators. Their coal does not go into the same markets; they haven't the same conditions and freight rates. The coal of central Pennsylvania is a different grade and goes to the seaboard. Why should those operators of the central Pennsylvania field meet in a conference with the Central Competitive Field operators and say what shall be the basic scale when their conditions are in no wise alike? It is a purely business proposition; it is devoid of all sentiment. I know it is a popular position to stand on the floor and say that we should all have a voice in the negotiations, etc., but never in the history of our organization have the outlying districts been denied a right to vote on our basic agreements.

I ask, in rendering judgment in this matter, that you do not go astray, but rest secure in the fact that the Committee on Constitution is familiar with these propositions and will deal with them in a way that is for the best interests of the organization.

Delegate McCleish, District 12: I have not listened to many of the rank and file, but I have listened to the officers. I work every day, and I know what I am talking about. I don't know how soon I may be going to some other district affected by the agreement. I believe in democracy. Democracy has been taught us ever since we came into this great convention. We are told it is the fundamental policy of our great organization. Why can't we have democracy in this convention? If the delegates of this convention do not adopt this resolution I fail to see how we will secure democracy. We will have a taxation without representation.

I fail to see why the officers of the district organizations and the International organization should favor the present system. It must be

detrimental to some of their positions when they take the stand they do. Some of the previous speakers have asserted that every district was represented in making the agreement. Brother Howat and Brother Brampton denied the allegation. It is true they were called to Washington, but they had no voice in making that contract. I believe that every district should have a voice in a joint conference. I belong to the Central Competitive Field, but it is the justice of the thing I am looking at. I don't know when I may go to some of these districts that are outside of the Central Competitive Field.

I don't see for the life of me why this convention should adopt the report of the committee and non-concur in the resolution. I cannot see where it will be detrimental to the membership to adopt the resolution, and I cannot see why the officers should fight it. There is nothing in the resolution that should be obnoxious to a working man, a man who produces coal, a man who works in 18-inch coal. I saw men work in 18-inch coal and about 6 inches of rock on the top. It makes the entire vein 2 feet high. I don't think a man from any district that has such coal as that should be denied representation in a joint conference. Don't you think he is as much entitled to representation as the men in the competitive field of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and western Pennsylvania?

I don't want to take up much of your time. I am only talking from a miner's standpoint. I want to advise you that when you vote on this proposition that you do justice to your brothers who are in the low vein. Don't think because a few of you are digging 10-foot coal you will never be obliged to work in the low vein. Vote your sentiments—that is all I ask of this great convention.

Delegate Diamond, District 16: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I rise at this time to dispute some of the misrepresentations that have been made in regard to the negotiations of the Southwest in 1916. When the joint conference convened in Kansas City last summer a resolution was introduced requesting the International organization to assign me to represent the International Union in that conference. President White had already asked me take up that work, inasmuch as I was down in the Southwest at that time. When the conference went into session the New York Agreement was referred to and became a matter of discussion. Delegate Howat referred to one section of that contract he objected to,

Clause 6, that said nothing could go into the Kansas City Agreement or any other agreement that increased the cost of coal unless it was mutually agreed to by both miners and operators. That was the objection made to the New York Agreement.

The Kansas city conference put a clause in the Southwest Agreement which specified that nothing would go into their agreement unless by mutual consent. That was not in harmony with the New York Agreement. The outlying districts, in my opinion, if they have the power and will take the responsibility on themselves to go out and get something better for their members than is provided in the Central Competitive Field contract can do so. That is the position we took in Kansas City. The Oklahoma operators, during the joint conference, refused to subscribe to the Kansas City basic agreement, and in order to force them to comply with it the district organization, with the endorsement of the International representatives, struck that portion of the field in order to enforce, not the New York basic agreement, but the Kansas City basic agreement. And then speakers will say they are tied hand and foot in the outlying districts! Their hands are not tied by the basic agreement in the Central Competitive Field; their hands are tied because they will not take the responsibility upon themselves in the outlying districts.

The outlying districts know that with their own resources they could not get anything more than the Central Competitive Field conferences get. I have represented Michigan on several of the policy committees. I was always instructed by the Michigan miners, and so were other representatives of that district, that when we went down to deal with the Central Competitive Field basic contracts not to tie the hands of the Michigan miners, because they wanted to make a readjustment of the differential between machine and pick mining. We did that. We voted against it in nearly every case in order that we might go up there and fight it out with our own resources. When we got back to Michigan and realized our weakness and inability to bring about the readjustments that were desired by the miners we did like other sensible men did, we accepted the basic agreement entered into by the Central Competitive Field.

In my judgment the wisest thing we can do is to follow the present

system and vote down this resolution. It has been stated on several occasions that this resolution would improve the present method of dealing with the operators. That is not the purpose of the resolution; the purpose of the introducer of the resolution is a little deeper than that. If you were of my opinion you would ignore the resolution because of the insinuations and innuendo put in it. I hope and trust the delegates will adopt the report of the Committee on Constitution and non-concur in the resolution.

Delegate Lewis (J. C.), District 13: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—I feel as one of the representatives of an outlying district that I should voice my sentiments on the question before the house. The Iowa miners have for years been knocking at the door of the interstate movement, and we believe the time has come when the members of the outlying districts should participate in those joint conferences. So far as the resolution is concerned, in my judgment it should not be adopted by this convention. The resolution itself is impractical and it teems with personal spleen; but the fact that it should not be adopted is no reason why we should go on record in this convention by adopting a report which provides that the outlying districts will not be entitled to representation in the interstate joint movement.

As far as the Washington Agreement is concerned, in my humble opinion, everything was secured for the mine workers of this country in that agreement that could be secured, even though every district under the jurisdiction of this international movement had been represented there. I went back and told the Iowa miners that, in my judgment, everything had been secured for them it was possible to get. I told the delegates in our special convention that I believed everything had been done that could be done and I told the local unions the same thing. However, it seems to me the Committee on Constitution could have brought in a report along the line of the Secretary-Treasurer's suggestion.

I realize that it would be absolutely useless for the Iowa mine workers to seek representation in the interstate joint movement without the Iowa operators being there. To say, however, that we must tear down the movement we already have for negotiating a wage scale because the Iowa miners and others cannot receive recognition there is wrong. For years and years it has been the desire of the Iowa miners

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to be represented in that conference, and I believe the time has come, even though you do adopt the committee's report, that you ought to serve notice on the coal operators of the Central Competitive Field that we are going to insist on the outlying districts having representation.

I believe in democracy. It is only going to be a matter of a few days until this great organization will be compelled to raise in the neighborhood of \$800,000, and that will be one time when we will have to advocate democracy in the mine workers' organization and go to the outlying districts to help raise that money. Whether you adopt this resolution or not we shall do our share in raising that \$800,000. I think we ought to refer this matter back to the committee and let them bring in something that will assure us that in the future we will not be deprived of having a voice in the interstate joint movement.

A Delegate: Why are only officers speaking?

President Hayes: The chair has recognized Delegate Bittner of Tennessee. He is a member of the committee. It is always customary to give the committee a chance to defend its position. I think this convention wants to listen to reason and give every man a chance to be heard. I propose to recognize you all in your turn. Delegate Bittner has the floor.

Delegate Bittner, District 19: Mr. Chairman, in presenting the views of this committee to this delegation we expect to receive the same consideration we gave to every delegate who spoke against our report. First I desire to say that, as was clearly pointed out by Secretary Green, the policy of the International Union has never been any other than that proposed in the resolution. President Lewis of Iowa has pointed this out to you when he says he is against any resolution going into our International laws that would forever prohibit the International officers and the district officers, where joint contracts are made, from entering joint conferences because of the fact that the laws of the United Mine Workers of America prohibited them from doing so. This, my friends, the committee regarded as a question of policy that should be worked out in this convention when we were considering what the convention should do and what the policy of our organization should be in meeting the operators.

Never in the history of this organization have we added an amendment to our constitution making the question of joint wage conferences a matter of law for our organization alone. We have all along recognized the fact that if this resolution should be adopted it would become a law, because its introducers state plainly they want to make this Section 4 of Article III of the International constitution. Let me say, as plainly as I can say it, that Delegate Howat, who appeared this morning and fought so vigorously against the committee's report, well knows that as a member of a sub-committee of the scale committee of which I was chairman in 1912, when this question was decided there as a matter of policy, he helped write up that policy. The Committee on Constitution has not said the outlying districts cannot come into the interstate joint movement. We say we hope the day will come when every district represented within the United Mine Workers of America may be part of a great interstate joint conference; but we say also that the place to do that is not under the Constitution Committee's report. It would be unwise to place an amendment in our constitution which would fasten that policy on the International organization as a hard and fast rule.

My friends, if we pass this resolution and make this an amendment to our law the operators in the Central Competitive Field or the operators of the Southwestern districts or the operators of the Northwest may refuse to meet us in joint conference. Our constitutional convention will be over, we cannot call another for two years probably. Do you believe, in the face of an amendment of that kind in the constitution, we could meet and change our policies? Under our present method of negotiating wage scales, the convention determines for itself what the policy shall be when we meet those operators, and in case that policy does not work out we have a right to convene our convention and change that policy if necessary. But if you make this a fundamental law and place it in the constitution of our organization, the judgment of the committee is that you will be doing something detrimental to the interests of the United Mine Workers of America.

No man in this convention, regardless of who he is, need stand on the floor and charge this committee with attempting to prevent the outlying districts from participating in the interstate joint wage conference. What we do say is that the resolution as presented has no

place in our international law, but is one of policy relative to wage scales. I hope this convention will look at the matter in the light the Committee on Constitution presents it to you.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day.

SEVENTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, January 22, President Hayes in the chair.

President Hayes: We have with us this afternoon a captain of the Canadian army, a young man who has seen service in France, who wishes to speak to the delegates. I know the delegates will be glad to hear him.

ADDRESS OF CAPTAIN LEYS BROWN, OF THE CANADIAN ARMY.

It is a great pleasure to me to be able to say a few words to you today on the work we are doing "over there." A great many people, since I have come back, have said: "How long do you think the war will last?" I cannot tell you. If you were to ask a British Tommy that he would say: "Well, they tell me the first seven years are the worst, and after that every fourteenth." We don't know. My own personal guess is from two to five years more, but that is not what we over there are interested in; we are willing to take ten years more if necessary, but we are determined to put the thing across properly so that we will not have to do it again.

Many people say: "Well, when these people come back they are going to be as bad as the Germans were before; they are going to be Prussianized." That is wrong—the Prussians are going to be Americanized. Another form of propaganda I run into quite often is the statement that when a man joins the army he is only one better off than if he was in jail. That is wrong, too. There is no happier crowd of men in the world today than those making up the British and Colonial armies in France, especially the married men. And while in a great

any cases it is a pretty rotten job and there are atrocities, we put those things as far away from us as possible. If you have a bad dream you don't keep yourself awake the next night trying to think what it was. I cannot come back here and talk about atrocities. I saw them, but I don't like to think about them. Any one who does not believe that those atrocities occurred does not want to believe them.

One of the worst horrors of the war is having to censor the mail. When I first got my commission the officer I took the work over from said: "You have a fine bunch of men, all but Tom Jones." I said I thought he was a good soldier. The officer said: "He is, but he writes so many letters." The first letter I took out of the envelope that night was written by Tom Jones, and it was sixteen pages of slush he had written to a girl he called his sweetheart. The next letter was another fourteen pages, written by Tom Jones to another girl. I had four of them that day. The married man's letter is four lines. He says: "Dear Wife—The weather is fine in Belgium. There is nothing out of the ordinary. This leaves me in the best of health, as I hope it finds you. Your loving husband, Bill." That is military simplicity.

Here is another boy just landed at Havre, a French seaport town 100 miles from the firing line. There is absolutely no danger to any one there—they haven't even automobiles running in the streets. This boy wrote to his poor old mother in Saskatchewan:

"Dear Mother: I am writing you this letter from the depths of a deep, damp dugout. My desk is an upturned box of bully beef"—Chicago corned beef. "I can scarcely control my hand because of the shells reaming overhead, and such is the stench of dead Germans that I am sick at my stomach."

The man who read this letter is a friend of mine, and said: "I want to see that boy; he is a genius, a man who can sit 200 miles back from the firing line and write stuff like that has talent." He sent for him and read the letter over to him. The chap hung his head in shame. The officer said: "Don't you know you are asking for fake sympathy, and you have all the sympathy you need? You have never been in a dugout, you don't know what bully beef is, you never heard a shell shriek. You are worrying your poor old mother. As for the stench of

place in our interest. They are one dead or alive and they smell pretty scales. I hope the Committee on Conscription

At 12 o'clock the men pick up the cheerful end of it. The reason is because the people at home are backing him. When a Canadian soldier enlists he can assign fifteen or twenty dollars a month and the government will pay another thirty dollars a month. The men realize that their dependents will be taken care of. They realize that the whole country is behind them. There are a number of ways in which you can back up these men of yours. You have no idea what they are going through here and we have got to give them our full support in this. Now this appeal is not necessary to you, but you are men and you carry great weight in your districts. Get the whole country behind your men. We are not a lot of little separate nations, we are a lot of other separate nations. If I am in a trench of a French regiment I am as glad when those men capture a trench as though our men did it. We are not fighting with each other, we are fighting for each other.

At Messines Ridge, where our tunnel companies put in mines and blew up a million pounds of explosives and blew up the entire ridge, when the prisoners were coming back to the dressing station there was a hut filled with German wounded who were getting the same treatment as our own men. They were on stretchers by the wall with a few feet between. There was one lad about 19 years of age with a very bad abdominal wound. He was waiting for a table to be cleared for the operating theater to give the surgeons a chance to save his life. He was about 6 feet 6 inches tall and his feet hung over the end of the stretcher. A German officer with a slight wound was brought in. When he had been treated he went up to the officer and said: "Where do I go?" The officer said: "Go in there." He opened the door of the hut, saw there were German privates in there and said: "I will not go in there, my men are in there." There were two or three orderlies standing about and one of them opened the door and he went in. He was blind with rage to think a private should dare lay hands on him. He went up the hut and stumbled over the young fellow's feet. He turned around and booted him to death. That is the thing we are fighting, that is the thing we have got to cure.

Another man came into the cages for prisoners back of the line. A sergeant stepped up to a body of prisoners and took over all their weapons. An officer drew his revolver and said: "I surrender to no man," and shot the man. Then he turned to an officer and extended his pistol, butt forward, and said: "I surrender." What did the officer

The same as you would have done. He was five miles back of the line but he would not surrender to a sergeant. We in Canada have had to put up with a great many things we would not have put up with in other times. I know towns in Ontario where there isn't a man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, but that doesn't mean we are willing to surrender yet.

Here is a little piece of poetry I would like to recite. It was written by a colonel:

"In Flanders' fields, where posies grow
Between the crosses, row on row
That mark our place, and in the sky
The larks still bravely singing fly,
Scarce heard amidst the guns below.
'We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunsets glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders' fields.

"'Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though posies grow
In Flanders' fields.'"

Men, you can break faith with the living man, you can knock him off or take him into court and get satisfaction some way, but you cannot break faith with your dead, and we are going to keep on just fighting as it is necessary to fulfill our purpose. We are not out to get

If I thought Britain was in this war to get the German colonies that was her one idea I would tear the uniform from my back. We are not in the war for that; we, are, as your great President said,

in the war to make the world safe for democracy, and we are going to do it.

I am in Indiana as recruiting officer for the British and Canadian armies. I am stationed at the Claypool hotel. We are appealing to British subjects between the ages of nineteen and forty-five to come up and get into this game with us. We are appealing only to British subjects, and we are not appealing in vain. Only this morning five miners came to me, three from Clinton and two from Terre Haute, who said they were British subjects and wanted to go along. Every man who comes forward now and every dollar we put behind these men who are gone is bringing this thing to a close, to the day when the gallant French, American, British and Colonial armies will go over the top to a final victory.

President Hayes: We are heart and soul with you in your great work, Captain Brown, to make the world safe for people to live in, and that is our contribution, that Service Flag, with its 19,135 stars, to the cause you speak about.

Discussion was resumed on the report of the Committee on Constitution on Resolution No. 34. The committee recommended non-concurrence.

Delegate Helm, District 35: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I want to say that I sat here yesterday evening and this morning and listened to the arguments in defense of the committee's report with a great deal of surprise. I was surprised because nearly every one of the speakers has entirely evaded the question that is pending before this convention. They have beclouded the issue, they have sought to make this delegation believe that in this resolution there is language to the effect that there never could be any more joint conferences in the Central Competitive Field unless all the coal operators and all the miners' representatives from the outlying districts were called in to participate.

I want to call the attention of the delegates to the resolution and ask if you find one word contained in it referring to a joint conference of operators and miners. You cannot find such a word. Secretary Green, Organizer Bittner and Organizer Diamond have sought to tell

you that we have always had a right to exercise a full measure of democracy in negotiating our basic wage agreements. Secretary Green laid great stress upon the fact that in 1916 this convention provided a scale committee that met and formulated a basic agreement, that that basic agreement was brought back by a scale committee composed of the presidents of the various districts and submitted to the convention. That is a fact, and to that extent democracy was practiced in the mine workers' organization. What happened after that was done? The presidents who served as scale committeemen representing the outlying districts returned to their own fields. The districts of the Central Competitive Field and the international officials proceeded to go into a conference with the operators of the Central Competitive Field, and there they got away from the scale that was agreed to by the officials of the various districts, approved by the convention and agreed to other than the basic agreement that was laid down by the international convention.

Secretary Green went on and told you that a policy committee was provided for that met later in Pittsburgh and considered what had been done by the Central Competitive Field conference. That is true. The international officials and the representatives of the Central Competitive Field assumed the responsibility to change the demands of the convention. Were the men who adopted the demands consulted about the change? No, they were not. They took it before a policy committee. The agreement was submitted to the Policy Committee, adopted by that body and later it was referred to the rank and file for a referendum vote. What position did that place your Policy Committee in? And what position did it place the rank and file in? What position did it place you in when they brought the Washington Agreement here? The position of repudiating an agreement that had been entered into by certain officials of our organization.

They know the members of our organization are loath to repudiate an agreement any part of our official machinery has agreed to. Why? Because they know if they do it they will be going out before the public if a fight has to be made with the stigma of repudiating an agreement upon them. We have here an agreement; it is the best we could get. They come before the members and say: "We had to depart from the demands of the general scale committee of the international convention

and we made this agreement subject to your approval." Are you going to hold up to the public that you are not placing confidence in your officials and that agreements entered into in the Central Competitive Field amount to nothing? Are you going to say that? If not, you have got to vote to accept that agreement. That is the position you are placed in.

Previous speakers have said this resolution should not even have been considered by this great delegation here because the speakers thought the author of the resolution was introducing it from a personal standpoint. Organizer Diamond made much of the fact that he did not think it ought to be considered at all. This is not a personal matter so far as the author of the resolution is concerned and so far as the men of the Southwest are concerned. The mine workers of the Southwest believe the time has come when they should have something to say about any changes that are being made in the basic agreement that is laid down by the international convention. Before that basic agreement is changed they feel they ought to be consulted and given a voice and vote on the question of whether or not the wishes of the convention will be set aside and a contract subscribed to that does not carry with it the demands that were made by the international convention.

I can show to this convention that the author of the resolution was not prompted by any personal motive when he introduced the resolution. When a strike was going on in Kentucky and Tennessee our little district, District 25, showed its loyalty to the international organization. We have never shown anything but loyalty to the international. When President Frampton was appealed to by the international officials he recommended to his district board, not that they loan the international this money, but that they donate them \$5,000 to carry on the fight they were making in Tennessee and Alabama. At that time President Frampton and Secretary Hepple were in Washington trying to have something to say in that conference. Our election was being conducted. We had reported with our recommendations to the rank and file a recommendation that they donate the international \$5,000. I was in the office and we counted the vote as soon as it came in. We wired the result to President Frampton and Secretary Hepple so that Secretary Hepple could hand Secretary Green a check for \$5,000 in Washington. Does that look like a personal fight on the international organization?

No, it is not a personal fight; it is the men of the Southwest demanding representation for the dues paid into the organization. It is high time the mine workers of this country were saying that we intend to have democracy in its full measure.

What does this resolution provide for? Not that all the operators are to be here. Several speakers have told you that we never could have another conference in the Central Competitive Field unless all the operators of the outlying districts and all the miners would be here. That is not what the resolution provides for. It provides that when we meet here in international convention and our scale committee, composed, as a general rule, of the district presidents, reports to the convention and it is approved, our contention is that then, before the basic agreement that has been provided for by the scale committee and endorsed by the convention can be changed, the district officers from the outlying districts or the representatives from the outlying districts will be called in and consulted. They should have something to say about changing a document they have previously made themselves. Haven't we got that right? If we haven't, what interest have we in the organization?

Vice-President Lewis, Secretary Green, the chairman of the committee, President Farrington, Organizer Bittner, Organizer Diamond and other speakers that defended the report of the committee have confined themselves to the resolution and they have sought all the way through to delude the delegation into the belief that it provided that all the operators would be called in and they were going to completely tear up our former policy of negotiating an agreement in the Central Competitive Field. That is not the truth. All we ask is that we be given representation in the making of the policy of this organization.

Don't permit them at this time to get up here on the floor and by motion refer this back to the Committee on Constitution. Face the issue now. Either adopt the resolution and make it a part of the constitution or defeat it. It should not be sent back to the committee; if it is, it will only be with the object in view of defeating the intent and purpose of the resolution. Let us vote on this question as it is reported here by the committee and let us vote down the report and concur in the resolution. Let us provide that degree of democracy we have been hearing so much about here in this convention.

Delegate Sweeney, District 9: I want to say in support of the committee's report that I stand here on this floor in defiance of any one to deny that Article III is the most democratic article written in our constitution. This proposed amendment to the constitution comes from Kansas and Missouri, as every anti document has always come here.

President Hayes: Delegate Sweeney, the chair would caution you against using personalities.

Delegate Sweeney: I am not discussing personalities; I am discussing stuff they should eliminate from this convention. You haven't in this resolution anything that would make this article of the constitution it seeks to amend any more democratic than it is. It was the John Siney men who came to the four competitive states and made them what they are today. He inculcated unionism into the men of his day. The men in the four competitive states were big enough later on to organize the anthracite and other parts of the country. Now you want to take away from those districts the right to have their own conference in which the basic contract is made. These men spent their money and even gave their lives, some of them, to secure what you have in the four states today.

Delegate Sweeney was interrupted by a number of delegates.

President Hayes: We have always boasted about our desire for freedom of speech, but some of the delegates are carrying on in a way that does not justify that boast. Give every delegate a chance to be heard and we will get through quickly. The chair has no desire to take advantage of his position. He wants every delegate to be heard and he wants every delegate to receive a respectful hearing, whether he is for this position or against it.

Delegate Sweeney: I have been connected with this organization and with other organizations since I was sixteen years old, and to have men who talk of freedom of speech get up here and say I cannot discuss this question is something new to me. I do not see how anything can be justly said against the committee's report. Article III of the constitution gives the right to districts that do not belong to the Central Competitive Field to try to secure what they can in their own joint conferences.

Delegate Mercer (G. L.): Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—In discussing this issue I want, first of all, to call your attention to the fact that this deals with a question of vital import to the welfare of our organization. It is not a light or a trivial matter; it is a matter that deals with the policy of this organization in making agreements, which is the most vital thing in this joint movement. It is therefore a matter that should be considered with cool, calm, dispassionate and deliberate judgment. It is not a question in which we should allow our passions or our prejudices to govern us. We should consider this as a deliberative body and work out a policy that will be for the best interests of our organization. Let us adopt a policy that will guide us and lead us on and on in the way we have done in the past, for bigger and broader things. If we adopt a policy here that is for the best interests of our organization, a policy that means advancement, it will bring a larger measure of happiness and a larger measure of the good things of life to our members, their wives and their families. If, on the other hand, we hastily adopt some policy for the guidance of this organization which is not for the best interests of the members and which does not make for progress such as we have made in the past, then, my friends, we will be doing something detrimental to the interests of our entire membership, and instead of bringing a greater measure of happiness to the homes and firesides of our people it will bring less happiness and less of the good things of life.

Now, let us analyze this matter just a little, if we can; let us see what it says and what it means. It seems to me that we are viewing this from a wrong angle; it seems to me we are viewing it from a false premise. Some of the speakers have said it does not apply at all to a joint meeting. Let us see whether it does or not. It says: "No international official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers will have the authority to meet and make a basic agreement." Now I will ask you: How do you make a basic agreement?

At this point the speaker was disturbed by a number of delegates who asked him to sit down.

Delegate Mercer: I have never interrupted a delegate on the floor of this or any other convention. You can obtain a fair understanding of

a thing only by listening carefully to the analysis made by those who discuss both sides of the question. This resolution goes on to say that no international or district will have a right to "formulate a policy to govern any other district without being given an opportunity to be represented and have a voice and vote on any question affecting wages." Some men seem to have the idea that this only means that no district or group of districts shall have authority to make any change unless all the other districts are being given an opportunity to be represented and have a voice and vote on any question affecting wages or conditions. That is the language of the resolution. If you adopt the resolution in the form it is in, no district or group of districts will have a right to meet and formulate a policy to govern any other district, neither will they have a right to meet and make any basic agreement. Both these statements are there in the resolution, and they are coupled together in such a way that both phases of the issue are covered. We cannot get away from that. Now, what will that mean?

In the past we have followed the procedure of not making an agreement without first meeting and giving all districts a voice in formulating the policy. That is what most of the delegates here want, and that is exactly what we have been doing. Let us see how we made the basic agreement we are now working under. Secretary Green explained that. We met in international convention and formulated an agreement. We elected from each district a scale committee. That scale committee represented this deliberative body. We chose a policy committee to represent us. Now, in the making of that agreement every district was represented. The international convention of two years ago was the body that determined that course of procedure. Wasn't that as democratic as we could make it? Did we stop there? No; when that agreement had been adopted by the scale committee and by the policy committee it did not give us all we asked for in our original demands. What was done? It was referred back to the rank and file for a referendum vote. That gave every man in the movement a right to a voice and vote on that contract before it was ratified and adopted. That is the most democratic method that could possibly be adopted. Every district in this whole organization has a voice in it. That is the policy that is recommended by this committee; that is the policy that has been adopted by this organization from its inception until today. And, gentlemen, we have

followed that policy on to success and not to failure. I say to you that we should consider here today before we make any change in that policy which has brought so great a measure of the good things of life to our membership, which has brought so much of strength, so much honor to the rank and file of the miners who compose this movement.

To adopt the other policy, gentlemen, would not lead us to success. Only two instances can be cited where we have not used that democratic method, the most democratic method it is possible for us to adopt in the making of our contracts. And when was that? When we met in New York and in Washington. What did we do there? We did not make a basic agreement, but in the midst of a contract period we secured an advance that was purely of a voluntary nature. We had by referendum vote obligated ourselves to abide by the contract made in 1916; consequently we were not in a position to demand something more, but we were in a position to argue something out with the other fellow. And how did we do that? We did it by persuading the operators to meet us. In the Central Competitive Field almost every man is organized, and when we appealed to the operators to meet us they did so.

If we adopt the other policy and every district must come in before anything of that kind is done, what will be the result? In 1906 the Central Competitive Field movement was broken up. Illinois made a separate contract. Two years after that there was agitation all over the state of Illinois for rehabilitation of the joint movement. It wasn't a hard thing to break down, gentlemen, but it was a mighty hard thing to rehabilitate. When the Illinois operators refused to meet us we met in joint convention with the miners and operators anyway. That is what will have to be done if this is adopted. What was done on that occasion? The operators of the other districts who were present said: "We will not go into conference with you while the Illinois miners are in this meeting without their operators." We had to leave and go home. If you adopt this resolution you will be providing for them to do the same thing. Perhaps in some districts where we have only a few thousand members the operators will refuse to come into the conference. We know how obstinate they can be. If they refuse to come into the conference all the other operators will refuse to meet you while those miners are in the meeting. A little handful of operators from some small district

could tie up the whole competitive movement and we would not be able to get any place.

I sat here a while ago and heard that boy from Canada tell you he did not know how long this war would last. He said it might last five years or it might last ten years. Our present agreement runs only for the period of the war, not to exceed two years. Two years hence you must make another agreement whether the war is in progress or not. If you adopt this resolution your officers cannot enter into negotiations if the operators from any one district refuse to meet them. It would tie up the entire movement. Is that a sane policy? Not only is it true, as I stated a while ago, that the Washington and New York meetings where we received voluntary advances were the only exceptions to following out that method of absolute democracy which has prevailed in this organization all these years, but they were meetings in which we received the largest advances we have ever received.

If we adopt the policy proposed in this resolution it will prevent us from making a basic agreement unless every district is represented—and both sides must be there, it is a joint matter—I fear there will be no basic agreement made. We are confusing the policy of our own organization with the policy of the joint movement. From 1897 we have carried on this joint movement in one way or another. In twenty years we have gone from very small wages to the wages we have at the present time, and we went through some of the hardest struggles any organization ever went through. In less than two years we have obtained more of an advance than we have in the previous eighteen years. Would those meetings in New York and Washington have been possible had we been tied up with that resolution? No; because every district would have had to be a party to that agreement. A joint agreement is made between two parties, the operators and miners, and if this had been in force it would have been absolutely impossible to have gained that advance.

Opposition was expressed here the other day on the ground that districts were not left free to obtain changes in conditions. Did Illinois, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio or Indiana obtain any changes in conditions at Washington or New York? Not one change. The outside districts got the same relative advance, and they were entitled to it. Now, this is a question of whether or not we will continue along the lines we have

followed in the past, or step out into this new departure when everything is in a state of upheaval and the lives even of our members are at stake. The outcome of such a policy as is advocated in Resolution No. 34 would be, to say the least, problematical. The policy we have followed in the past has been democratic. Realizing the progress we have made; realizing the agreements we have secured in the past; realizing that they have been secured along lines that have made for democracy, I say to you that this is not the period in which to make a change, the outcome of which, in my judgment, would not work any good to our organization and might work untold harm.

The policies we have followed in the past have carried this organization on to the high ideals of trade unionism 'until in every place in the world the United Mine Workers' organization is looked upon as a militant and active organization, one that has accomplished things for its membership while living loyally up to its agreements. This is not the time to try to abolish policies like those we have followed and displace them by policies which will not bear close analysis and will not work out for the good of our membership.

Delegate Savage, District 6: I cannot sit in my seat in this convention at this time without voicing my sentiments on the great proposition confronting the delegates. I have had the honor to be on every scale committee in the interstate movement since 1898, and I have had the honor of attending nearly every convention of the organization since its inception. I recall vividly some of the things we did when this movement was started in order to get the advantages we have enjoyed for many years, and I would not like to see the work of those years destroyed by ill-advised action in this convention today.

I realize that it is popular to make the statement that men are not represented and their voices are not heard in the joint conference room of this organization. I realize also that the intent of the resolution is all right if certain parts of it had been eliminated; but I fear that if you are the hands of the people who have been negotiating these contracts for the miners in this country by a drastic measure of this kind you will have to see the day you will be sorry for so doing. The interstate movement as it is now composed will take all the energy we have among us to keep it intact. Do you know there is a strong movement among the

operators in the Central Competitive Field to break away from the states south of the Ohio, and they are trying to the best of their ability to have an interstate movement only of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania?

If this resolution goes through and we will be called upon possibly, if this war terminates in three months or six months—I hope to God it will!—to come back into convention to make a new contract, what procedure will be followed? This contract will exist but a limited number of days after peace is declared. If we are called into a convention then we can formulate plans as conditions may warrant to meet any situation that may come up. If a resolution similar to this is advisable at that time the convention can decide as to whether or not it will be the best policy. But here would be the natural result of passing this resolution at this time.

If this contract should end in three months from this time it would be necessary for us to negotiate another contract with somebody. Necessarily your international officials would have to open those negotiations. Suppose that they would present the matter to the operators of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Western Pennsylvania and make the statement to them—as I understand this resolution would compel them to do—“We will not enter into a conference with you to make a contract unless all the miners are represented.” I know what the answer would be. If we had the convention in session in Indianapolis or any other place we would have to act upon that proposition. If we had no operators to negotiate a contract with we would not have any agreement and chaos would exist in the mining industry of the country.

I recall the first interstate joint movement in 1898. Four states were represented in that joint conference. Five states had been invited, but because of the attitude of the operators in the other state they were not present, although the miners were, but they did not have a seat in that convention. In that year we received, by reason of the joint method of adjusting our disputes, the eight-hour work day. And I want to tell you now that the miners in this country at that time did not have sufficient means to go to the convention city to meet the operators, and the operators chartered a railroad train and paid our expenses to Chicago where the eight-hour day was agreed to. It is true we did not have a delegation as large as this, but that convention did a great work.

Speaking of the last two conferences we have had which secured for the miners of this country a substantial advance in wages, if the resolution now proposed had been part of our constitution then I fear we would have waited many more days before we secured it. One year ago, when the Ohio miners were in convention, on account of the high cost of living, they instructed the officials of our district to do what they could to secure an advance in wages. If this resolution had been part of the international constitution at that time the Ohio officials would have had their hands tied. There started from that convention a movement which finally arranged for a meeting of the interstate movement in New York. At that meeting we did secure a voluntary advance of 10 cents a ton and 60 cents for day labor. Not many months after the adjournment of that meeting another movement was inaugurated. That second movement could not have been inaugurated had this clause been a part of our constitution. If the four states composing the Central Competitive Field had failed the Ohio district would have proceeded to try to secure an advance. If that resolution had been a part of the constitution of the international we would not have been able to do that.

You should be very careful how you legislate here today. I believe we should have a democratic organization. I believe we have a democratic organization. I am in favor of giving the outlying districts all the voice possible in any negotiations we may have in the future in the Central Competitive Field, but I do not want this convention to do anything to destroy the movement we have. That movement in the Central Competitive Field has meant too much, not only to the miners of the Central Competitive Field, but it has redounded to the benefit of all the miners in the United States, to be lightly abandoned.

I know what the trouble is; I know what the grievances are; I know why men have opposed in the last two years some clauses in the interstate agreement. The clause that has been objected to was first placed in our agreement in the city of Cleveland, where it was decided that internal matters could not be taken up after the basic agreement was adopted without the mutual consent of the miners and operators. I believe that clause should be eliminated. Do you know that in the city of New York, when the contract for two years was negotiated, the conference was held up for two days because the operators desired to have

that clause inserted in the contract? I, for one, believe this convention, if not now, at some future time before another contract is negotiated, should insist that no such clause be written into our agreement.

I know that in Ohio there are conditions that need adjusting; I know that men are quarrying stone in one part of our district, and I understand the same is true of portions of Western Pennsylvania. For this the men get no compensation. There are other matters that need adjustment, but as long as that clause remains in our contract our hands are tied. That clause is not in our agreement because some people have not been in the counsel hall and have not had a voice and vote when contracts were negotiated, it was the best that could be done at the time. And I think the agitation that has been aroused is not so much because outside districts have not had a voice and vote in negotiations, but because that clause was put in the contract that prevented taking up your internal grievances and adjusting them.

I believe the committee's report should be adopted. When this contract terminates another convention will have to be called. The issue will have to be met then as the conditions of the time will warrant; but do not tie our hands now; do not take a leap in the dark. We may make a mistake—and I believe we will if we adopt this—and not be able to return to safe ground. We may get into much more trouble now than we will be able to get out of if the committee's report is voted down. I want to say as one member of the scale committee in the Central Competitive Field that it is a reflection upon the work of that committee. I have heard no men during the sessions of that committee—and we have had officers of the outlying districts present—who have interposed any objections to the report of that committee.

I know that clauses have been written into the contract many times that were not satisfactory to me. I presume that will always be true. I care not who acts on those committees they will not get everything you want. We must use our best judgment and do what is for the best interests of the rank and file. That is my position; I believe that is the position of the Ohio miners, and I want to say to the representatives of the outlying districts that you have the support of the Ohio miners in any movement that has for its purpose the welfare of the miners of the outlying districts.

President Hayes: I feel it incumbent upon me at this time to say a few words upon the resolution before the house. I am not going to question the sincerity of the delegates who introduced this resolution, but I am going to question the wisdom of adopting such a proposition. I know how reluctant some delegates are to vote against what they consider a great fundamental democratic principle. I am heartily in sympathy with the desire of the delegates from the Southwest to have the right to participate in the basic conference, but if we adopt this resolution it will mean, in my opinion, the destruction of the interstate movement of the central competitive field. The resolution very strongly sets forth that unless all districts are represented in our wage conference no sale can be negotiated. I know full well that operators in a number of districts throughout our jurisdiction will not participate in a general wage conference. For years the mine workers of Iowa have been seeking admittance to the conference in the central competitive field and we fought to secure such admittance for them. I wish it were possible and practical for all the outlying districts to participate in this basic conference, but I do object to this convention adopting a resolution that binds and gags the officers. If we can not secure the admission of these outlying districts into our general wage conference, then we can not negotiate a contract when the present agreement expires, for the resolution distinctly sets forth that no International official and no district or group of districts shall have authority to meet and make a basic contract unless all districts are represented.

If you put this resolution into the organic law of our organization and feel satisfied we will have to call another constitutional convention and have your officers released from the instructions here conveyed to them. Do you want to go to the expense of calling another international convention to give us authority to do what you here prohibit us from doing if you adopt this resolution? My friends, I think we ought to deliberate carefully upon this matter. I am not opposed to the principle embodied in the resolution. We have been discussing that question for years. There is no desire on the part of your international officials to keep the outlying districts outside of the basic conference, but the operators who are the other party to this contract will not meet in that sort of conference because of the varying competitive conditions that exist between the different coal-producing regions of our country.

I think the thing for this convention to do is to recommit this matter to a committee to set forth the principles embodied in this resolution and ask your officials and your scale committee in the Central Competitive Field to use their best efforts to have the outlying districts represented in a general wage conference. That appears to me to be the sensible thing to do. I do seriously object, as the president of this organization, charged with this responsibility, to be tied up in this manner. No such situation was ever faced by any other international president. I think it is a strange position to take at this time, especially when we reflect that so many blessings and benefits have been gained for the miners by pursuing the other policy. It is my judgment that this should be referred to a special committee to bring in something that will embody the principles of this resolution, but do not tie your officers' hands by a constitutional amendment.

Delegate Frampton: May I have an opportunity to reply before debate is closed?

President Hayes: Delegate Frampton has spoken and will not be permitted to speak again until all other delegates have had an opportunity to be heard.

Delegate Frampton: Will I have an opportunity before the vote is taken?

President Hayes: The chairman of the committee has asked the same privilege and I must show the same courtesy to him.

Delegate Keeney: As one of the representatives of an outlying district I would like to be heard on this matter.

President Hayes: I will recognize you in your turn.

Delegate Ballantyne, District 13: I want to make a few statements, but before doing so I desire to make a motion. I want to speak on it if it gets a second.

I move that this suggestion be submitted to a special committee, in line with the suggestions of the president, and that the special committee be instructed to bring in a resolution which will incorporate the wishes of the convention. (Seconded.)

I am from one of the outlying districts; I am from one of the districts that has been trying to break into the interstate conference for many years. At one time, when I was younger than I am now, I introduced a resolution in the international convention providing that a strike unless all the other districts were given representation in that interstate joint conference. Since that time I have studied the situation and have changed my position. As a delegate from Iowa, I say we want every effort put forth to get us representation in this interstate joint movement, and especially do we want it because our district is a hundred per cent organized. We have as good conditions as any other district in the United States, but we are west of Illinois, a district that is part of the interstate joint movement, and we come in direct competition with that state and the eastern states.

We believe we should have representation in the joint interstate conference, but I for one do not want to tie the hands of the international officials, and I do not want to be placed in a position that would necessitate a strike in order to bring about a meeting of all the districts and the operators in the United States. I have been down in West Virginia, where they are only partially organized, where the conditions are not to be compared to conditions in the Central Competitive Field. In West Virginia there are over 50,000 men not yet organized. In one part of the state there is a district that has a closed shop agreement at the present time, but the operators of that district would not meet with us in the interstate joint movement to formulate a scale. If we were to adopt a policy that provided for all the districts in the United States and all the operators meeting in a joint conference and the District 29 operators would refuse to meet with us, would it be reasonable and logical to throw all the operators and miners in the United States idle because District 29 would not meet with us?

I believe the international officials and the representatives of the interstate movement will make greater efforts in the future to see that the outlying districts have a seat and a voice in that interstate conference. I believe this committee should bring in a report or a resolution in line with what this delegation wants. What they want is representation in the joint movement, but that must be brought about by persuasion and by logical reasoning. Let us not adopt rules we cannot put

into effect, but adopt something that is reasonable and right to enable us to get representation in the interstate movement.

Delegate Keeney, District 17: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I am going to state as clearly as I can the situation in West Virginia. In the last year a part of West Virginia has taken its place in the ranks of this great organization. Through the assistance of John P. White, ex-international president, we have been able since the first of April to add to the pick and machine mining rates of that district 21½ cents a ton, \$2.40 a day to the drivers' wages and reduce the hours from nine to eight. We hope now, owing to our geographical situation and our competitive relations to the Central Competitive Field, to be permitted to have representation in the interstate joint movement. But, my friends, there are 65,000 men in our state that are not yet in the folds of the United Mine Workers of America, and for that reason West Virginia is perfectly content to let the four states that are 100 per cent organized set the pace and we will make the fight afterwards,

Brother Ballantyne expressed my views perfectly when he spoke. I believe enough has been said in regard to this question and I think the convention ought to recommit the proposition to a special committee to draft resolutions that will be satisfactory to this convention.

The speaker at this point was interrupted by several delegates in the rear of the hall.

Delegate Keeney: I have refrained from disturbing any one who has been speaking. I do not intend to do anything of that sort and I expect to be heard while I am explaining our situation. In West Virginia we have four or five different associations of operators and we cannot even get these associations to meet us jointly; we have to meet them separately and negotiate separate contracts. We know full well they will not enter into an interstate joint conference to negotiate a scale of wages that will fasten on some of their mines conditions they are not willing to accept. We are willing to let the four states make the fight and then we will try to get the same conditions they get in the Central Competitive Field.

Delegate Fontecchio, District 12: Mr. Chairman and Brothers—I know that we have been debating this question now for a long time.

There is nothing wrong about the resolution as an amendment to our constitution. You should know that, and even the officers of our organization should know it. There is no use referring it to a special committee. You might as well adopt the report of the Committee on constitution. In two years you will have another convention, there will be another contract to negotiate and you will save time by adopting the resolution. If the officers take the stand that the resolution is dangerous, why don't they give us some reasons for thinking so? We don't know the relations between them and the Central Competitive Field operators. If the Southwestern miners are compelled to obey the contract we give them a chance to discuss it before it is adopted. They are intelligent miners. You have got the penalty clause with the co-operation of the government, and you pay John P. White \$5,000 a year because you want to be recognized by that government. There is nothing dangerous in the resolution. You will have another contract to negotiate in two years' time.

Delegate Murray, District 5: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Since this convention has convened this is the third time I have attempted to discuss questions pertaining to the welfare of our organization; and for the second time out of the three times I have attempted to take the floor there apparently has been a concerted effort made by a certain portion of this delegation to make me sit down.

A Delegate: That is their idea of democracy!

Delegate Murray: We cannot as delegates, with all of the great responsibilities attached to us at this time, treat this situation in a spirit of levity. You are discussing here today an issue that is vital, one that affects the welfare of every coal miner that you have the honor to represent in this great convention of coal miners, and I am sure that every delegate who is participating in these deliberations, when the time comes to vote upon this proposition and render judgment on it, will do so in a cool, calm and deliberative manner.

After all is said and done, my friends, despite our differences of opinion on these vital questions, we can always find a wonderful unanimity of opinion among coal miners when it comes to agreeing on a certain proposition that affects their interests. So I feel in this instance that this great delegation, in the final disposition of this question,

will arrive at a decision with a wonderful unanimity of opinion and say to the United Mine Workers and to the world that we have agreed upon a policy that will protect the best interests of the men we have the honor to represent.

I rise at this time to support the motion that has been offered by Delegate Ballantyne. I feel that if we are going to legislate along this line we should do so in a constructive way, a way that will not be misleading, and when we do legislate in a constructive way the language of such legislation should not be evasive. I think there is not a delegate here but will agree that the resolution under discussion is couched in evasive language. If this resolution were to be adopted the president of the international organization could camouflage it and seek to put any interpretation he might desire upon it. Its language is such that many different constructions can be placed upon it.

If you are going to legislate to give every district organization the right to be represented in our interstate councils such legislation should be couched in language we cannot hope to misunderstand. I agree heartily with the sentiment expressed by Delegate Ballantyne; I also agree heartily with the sentiments expressed by Delegate Keeney, of District 17, when he speaks of that sparsely organized district and says he is willing to leave the interests of the partly organized districts in West Virginia in the hands of the districts that have 100 per cent organizations.

I hope we will, in our usual calm and deliberative way, arise to the situation and adopt the motion made by Delegate Ballantyne. If that is done a legislative program will be outlined by this convention that will leave no room for misunderstanding. When that is done you can go back home to your coal miners in the various sections and say to them that you have represented them in the proper manner and that you have done nothing that will injure the interests of the thousands of coal miners you have represented in this convention.

My friends, it is time for us to throw aside our personal issues, look squarely in the face the vital issues that from time to time we take up for discussion and consider them in an open-minded manner, without casting reflections upon each other. If we do that we will not incur the enmity of one another but will leave the convention feeling satisfied

the work we came here to do has been well done and that it reflects world of credit upon every delegate who participated in our discussions. I hope the convention will refer the entire subject-matter to the special committee suggested in the motion of Delegate Ballantyne.

Delegate Forbes, District 11: I rise at this time to support the motion offered by Delegate Ballantyne. I am in favor of referring this proposition to a special committee, with the hope and belief that a committee will bring into this convention a proposition that will be practical and one that will serve the best interests of all the miners in the United States. There are certain well defined reasons why the delegates from Indiana could not subscribe to Resolution No. 34. This matter was discussed in our convention two years ago and I know the sentiments of our members. I believe the delegates from District 11 are ready to give their support to Delegate Ballantyne's motion.

Delegate Dwyer, District 29: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates I am in favor of the amendment made by Delegate Ballantyne. Like my brother Keeney, I come from West Virginia. He says the West Virginia operators are not all in one association. That is true, for there are five operators' associations in West Virginia and we are not able to do business with them jointly. I am not in favor of the resolution. If we adopt it here we will be nothing but four flushers—we couldn't live up to it. I say to you men that are clamoring for the adoption of this resolution that if you are in a position to live up to it and enforce it you are in a position to go out tomorrow morning and say to the 200,000 men working in the mines of the United States that are not paying dues: "Get into this organization and pay dues." I feel if this resolution is adopted it will be a detriment to the organization and impede its progress in West Virginia. The four competitive states have had success in making contracts. If we were left to ourselves in West Virginia, we would be if the resolution is adopted, I fear our progress would be very slow.

Delegate Williams (B.), District 12: I move the previous question.

President Hayes: The chair promised Delegate Frampton the privilege of the floor before debate would close. I think it is only fair to delegate Frampton that he should have that privilege. I will recog-

nize him and then recognize the chairman of the committee. After they have spoken I will put the motion to close debate.

Delegate Williams: Is he to speak on the motion to refer or on the general question?

President Hayes: He is to speak on the motion now before the house, which is to refer to a special committee. Before you made the motion to close debate the chair had agreed to recognize Delegate Frampton and the chairman of the committee before he would recognize such a motion.

Delegate Frampton: I want to ask a question of the mover of the motion or of the chair. What is the intent of the motion? Does it mean that the matter will be referred to a special committee to bring back a resolution as a constitutional amendment, or will it be a resolution adopted by the convention and not a constitutional amendment?

Delegate Ballantyne: It will be a resolution.

Delegate Frampton: I am opposed to the motion to refer the resolution to a special committee. I am confident that after you have discussed this resolution, if you would confine yourselves to the resolution and not to a joint conference as a subterfuge, it would be satisfactory to this convention without referring it anywhere. It has been said during the entire discussion—and the mover of the motion assigned this as his reason for making the motion—that we would break up the interstate movement in the Central Competitive Field, that it would preclude the possibility of making contracts in West Virginia and extending our organization in that state.

President Keeney, of West Virginia, says he opposes the resolution because he is willing to leave it to the Central Competitive Field to make the basis and let him follow. As the resolution reads it does not interfere with President Keeney in that respect. If you will read the resolution for yourselves and not take the interpretation of speakers you will find it gives an opportunity to outlying districts to be represented. The Iowa miners have been referred to. If their interests will be best conserved by not being represented in a conference the resolution does not say they are compelled to be there. It provides only that they be given an opportunity to be there. The resolution does not inter-

are with my friend from West Virginia. He can remain away from the conference if he thinks that will best conserve the interest of his people.

I want to read the resolution and I want to read it all. One of the delegates read down to where it says "wages" and then stopped and commented upon the success of this organization in the past. This resolution does not say anything about the success of the organization in the past. Let us see what it says—I mean what the resolution says, not what some speakers have said the resolution says.

Vice-President Lewis: I arise to a point of order. Under a motion to refer to a committee, the substance of that resolution cannot be debated. The only thing to be discussed is the motion to refer.

President Hayes: The point of order is well taken, but the chair is going to permit Delegate Frampton, because he introduced the resolution, to deviate a little from ordinary parliamentary procedure.

Delegate Burke, District 13: A point of order. When this committee returns with a recommendation Delegate Frampton will have a chance to argue on it then.

President Hayes: The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Frampton will proceed.

Delegate Frampton: I wish to reply to some of the speakers who have injected something into the resolution that is not in it. Joint conferences have been discussed pretty thoroughly. If you find anything in the resolution that refers to joint conferences it must be a typographical error. I have the original resolution with me. It reads: "No international official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the mine workers will have the authority to meet and make basic agreement"—

Secretary Green: Let me interrupt you to ask this question right here: How can any international officers or district officers meet with any one to negotiate a contract unless they meet with operators?

Delegate Frampton: That is making a contract, isn't it?

Secretary Green: It says they cannot meet to negotiate an agreement or contract.

Delegate Frampton: No, I don't think it says that. For the benefit of Secretary Green I will read the resolution.

"No international official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers will have the authority to meet and make a basic agreement and formulate a policy to govern any other district without all districts being given an opportunity to be represented and have a voice and vote on any question affecting wages or conditions or any policy that any other district will be expected to comply with. Any international or district official found guilty of violating this section shall be removed from office."

The minds of the delegates have been confused all the way through. You have taken it for granted that what some one who has discussed the resolution and did not understand it or misrepresented it has said, not what the resolution says. Suppose the special committee brings in a resolution adopting the principle that we will get together in a joint conference, use that as a subterfuge and evade the real issue. The real issue is this: If any district is expected to comply with a policy mapped out by representatives of this convention it should have at least something to say about formulating that policy. If you pass a resolution here attempting—no matter how sincere you are—to get the Central Competitive Field enlarged, where will you be? You will be just where you are now.

Do you want to turn down a resolution that provides for a constitutional amendment that will give you a voice and vote in formulating the next policy under which your districts will be compelled to negotiate a contract? If there is any district that wants to assume that responsibility that district should be permitted to assume it. This resolution only provides that they be given the opportunity; it does not say the man who thinks the Central Competitive Field can best represent his interests has to be present. He can stay away if he wishes to do so.

Delegate Keeney: Haven't you had the right to be called into conference heretofore? Haven't you been recognized on the policy committee? If you haven't, West Virginia has.

Delegate Frampton: I was on the policy committee in Pittsburgh, yes. And what was the result? I am compelled to go into this because

am asked a question. The convention laid down a policy to guide all the districts in negotiating a contract. It provided further for a policy committee to meet later, if necessary, if a contract was not negotiated on that basis. And that is not out of line with this resolution; it will not prevent any other convention proceeding along that line, except to this extent: In Pittsburgh we were met with what the delegates here were met with. We were called in as a policy committee and those districts that wanted to be present were represented. I don't think they forced anyone under that policy to come in. We found the Central Competitive Field had negotiated a contract. We were confronted with the same thing we were the other day; we were put in a position where we had to vote down that contract and repudiate the work done by the officials of the international and the representatives of the Central Competitive Field to concur in it. What happened? Before they signed that contract we were not called into consultation to see whether or not it was the best policy.

Talk about the rank and file ratifying the agreement! Yes, you need have no fear of the rank and file not ratifying it! The press carried statements of the millions of dollars of advance it would bring to the mine workers. That was all they saw. The members have a disposition to be loyal to the officials of the organization and to its principles, and they did not want to assume the responsibility of kicking over the contract. The rank and file came into our convention in the Southwest, even though they had voted overwhelmingly to adopt it, and presented resolutions stating they did not know that it contained a clause that prevented them from taking up internal questions.

If this resolution is referred it will kill it. If this motion to refer is voted down and you non-concur in the committee's report and adopt the resolution it will mean that when you meet in convention you will have the authority to map out a policy and formulate demands for each district. You will all be represented in that convention. If it is necessary later to change that policy the convention can say how it shall be changed; but it does provide that you will all have a voice in the changing, and not just the four states. Why should the four states want to assume all this responsibility? Why should they crave that authority? Why is it?

I did not introduce this resolution from a personal point of view, and the only personalities that have been injected into it are by those who sought to malign me. If the convention votes this resolution down or refers it to a committee I will be loyal to whatever policy you outline, I will feel that to be my duty, but upon you who subscribe to that policy will rest the responsibility of reporting to your members. If this resolution is not adopted I feel sure the delegates in some future convention will see the advantage of subscribing to it.

It has been necessary under these extraordinary circumstances for the international officers and everyone else concerned in negotiating the last contract to make explanations to the membership; I appreciate that; I appreciate their position. Your contract says it will terminate with the war. No one knows when the war will terminate and it will be necessary to make another contract. Do you want to sit down and wait until the Central Competitive Field makes a contract and sends out a circular letter telling you what it is—and an indefinite circular letter at that?

My friend from Ohio said if this had been adopted in our last convention it would have prevented the Ohio miners from carrying out the action of their convention which instructed them to take the necessary steps last January to secure an advance in wages. It would not have prohibited that; it would only have prohibited him and two or three other presidents from getting together to set the pace, all the other districts would have been called in to assist in that. This would give any district that desired to be represented a chance to do so.

Read the resolution and decide for yourselves whether it has been misrepresented on the floor of this convention. Don't take my word for it—read the resolution and see. If Secretary Green and his colleagues were negotiating a contract for the Central Competitive Field, and, owing to the fact that whatever they agreed upon in that conference would be the basis upon which to negotiate contracts for the entire country, if it became necessary to recede from the demands of the convention the representatives of the districts would be called into that conference and they would have explained to them the conditions encountered since the adjournment of the convention.

It is not always three cents a ton or the advance in the day wage scale that is involved. If the opportunity is there for you to adjust

some of the difficulties you have encountered you can take the necessary steps to do it. If the opportunity does not present itself they should have good enough judgment to not bind you, because the Central Competitive Field has done certain things, and say that is all you can get. If it comes to a strike and the Central Competitive Field does not feel like financing a strike in other districts in order to enable them to get more than the Central Competitive Field got, they will not have to do it.

I trust this delegation will meet the issue as it is. I hope you will not vote for the motion to refer, which is a subterfuge to kill the resolution. If you do not believe in the logic of this resolution, stand on your feet and concur in the report of the committee. If you believe it is the proper thing to do, stand on your feet and vote for it now.

Delegate Kennedy, District 7: I want to make a statement and then ask a question of Brother Frampton. The anthracite operators have refused official recognition of our organization in that region, contending that the bituminous men control the anthracite situation. I want to ask Delegate Frampton if his resolution embodied in the constitution would compel the anthracite operators and miners to meet as a part of the interstate joint movement?

Delegate Frampton: Absolutely no.

Chairman Farrington: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—In line with the motion now pending before the convention, which provides for reference of this matter to a new committee, I have no desire and shall not take up the time of the convention by discussing the matter at this time. I take that position, notwithstanding the courtesy shown me by the chairman of the convention when he said I may take this opportunity to speak to the question that has been pending before you since early yesterday morning.

If the question is referred to a committee the discussion will be in order when that committee reports to the convention. If the convention decides that this matter is not to be referred to a new committee the report of the Committee on Constitution will still be before the convention and open for discussion. I hope at that time to take advantage of the consideration extended me by the chair and address the convention further on the subject. I do, however, want to get clear in my mind just what this resolution means.

After hearing the statement of Delegate Frampton—and he and I are good friends, as he has stated in the convention—I am frank to confess that I am confounded in my own mind as to just what his resolution contemplates. Delegate Frampton says it means one thing and the resolution says it means another. Now, I want to know which is right—whether it is Delegate Frampton or whether it is the resolution itself. I want to ask you a question, Dave, so as to get the matter clearly before the convention. I assume that at some time in the future, after the war is over or before it is over, the miners and operators of the Central Competitive Field will be required to meet and negotiate another agreement. When that time arrives, does this resolution contemplate that before we can proceed with negotiations representatives from the outlying districts must be invited to attend that conference, and that they have a right to a voice and a vote in that conference?

Delegate Frampton: If the resolution is adopted it will prohibit the central competitive field from meeting and negotiating a contract without first calling in and giving an opportunity to every outlying district to have a voice and vote on the question of policy and how that contract shall be negotiated, whether it be the price per day, per ton or anything else. Then you will proceed in your own conference upon the basis laid down by the representatives of all the districts instead of proceeding to negotiate a contract and not calling in any one except yourself.

Chairman Farrington: I accept the answer just given by Delegate Frampton, and I want to say that after listening to the answer that the statement made by him while he was down in front here addressing the delegation is not in harmony with the statement he just now makes to this convention, and does not bear out the contention made by those who have spoken in opposition to the adoption of the resolution—the statement that before the Central Competitive Field can negotiate a wage scale the representatives of the outlying districts must be allowed to participate in that conference.

Delegate Frampton: I would like to see that record.

Chairman Farrington: I want to further direct the attention of this convention to the fact that the things set forth in the preamble of this resolution as having been done in the past have never been done in con-

nection with the negotiations of our joint agreements. It says: "Whereas, The international officials and officials and representatives of the Central Competitive Field have assumed the authority to meet and negotiate contracts for the Central Competitive Field." I want to ask any man here who knows anything about the affairs of the United Mine Workers' organization where the international and district officers have ever assumed to negotiate wage agreements for the miners in the Central Competitive Field? Every agreement that has been negotiated for the Central Competitive Field has been negotiated in strict conformity with the instructions of the international convention.

The resolution goes on: "and set the basis for negotiating and outlining a policy to govern the outside districts without them having the right to participate or without being called in consultation and being given a voice and vote on any policy that the outlying districts are expected to comply with." Ever since I have had any knowledge of the affairs of the miners' union I have never known of a time when the officers in the Central Competitive Field have negotiated a wage agreement in which was set forth any rule that that agreement must be applicable to the districts outside of the Central Competitive Field.

What has been done has been this: When the agreement for the Central Competitive Field has been completed the policy committee has been assembled and the agreement submitted to them for ratification. And invariably the motion adopted in the meeting of the policy committee has been that the agreement negotiated for the Central Competitive Field shall be the basis for all other agreements negotiated in our organization. As a matter of fact, it has not been the international officers and the district officers representing the Central Competitive Field that have established a policy making their agreements applicable to the outlying districts; it has been the policy committee, made up of representatives of all the districts, that has adopted the motion.

In Cleveland, in 1912, when the agreement for the Central Competitive Field was negotiated the policy committee was assembled and a motion was made that the agreement be applicable to all districts and the basis for negotiations in all districts of our organization. If those who were in the Cleveland conference in 1912 will refresh their memories they will understand that Delegate Walker, who was at that time presi-

miners' union, and myself were the only two men in
 who spoke in opposition to the adoption of a motion of

agreement for the Southwest districts was negotiated
 agreement in the Central Competitive Field was negotiated.
 our own policy; we had no interstate conference of
 We met in Chicago and outlined our own policy and
 districts to go forth and negotiate wage agreements on
 by the miners' policy committee in Chicago. In 1916
 Deighton, Delegate Howat, and delegates from all the other
 up the United Mine Workers of America, sat in the
 meeting in Pittsburgh. That policy committee outlined
 for the Central Competitive Field and told the representa-
 the other districts to go forth and negotiate agreements on
 basis. It was not the officers, and it was not the representatives
 Central Competitive Field who outlined that program, it was the
 representatives of all the districts under our jurisdiction.

am satisfied if the delegation once gets this matter clear in mind
 will be no doubt as to what the outcome of the action of the con-
 on the proposition will be. I don't propose to discuss the matter
 further until the convention acts upon the motion now pending. I
 want that those who favor the adoption of this resolution are mis-
 representing the actual facts in the case; they are distorting the pro-
 cedure of the organization in the past. I don't say they are doing it
 badly, but they are doing it. No such procedure as they have out-
 lined to this convention has ever been followed by the United Mine
 Workers of America in negotiating our wage agreements.

I want to say in conclusion, my friends, that the miners are fortunate
 having such champions as Delegate Helm, who warned them and
 warned them against the trickery and the machinations of the officers
 of the organization. He warned you against recommitting this proposi-
 tion. I told you if it is recommitted the officers of the organization will
 take advantage of the opportunity and in all likelihood do something that
 will prevent carrying out the desires of this convention. I say to you
 now, so far as I am concerned, I have no desire to do anything but that
 which I believe will be for the best interests of our organization; and

the Committee on Constitution has no desire to defeat any proposition submitted to this convention that will contribute to the democratic rule of the organization. But we did have a desire to prevent the convention from doing something which looks all right in theory, but so far as practical effect is concerned would be absolutely impossible to put the rule in operation in the event the convention should decide to adopt it.

If the motion to recommit is carried the proposition will be before the convention for further discussion. If it is not carried the committee's report will be before the convention. Personally the members of the committee do not believe this is a constitutional matter. We do not feel that such a program should be written into the constitution, because in dealing with this matter we are dealing with joint negotiations and wage agreements, and there has never been a section written into our constitution dealing with the action of the officers in joint wage agreements. If we had felt this belonged in the constitution we would have offered a substitute amendment for the resolution. We hope it will be sent to a committee and that something will be worked out that will bring general satisfaction to the delegates and the best results to our organization.

Delegate Williams renewed his motion to close debate. The motion was carried.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion offered by Delegate Ballantyne to refer the entire subject to a special committee for consideration and report. The chair was unable to decide the result of the vote. A rising vote was taken and the messengers and sergeants-at-arms stated, after a count, that 605 votes had been cast in the affirmative and 654 in the negative. The chairman declared the motion offered by Delegate Ballantyne lost.

The hour for adjournment having arrived, after the usual announcements an adjournment was taken to 9 a. m., Wednesday, January 23.

EIGHTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 23, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, January 23, President Hayes in the chair.

23—M. Pro.

Secretary Green read the following telegram:

"Washington, January 21, 1918.

"John P. White, Mine Workers' Convention, Indianapolis, Ind.:

"Please express to convention my sincere appreciation of their action in ratifying by overwhelming vote the Washington Agreement, thus confirming assurance given to President Wilson last November that miners would take this step as practical means of assuring uninterrupted work at mines. By this vote mine workers have proved their understanding of present crisis and have responded most patriotically.

GARFIELD."

Secretary Green: A committee of ladies from the colored Y. W. C. A. have asked permission to take up a collection for the work in which they are engaged. We have a great many colored members in our organization and they are interested in the splendid work of those ladies. Those of you who wish to help them carry on that work will be given the privilege of doing so.

Delegates Cooper, Franklin and Galbraith were designated by the chairman to assist in taking up the collection.

Secretary Green announced that the United Garment Workers' local would give a ball in Tomlinson Hall on Thursday night, to which all the delegates were invited.

ADDRESS OF MR. EDWIN McKINZIE, SAN FRANCISCO.

Mr. McKinzie, one of the attorneys defending Tom Mooney, of San Francisco, was introduced by the president and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Union Labor Men—Looking at the Service Flag which hangs above this convention I am reminded that you have sacrificed more than 19,000 members for the sake of world-wide justice to humanity. If they hang Thomas J. Mooney that sacrifice will be in vain, because you will have failed to give to yourself justice in this country in the courts of our land. There is no legal bar just now to hanging Thomas J. Mooney; each court in California has stated that the verdict must stand, and this, notwithstanding the fact that the judge who tried the case has applied to the supreme court and asked that

may be granted a new trial. The supreme court will refuse, because the record was made up at the trial and the discovery of the truth was not made until some weeks later. If Mooney is hung it is on a technicality.

Israel Weinberg, one of the defendants, was acquitted by a jury after a few minutes' consideration following an eight weeks' trial. He has been denied bail because there are eight other indictments against him. Rena Mooney was acquitted in court months ago and she is still free. This is the last convention of labor that will be held before the execution. Ed Nolan, one of the defendants, and myself are here to plead with this convention to ask the President of the United States to save Mooney, Rena Mooney and Nolan. You know the perjury of Oxman and Rigal; the President's Commission of Inquiry. John H. Walker was a member has already reported to President Hoover and we urge this convention to go on record asking him to save Mooney and give him a new trial.

ADDRESS OF EDWARD D. NOLAN, SAN FRANCISCO.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the United Mine Workers—I don't think that I really understood what a terrible situation we are facing in the world is facing until the first day I came in here and saw this body of men, and above them the Service Flag with nearly 20,000 names on it. Then I began to understand what the whole question

one year and a half ago, in the streets of San Francisco during the process of a Preparedness Day Parade, a bomb exploded. Ten lives were lost and some fifty people were injured. It almost seems to me now that that terrible atrocity was an omen, it seemed to be prophetic in its significance. It is true those people were innocent people. Following the explosion we were indicted. I don't know how to explain it except like this: The whole public of San Francisco and the State of California, following the explosion, were hysterical to a degree that caused them to lose their balance completely, and the most ordinary things in the world took on the horrible significance of murder. Let me illustrate.

In my own home, when I was confronted by half a dozen policemen and attorneys, who commenced to question me before my wife and

children, I said: "You don't understand the question you are facing in this terrible explosion. Why do you come to labor to explain it? Why do you come to me?" I had heard that Billings was arrested and Mooney was being sought. I said to Brennan, the attorney: "You have adopted some pet theory and you are determined to lay the blame on labor, and I resent it. You will not go through with this, mark my word. I know you, Brennan, and I know Fickert; I remember the graft prosecution and I remember the frame-up against labor in Stockton, where the detective attempted to put dynamite in the room of Tveitmoe and Johanssen."

Francis J. Heney well said in a short speech some time during the recall election in Frisco: "God help Mrs. Mooney if that Fickert gang is trailing her!" I have not lost the resistance nor the hope nor do I particularly fear the State of California will hang Thomas J. Mooney in the face of the pictures showing him on the roof two minutes to 2 o'clock miles from the scene of the explosion. Do you suppose, following that terrible explosion, if they had a shred of evidence in that great industrial battle then being waged on the coast I would be at liberty on \$250 bail? Do you suppose that the President of the United States would have taken cognizance of the case? Don't you suppose he could have found out through the federal channels whether they had any evidence against me or not? This is the most absolute farce of a murder trial that ever took place in organized society.

At the last hearing in court Mooney and Weinberg came in following a bailiff and they were without handcuffs. They walked around the hall and talked to their friends. Tom Mooney was under sentence of death and the supreme court was waiting to decide his appeal. What are they waiting for? The only reason the supreme court of the State of California has not already said: "Take him out and hang him," is because of the power of that federal commission that investigated and knows the facts, and the supreme court, with Fickert's friends on it, knows the facts, too. All they fear is that the federal commission will publish that report. They fear that more than any one thing. I know that the commission, of which John H. Walker is a member, has the evidence. We submitted our evidence and stood on the facts of the case alone. Whether all the world turns against us or not I know, and Fickert knows and Judge Griffin, the man who asks for a new trial for

Tom Mooney, knows, for he saw beneath the surface of the whole thing. Even when the whole public was willing on general principles to lynch the defendants, Judge Griffin presided over his court with dignity and composure. He did that even when Cunea's men abused him like a dog. No man since the time of Altgeld has been abused like Griffin because he said Tom Mooney must have a fair trial in his court.

I hope I will be given a few minutes to go over one or two features of the case, for there are some remarkable things in it and some deep lessons for labor men. It is significant, when you come to think of it, that only labor men seemed to understand this whole question when it was first brought up, and they were the bulwark that prevented the legalized lynching to satisfy an act of vengeance and reprisal by the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco. That is what the whole thing has been—it has been a plan to measure out industrial vengeance.

For some fifteen years on the coast we have battled our way along, we established the eight-hour day in the iron trades for the first time, and the half holiday. The wages have been comparatively high. We battled against odds, and out of that battle grew enmity and bitterness. When the exposure came, previous to our entrance into the war, the first measure the employers and these men took was to blame labor. Through newspaper attacks, by inference and directly, the Examiner and The Call in particular, insinuated that labor as an organized body was to blame, but they were made to renege on that proposition and get off that ground. Then they took a more devious route. They picked a man or a woman here and there and sought to make them responsible—or they would make them directly and labor indirectly responsible for that terrible catastrophe.

We felt that everything was against us. The days were dark and gloomy. Most of our people, owing to the Russian terroristic methods then in operation, were afraid to come to the jail. Only a few had the courage to come and see us and say a kind word to us. But there were men like Dan Murphy and Paul Scharrenberg in San Francisco who had lived through trying times with us. They said: "You can't get by, Charlie Fickert; you can't make us believe our men are responsible for that terrible crime by merely saying you have some evidence." Since the first organized expression of the California labor movement was given in this case they have stood solidly behind us.

Let me show you one or two things about this case; let me show you how sinister an influence can be used against men who fought labor's battles, how little things can be woven into a fabric of evidence. The state's theory was that Billings and Mooney had placed a suit case alongside a wall; that inside that suit case was a steel pipe four inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches long, loaded like a shrapnel bomb. To establish that theory they had a man, John McDonald, who had not worked for years, but was a water-front bum, put on the stand. He claimed to have seen Mooney and Billings at the scene of the explosion. He said that just before the explosion he happened to look across and saw Billings coming down Stuart street, put a suit case down, and out of a saloon on the corner came Tom Mooney; they compared watches, looked at the Ferry clock down Market street and then went different ways. He said, "When they went away I turned and walked about 150 feet down to the Alameda Cafe and the explosion occurred." He placed Tom Mooney and those men there within a few minutes of the explosion. McKinzie said, "Take an hour if you want it instead of a few minutes," and then he showed that at the very time John McDonald testified he saw Billings come up the street with Tom Mooney and place the suit case, we had a picture that the police held during two trials, showing Thomas J. Mooney and his wife on the roof of the building where her studio was located, and their home, eight stories up. They were leaning over the parapet looking at the parade, and a mile and a half away, near the Ferry, had occurred the explosion. The state placed them near the scene of the explosion within a few minutes of the explosion.

The photograph showed Tom Mooney and his wife on the building a mile and a half away at two minutes before 2 o'clock, and the testimony showed them at the scene of the explosion at six minutes after 2 o'clock. The photograph was enlarged and it established the fact that they were on the building. To prove that picture true and correct the man who enlarged it took a photograph with the same camera a year from the day the first one was taken and proved and demonstrated in Weinberg's trial that the first photograph was correct. He used the same camera with which the boy who owned it had unconsciously taken a picture of Tom Mooney and his wife leaning over the parapet of that building.

The man who enlarged the photograph, Theodore Kitger, had charge of the federal end of the case immediately after the end of the explosion.

It is the United States government with its whole secret service and immigration bureau and this one scientist, Theodore Kitger, one of the best known men on criminology in the world, against the evidence produced by the state. He showed me and Edwin McKinzie a book out of his study where he had examined the alibi of Mooney. He examined it under a microscopic lens, examined the evidence of the police and then told John Preston, the attorney general, "As far as the federal government is concerned, you discharge Thomas J. Mooney and those defendants." We had witnesses who put their astral bodies at two or three different places. Those witnesses were exposed. We had Oxman, who wrote for his friends to come and try to hang Mooney. And finally from Illinois came the man Oxman tried to get to support his perjury. I have given much thought to this thing. I don't know how the explosion occurred, but I am going to finish with one illustration of the evidence on that point.

Here is the case of the state: A suit case was put down, they claimed by Billings and Mooney. Let me show you what the defense introduced. Bill Martin, Swanson and Charlie Fickert desired to convict these men. Around the corner, coming out of Stuart street was a doctor and a soldier. The doctor was about 45 years of age, an observer of men, and as he turned into Market street he saw a cylindrical object just above the awning descending rapidly, and immediately behind the crowd the explosion occurred. He told the jury he saw it about twelve feet above the awning. Following him came another man, a student of the University of California, who said he was in Market street and saw a dark object descending rapidly back of the crowd immediately before the explosion occurred. A woman across the street from the explosion had started to cross the street. She said she saw an object descending and the explosion occurred. Later she was overcome from excitement and fell to the street. There are three different witnesses who saw an object in flight.

Across the street from the scene of the explosion in the Terminal Hotel was Mrs. Compton. She was on the fire escape watching the parade. She saw a man of dark complexion, and she thought he wore a mustache, come up the back wall of the building, which was being torn down. He came about half way across the roof, leaned over the parapet right over where the explosion occurred. She says he apparently dropped something. She said she had only a three-quarters view and could not

be positive. She said he leaned over, threw his head back and the explosion occurred. Immediately after that she went down with her husband and telephoned to the police.

The doctor described the bomb as he saw it. It was given in the first newspaper account. He said it was above the awning twelve or fourteen feet from the ground. When the fragments of that bomb were built up it was just about the size and shape the doctor described. That was done within an hour after the explosion. Would you want to sit on a jury and after taking all these facts into consideration, condemn anyone? We have never been connected with making a bomb, with buying dynamite, pipe or anything of that sort. There has never been a solitary line of proof that we did.

Tom Mooney was sentenced by a framed jury, and so was Billings. We sat in the court room and heard Oxman identify five people. That was a tragic moment for our own people who were sitting in the court room. Up to that time none of them had been against us. They could not wipe out the fact of the photograph. They were afraid of it because the government expert had shown the time it was taken. They only told him to develop the film in the presence of three detectives. To get around that evidence they brought in this man Oxman. That was a heavy blow and we sat there and saw the cold-blooded scoundrel come up with a leer on his face. The papers played him up as a wealthy cattle man. He was wealthy and that carried weight with it. All the honesty was attached to wealth! Anything he said must be the truth! And the jury believed him, most of them at least, in spite of the pictures. The hysterical mood of the public demanded life for life; they wanted vengeance, not justice.

I greatly fear that even the influence of the report of the President's commission will not avail. I am not violating any confidence, for I have asked for no information from any one on the federal commission, but I know that the powers that be in California have tried to gamble with the life and liberty of Mooney; they have tried to get the commission to agree to certain things; they have tried to pull the chestnuts out of the fire the best way they could. They want the supreme court of California to uphold the sentence of Mooney. Then they want the supreme court to go to the governor and ask him to pardon Mooney or commute his sentence.

The last thing Mooney said to me was this: "If any man of labor or any commission thinks I want my sentence commuted or that I want anything but an absolute pardon and my liberty, tell him for Tom Mooney and tell him for Warren K. Billings to reserve his sympathy, for we don't want it." Every one of the men tried so far, and Mrs. Mooney as well, have taken that position. Before Mrs. Mooney's attorney closed, she said: "I want you to place this one thing before the jury. My husband has been convicted and sentenced to death. I was on that roof with my husband and a number of witnesses have testified that we were there. If they are going to convict me to satisfy the public vengeance, tell them not to be cowards and not bring in a compromise verdict of manslaughter, but bring in a verdict of murder and hang me."

The machinists have raised something over \$10,000 to defend me, and it was probably the great pressure of the International Association of Machinists and the firm stand taken by my own executive board that caused them to release me on \$250 bond on each indictment. I have put every dollar of the money into this fight. Since I have been out of jail I have reorganized our fight and have accounted to labor for every cent expended. I have here a complete itemized report and I have insisted that every month's receipts and disbursements be published in the Tri-City Leader of San Francisco and the bay cities. We have nothing to hide. We have stood the pressure of four murder trials. Thank God, two of them have been acquittals, but our people are still in jail. Rena Mooney was acquitted last July and she is still in jail in San Francisco. Weinberg was acquitted after a trial of two months. The jury only discussed the trial for three minutes and then waited fifteen minutes for the district attorney to come into court so they could deliver their verdict. He is still in jail.

I will admit that we have had a hard time in the face of the war situation and in the face of the great struggle that is absorbing all mankind. These are times when the fate of a few men, whether they sink or swim, makes little difference to humanity except for the principle involved. I hope this convention will see fit to give some assistance to the defendants. I do not ask for financial consideration for myself, because I do not feel that I need it. If they are going to try Rena Mooney again, which they seem determined to do, I am not going to ask

my international or any man of labor to put one single cent into my defense. I feel my voice is loud enough and strong enough and I have courage enough to meet the situation. I will tell the lawyers and everybody else that they have done enough, that money will not do us any good. If I see they are determined to try Rena Mooney again, as far as I am concerned and as far as I represent the spirit of the militant body of labor of which I am a member, as a defendant, as far as legal procedure is concerned, I am done. I will take my life into my own hands and present my case as best I may, for I will feel when that hour has arrived and I have done all I could, financial consideration will not avail and it will remain only for the voice of labor to say: "Men, you must not go through with this dastardly outrage!"

There are men in jail in San Francisco who cannot present their case as I may be able to present mine; they have not had the opportunity nor the experience I have had. I want some relief for them and Mrs. Mooney. I am not asking for stones; I am asking bread for my people, and I leave the question with you.

At the close of Mr. Nolan's speech Delegate Allan Haywood, District 12, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution and submitted the following:

RESOLUTION ON SAN FRANCISCO TRIALS OF THOMAS MOONEY ET AL.

Whereas, Organized Labor has expressed its confidence in various ways in the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney, Warren K. Billings, Edward D. Nolan, Israel Weinberg and Mrs. Rena Mooney; and

Whereas, Our confidence was the result of our understanding of the forces at work seeking to discredit the labor movement by putting at labor's door the horrible crime of July 22, 1916, in San Francisco, accusing trade unionists; and

Whereas, During the trial facts were brought to light showing plainly that witnesses were bribed, brow-beaten and trained to testify falsely; and

Whereas, It is our firm belief that the defense has proven that

were on. It has been the policy of the board to make such donations from time to time to help in the defense of these cases as the circumstances seemed to require.

President Hayes: We have with us one of the foremost figures in the labor movement, not only of the United States but of the world, a man who has been in the active service of this movement for more than fifty years. He has been president of the American Federation of Labor for more than a quarter of a century. While we may have disagreed with President Gompers in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, we have always admired him for his rugged honesty and for his devotion to the great cause of freedom and humanity. He is a man who speaks plainly, who never in all his great career appealed to the gallery, a man who never trimmed on any proposition. And because of these qualities, even those who have opposed him in the past admire him and wish him Godspeed in the work he is doing. I consider it a pleasure and a great honor to have the opportunity to present to this delegation Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS.

Mr. President, Fellow Union Men and Friends—There comes upon me a feeling which is inexpressible because I am standing before you this morning in this great convention of the United Mine Workers of America. When I see you here assembled—and I am informed more than sixteen hundred duly accredited delegates representing the coal miners of America are here, the men who in modern industry are of prime importance—my mind wanders back to the past when the men in the organized movement tried to bring about cohesive organized effort, and when I compare the conditions obtaining now with the conditions existing then, it is enough to make one's heart swell with pride if he has had but the slightest part in helping or has made some little contribution to the tremendous achievement, scarcely believable, of those who held the fondest hopes for the organization.

I shall not attempt to portray or even recite the wonderful transition and transformation of the miners from a position of docility, of poverty and misery into the full stature of manhood, conscious of your strength, wonderful in your achievements, and yet holding yourselves and your

ganization under such control that you have up to this time commanded the respect, the confidence and the admiration of every liberty-loving, humanity-loving American citizen.

It is a privilege to be permitted, much less to be invited, to address this great convention; and I found it gratifying that I could take the time from my other duties to come to Indianapolis and to say a word to you which I trust may be timely and helpful; for in this great hour of the world's history it requires all the man power and all the brain power and all the wealth and all the sacrifices which may be necessary not only liberty but that manhood shall prevail as the guiding thought of the world's progress.

It is a popular thought to discuss the question of war, and we are all of us compelled, whether we care or whether we do not, to concern ourselves with the fact that we are in war. We have had, perhaps, the most indirect or direct effect of our being in war within the past few days; and if I have the time and the opportunity I shall address a few words to you expressive of my opinion upon that subject. But we have not otherwise realized the fact that we are at war. You men who know me know that I have been all of my sixty-seven years of life a pacifist until less than three years ago. I was willing to go to the fullest length that any man could think or devise to prevent an international war. I believed that the civilization of our time, I believed that the humanitarian spirit in the hearts and the minds of men was sufficient to protect us against a struggle of this character.

When we knew that the great scientists of the world were burning the midnight oil for the purpose of discovering any agency or application that would ease the pain or cure the diseases or prevent the ills of our fellow human beings, it seems almost appalling to think that over night the war could have occurred. But it came. The marauder, the modern autocrat willed it that the peace of the world should be disturbed, that humanity should be stopped in its onward march toward a higher civilization. Everything was to be dominated as his autocratic, imperialistic and militaristic mind developed. Never in the history of the world was there a man or a group of men who had so thoroughly planned for the militaristic domination of the world as was expressed by the dynasty and the group of the imperial German government when it made war,

flagrantly, brutally and without the slightest consideration of the human side of the people of the world.

Yes, the invasion of Belgium, the ravishing of that little country, the crushing of Serbia and Roumania, the great juggernaut of this great militaristic machine, going on and on and on, was brought about by that autocratic and militaristic government; and, whatever the outcome of this titanic struggle, the pages of history will record to the great honor of that little land, Belgium, the wonderful protector of the human race. It was Belgium that halted the onward march of militarism and gave the world time to breathe and at least prepare itself to meet, to check and drive back the invader.

My thought comes back to the change that has come over the real pacifists of the world. I don't mean this lip service, I don't mean these anti-American demonstrations—I am speaking of those who were willing to sacrifice themselves that peace might be maintained. When the war dogs were let loose and it was shown that this tremendous preparation had been going on for over forty years, so far as I am concerned I am willing to declare here and now, quite freely and frankly, I threw my pacifism to the winds and there came the transformation from a pacifist to a fighting man.

If you were living in your home with your wife and your children and you learned that right around the corner was a band of half a dozen ruffians running amuck, killing men and women and innocent children, no matter what kind of a pacifist you might be, unless you arose and joined with your fellow men in the vicinity to repel the attack and the danger you would write yourself as a paltroon and a coward. The man who won't defend his home, his children, who won't help to defend the homes and wives and children of his neighbors is unworthy of neighborly conduct and friendly association.

We were so far removed from the theatre of operation that we believed we could keep out of the war. I firmly believe that it was the plan of the German militarist caste to keep us out of the war, but only until Germany had conquered Europe. I don't know whether this thought has ever been expressed—at least I have never heard it expressed—that if Germany had won, had beaten Belgium, France and England,

one of the first conditions of their terms for peace would have been the handing over of the British fleet, and with Germany's immense army, with her own fleet, with the French fleet and the British fleet under her command, what do you think would have happened to the people of the United States?

When Belgium checked the army of Germany the troops of France and England combined just held and moved the German army backward. That was not on the schedule for the militaristic campaign of the kaiser. He was checked and he knew, his military advisers and commanders knew and know now that as soon as they were checked it meant the beginning of the end, for it is writ in the stars that the God of truth and righteousness and justice will prevail. And then came the change. The policy of German statesmanship was then to drag the United States into the war by any means; hence the sinking of neutral ships, of innocent merchantmen and the killing of men, women and children upon the high seas. Without attempting further to elucidate, this killing of innocent men, women and children was on and the word pledged to our government broken, just as ruthlessly as was that pact between the governments of the whole world that Belgium's neutrality should be maintained at all hazards, as that treaty was torn to shreds as a scrap of paper, the pledge given to the United States by the German government that this rapine and murder could not be repeated, was broken without the slightest compunction.

At last we were in the war, we were dragged into it, we could not step out of it if we would. If we had not come to the assistance of the peoples representing the democracies of Europe I have not the slightest hesitancy in believing that it meant the choice of going over to fight or having them come over here to fight. Four years ago when I had the great privilege of being with you in your convention—to be exact, four years and three days—the only war of which any of us knew anything was the war in the convention. And I may be a bit scarred and wounded, but I am still in the ring. No one here or in the broad domain of our country imagined in January, 1914, that within a few passing months the whole world would be in conflagration and countries slaying each other's throats. Events have come and gone that were little dreamed of in our philosophy, and from that year up to the present time the world has been at war. We cannot be neutral; there is no such

thing as neutrality in this war. You are for autocracy or democracy, there is no other choice, not only for individuals but for nations. Spain, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland are not neutral; they may have proclaimed their neutrality, but they are profiting or cowed by the war, and hence their sympathies and their co-operation are given to either one or the other side.

I don't want to assume the attitude of the great orator of the Continental Congress, but I cannot live when the whole world makes for unfreedom. I counted it an honor, as I felt it my duty, some years ago to challenge the decision and the action of the courts because they denied me the right of honest, free expression. I took the chance to defend the principles of freedom and suffered the indignity of having been sentenced twice to imprisonment for a year because I dared maintain the right of free speech and free press. When I could not endure the gross injustice of taking from me and my fellows the right of freedom of expression you can rest assured I protested, and will protest again, any attempt to strangle the manhood and womanhood of the world to silence and failure or prevention of expression.

I realize the contrast between the conditions of peace and those of war. The government of the United States, with singular unanimity, the sole constituted authority of our republic, decided to declare that we are at war with Germany and later with Austria. There is no other way provided by which that action can be taken. That specific decision having been made that a state of war exists between America and her Allies against the imperial governments of Germany and Austria, everything that I can do to adjure my fellow workers and my fellow citizens to do to make the victory of democracy sure I am going to advise, even if it is with my last breath.

A month before war was declared a conference was held in the city of Washington in which the representatives of nearly all the national and international trade unions participated. In that conference a declaration was made and unanimously adopted. May I take the time to read a few paragraphs of this declaration to you? The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we will profit from the experience of other nations. Democracy cannot be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The

foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism, a structure that will stand the test of the necessities of peace or war. This is the declaration:

"We, the officers of the national and international trade unions of America, in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our republic.

"In this solemn hour of our nation's life it is our earnest hope that our republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization. But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the republic of the United States of America against its enemies, whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of labor, justice, freedom and humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service."

That was the declaration of March 12, 1917. Since then our country has been at war. We desired to place ourselves in a position where we could establish the best possible relations with the government and the men and the women of our labor movement so that the greatest degree of co-operation and wholehearted support would be given on both sides. And so we have had the agreements made between the governmental agencies and the representatives of our movement, so that in the struggle for freedom and democracy abroad we should not lose our freedom and democracy at home. You have it in your own organization, for your own honored former president, Brother John P. White, is in an influential, helpful position in one of the greatest governmental agencies in which the men of your industry are primarily affected. What is true in regard to him is equally true of nearly all industries of America.

We propose not to surrender the standards of life and living during this struggle, except it be to save the Republic of the United States and not for private profit. We will make any sacrifice which may be necessary to make our triumphs sure, but we are not going to make any sacrifices that shall fill the coffers of the rich beyond the plethoric conditions in which they even now are.

If there was any evidence required to show the great heart of the leader of the world's democracies, the President of the United States visited the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor and gave his great message to the hearts and the conscience of the workers, of the masses of the people of the whole world. It thrilled every human being capable of any sensibility or feeling. It was wonderful! It was a pledge of the common concept for humanity. The world is changing. This war, upon which first I looked with horror and disdain beyond expression, I regard now as a rejuvenation of mankind and the establishment of higher concept of justice for all time to come. And it means that all great transformations in the interest of humanity must have a baptism of blood, and the blood that is now so freely flowing is the baptism, not of this war, but of its transformation from a war to a crusade in the interests of humanity.

In this present day condition in which we find criticisms and attacks being sown broadcast anywhere and everywhere it is timely for labor men to consider lest we, too, may be swamped by passionate appeals or by misleading purposes. It is a tremendous thing, it is an almost unbelievable task to work out the military, the naval, the industrial, the commercial affairs of a country which were based on democratic ideas and ideals, which were based upon a peace footing, and expect that this democracy should transform the whole field of human endeavor from a peace basis to a war footing without making some mistakes. We would sacrifice our lives rather than give up our democratic institutions; but bear in mind that democracy is likely to make mistakes. These mistakes are the penalties we pay for the exercise of the principles of freedom and democracy. And that applies to our own organization as well as to our government. If we want to have democracy we should be willing to pay some of the penalties of democracy because of our mistakes.

I have no brief to speak for the administration of the government of the United States or of any of its members, but this I do know, and

am willing to voluntarily attest to it, that they are prompted by the great purpose, first, that America shall win in this war, and to do justice to our people in the fighting and during the struggle. They are men of great mental power and activity. To think that this great transition could take place without some mistakes being made is to expect the impossible. Talk about change and placing distinguished men in the governmental affairs and in full power! Distinguished men! I have heard on the train coming here the names of some of those who are regarded as the "distinguished men" who would fill those positions if created, and, believe me, not one of the men mentioned could compare in brain, in heart, in practical understanding and worth with the men who are now occupying the positions of trust and responsibility.

On the other hand, I know of the men mentioned in conversation upon the train—and parenthetically I may say that I don't believe in all my life I used less words or spoke less than I did on the trip from New York to Indianapolis, but my ears were quite acute—there wasn't one man whose name was suggested who was ever known to do a public service, there wasn't a man among those mentioned who had expressed one scintilla of thought for the great mass of labor. There has never been a time when the affairs of the country were in the hands of men more competent to do their work than the men now entrusted with the interests and the affairs and the life of the people of our nation.

I am not going to find any excuse for mistakes. I have in advance said that they are part of our very lives and system. As a matter of fact, who could have made a greater mistake than the one-man power, the kaiser of Germany, in starting this thing he will never be able to finish? With all his plans and all his aids he made that mistake. They were on the road to great industrial and scientific and commercial success in Germany; they had an enviable position in the world's affairs, but they wanted to establish their military, imperialistic, autocratic influence and government over the whole world. I haven't spoken German in this last couple of years. I acquired the language when I was working in the factory, and I am going to use a term that has been used by the Germans—"Deutschland ueber Alles"—Germany over all. That is not an expression of the day before yesterday, or three or five or ten years ago, it is a motto coined over forty years ago—"Germany over all." My friends, place one military dictator, if you please, at the head of

the affairs of our government and he will make as many if not more mistakes than have been made by the administrator of our affairs, though they be civilians. And how would the workers fare in the struggle and in the meantime?

Well, even the order issued a few days ago I regard as an absolute necessity. You know there is now a discussion to repeal or modify the Sherman Anti-Trust law. I am not going to offer any excuse for the railroads, they have been lax so long, but the Sherman Anti-Trust law forbade them to do what now the director-general of the railroads has the right to do. The jam had occurred and was increasing and something had to be done to relieve the situation. If the ice king has interfered there can be no help for that. I think there is one mistake in the making, and I trust it will be changed or modified. I refer to the closing of the industrial and commercial plants of our country one additional day each week. I think it is a mistake to have a whole day such as Monday idle, and involving from Saturday afternoon until Tuesday morning. I believe if the order were changed so that instead of there being ten, nine or eight hours as a day's work, let the same power be exercised and proclaim a universal seven-hour day during the war period we would have practically the same results in the conservation of fuel and all other needful commodities; there would be the same conservation and it would not do violence to the history, the traditions, the work and the practical operation of industry and commerce. I trust that the suggestion may find lodgment somewhere and bring about that change; but if it doesn't I am going to obey like a soldier of America, I am going to yield my judgment to the judgment and the actions of the men in whose hands the destinies of our republic are placed. Because the suggestion or advice I may offer may not be accepted does not entitle me during the war to balk or refuse to co-operate with my fellow citizens and with my government.

I think I ought to make reference to something which is arresting our attention and the attention of the whole world. I refer to the present situation as it exists in Russia. We have all done our share to be helpful to the Russian people and we were all enthused when the revolutionists overthrew the Czar of that country, established a revolutionary government and fought on and on until there came upon the scene these people who call themselves the Bolsheviki. The exact meaning of

That term is not known to every one. It is simply the Russian word for what we would call maxamilists, those who want the maximum of anything and everything and will not compromise or yield to anything, will not accept anything but the uttermost, the maxim. What is the maxim? All that you have dreamed, all that I have dreamed, all that any one has dreamed and hoped for, that must be accomplished and put into operation at once or else we refuse to live and be with our neighbors of different judgment; we refuse to accept the natural law of growth and development; we refuse to permit industry to be carried on to its fullest extent, and then, as in the movements of labor in England and the United States, to obtain something better, to make life and work better today than yesterday, better tomorrow than today and better each succeeding day, so that every day, tomorrow and tomorrow, and tomorrow's tomorrow shall each be a better day than the day which is past.

They refuse to permit such a growth, such a development, but want it all; and, like the dog in the fable who, having a bone and seeing the shadow in the water and the shadow being larger than the bone itself, the dog dropped the bone and jumped for the shadow and lost both. To expect that the world shall establish the highest ideals of ownership, of property, of work, of life by edict and without the transition from stage to stage is like expecting an infant just crawling and beginning to walk to enter into a marathon race as a contender for victory. The result of that activity of the Bolsheviki is this, that because of their supposed radicalism they have lost all. As a nation which doesn't function, an army that won't fight, a people that for the time being cannot act together through this Bolsheviki, the people of Russia are crawling upon their bellies and asking for mercy at the hand of the modern assassin, the Kaiser of Germany.

Through this Bolsheviki the whole field of operations is in greater danger. The Czar of Russia in his palmiest days could do no worse than this Bolsheviki has done. The Czar turned his soldiers upon the members of the Duma of Russia, and the Bolsheviki have sent their armed soldiers and sailors to disperse the Constituent Assembly, the representatives elected by the people of Russia; in other words, my friends, the attempt at constitutional government in Russia, where the people could assert themselves, has been at the point of the gun and

the bayonet driven out of the hall of legislation. The Bolsheviki who dropped their guns when facing the Kaiser's troops turned them upon their own representative government.

My friends, the reason of that movement, the terrific situation, the terrible situation in which the people of Russia and the government of Russia are placed is a reminder to us, too, not only in our own country, but in our labor movement, because, believe me, we have some Bolsheviki right in the United States! These men, if they had their way would drive the United States government and the people into the same wretched, miserable, poltroonery position. If they had their way the trades unions of our country would not be in existence. You know as well as I do that there was one organization of labor in the United States—I prefer not to mention its name—which was a Maxamalist organization—they would have nothing but the most and would not consent to anything less. And now it hasn't the power to make even a decent showing, much less a good fight. If the extremists in the labor movement of America had their way the United Mine Workers of America might be known as a name but not as a fact; it wouldn't have one of its representative men sitting in council with the governmental agencies in order to determine the conditions of industry and the life and the work of the toilers.

You haven't got all that you are entitled to, certainly not! My desire and demand upon society is for more and more and more, and never stopping in that constant driving movement for more; but I do know something of the limitations of our power, of our people, of our own selfishness and altruism, of our generosity and our weakness, and I say to you, my friends, let the voice of the men with experience, the men charged with the responsibility of carrying out the interests and the will and the welfare of the miners of America be heard—don't fail to heed their suggestions and advice. I am not discussing, nor have I in mind any question of a controversial character in your convention; I am speaking of a general policy which experience has demonstrated. The time was not always when the miners were a great power. Every inch of effort and success was at the expense of great sacrifice, of tremendous expenditure. Don't throw that all to the winds.

What is it that Shakespeare put into the mouth of Friar Lawrence

his advice to Romeo when he rushes off? "Don't run so fast, my dear Romeo, for many a man has lost his race by overrunning." Men of the United Mine Workers of America, make such changes as may be essential to your continual progress, but for the sake of yourselves, for the sake of the men who are going into the mining industry hereafter, for the sake of their wives and children and yours, for the honor of the memory of the men who have done so much to help build up this wonderful monument of honor and of strength, don't throw their experience to the winds.

We don't know what is coming. This war is making changes every day; this war is brightening up the minds of men. Men think quicker, act quicker, conceive better, execute greater than at any time in the history of our country—and I believe I am justified in saying in the history of the world. New concepts are coming; the blood in men's veins is tingling; human brotherhood, in spite of sacrifices, is being held as the great ideal; the relations between man and man are changed; wealth, possessions are no longer regarded as of great importance. The thing that is important is human effort, co-operation, service to the government, service to the people, service to make life the better worth living; and this war, transformed into a crusade, when it is all over will have brought a brighter and a better day for all. The sacrifice is great, but who looks with regret upon the sacrifices made by our forefathers in establishing the republic of the United States and achieving for the first time in the history of the world a declaration that there are certain inalienable rights and that among them are the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? That was said for America and its echo went throughout the world.

The war now, this crusade, is for the establishment of that principle throughout the world—the people of Germany included. Who regrets the sacrifices that were made to abolish human slavery? Who is not proud of the fights that were made that liberty should obtain? Who regrets that the United States entered into a war with Spain to wrest the Island of Cuba from the tyrannical rule of the Spanish monarchy? And so with this fight, so with this struggle, the future will regard any man in any walk of life who did something to make for the freedom, for the justice, for the democracy of the world in our time as a bene-

factor, the world will rise up and call him blessed for the part he has performed and the service he has rendered.

Now is the time that tries men's souls; now is the time to give service; now is the time when we should see to it that we try to uphold the great labor movement of our country. It is in accord with and is heartily pledged to the cause of this democratic republic of ours, the republic of the United States; it is committed almost unanimously to the great cause for which the world is now bleeding and which it will win. We shall not lose, we cannot lose. The whole history of the world, the songs of the poets, the dreams of the philosophers, the work of the toilers, the service of mankind, the scars and the battles and the sufferings of the past are all thrown in spirit in the balance, and the men and women of America, the men and women of fighting England, the men and women of gallant France, the men and women of outraged Belgium, the men and women of devastated Serbia and Roumania—the spirit of it all goes forth in one grand acclaim, victory and triumph for labor and democracy, the establishment of the universal brotherhood of man. That is the cry; that is the slogan; that is the shibboleth which will win for the world in the most glorious battle and triumph for human justice.

President Hayes: I want to say that I have heard our friend Sam make many addresses, but none I am sure more interesting, more instructive and more helpful than the one he has made this morning. I feel that American labor is indeed fortunate in these trying times to have a man with the power of vision, with the power of understanding that President Gompers possesses to lead us. I feel that I express the sentiments of the delegates in this convention when I say that President Gompers interprets the soul of American labor on this war question. And labor will have a great voice in the solution of the war problems; labor will be consulted about peace terms. We are indeed fortunate to have at the head of the American labor movement a man with the broad experience, a man with the heart, a man with the humanity possessed by our good friend, President Gompers, and I want to thank him in behalf of this convention for the very helpful and powerful address he delivered today.

Delegate Edmunds, Iowa: I arise at this time, Mr. Chairman, to

move that the address of President Gompers be printed in pamphlet form and distributed to the delegates in attendance at this convention. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

EIGHTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., Wednesday, January 23, President Hayes in the chair.

President Hayes: Sometime ago I invited the chief of the Bureau of Mines of the United States government to be present and deliver an address to this convention. Mr. Manning could not come, but he sent one of his assistants, a man who has long been prominent in our union. I know the delegates will be glad to know that we have with us this afternoon, representing the United States Bureau of Mines, a former International Secretary of our organization, a man who helped to build this movement. I take great pleasure in presenting our old friend, W. D. Ryan.

ADDRESS OF W. D. RYAN, REPRESENTING UNITED STATES BUREAU OF MINES.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—Knowing as I do the orators in this convention have been working overtime, and that you have yet a large amount of work to perform, my remarks will be very brief. A few short years ago John Mitchell, Tom Lewis, W. B. Wilson and Bill Ryan were often referred to as the Big Four of the miners' union. I have heard it said that if by any chance they should eliminate themselves from this organization it would go to the demnition bowwows, or something of that sort. Two of the Big Four voluntarily left your services, the other two you put the skids under, and for some reason I cannot very well explain you have been getting along pretty well without us. You had then a magnificent organization, and I assure you there is nothing I could do, no place I could go that would give me the pleasure it gives me to have this opportunity, not only to visit, but to talk to you today and congratulate you upon the success you have been making.

I would urge upon the delegates present that they put in all the time possible studying economic and industrial conditions of this country, for no man can tell which of you will be called upon within the next three, five or ten years to lead this organization. I recall fifteen or sixteen years ago accepting an invitation to attend with my Illinois colleagues a smoker given by a miners' union in a small southern Illinois town. At that smoker a little red-headed trapper boy was distributing cigars to the miners present. That boy is today your International President. Little did any of us dream at that time that he would be called upon so soon to guide the destinies of this organization. I therefore want to repeat that it is your duty, not only to yourselves, but to those you represent, to make yourselves conversant with the labor conditions of this country. You are the advance guard of this great organization and you ought to do better than we did in our day, although we feel a pardonable pride in the success of the organization at that time. When I was called upon to take charge of the financial part of the miners' union in Illinois I sold the office furniture in Springfield for \$1.50, and that was our capital stock. When my latest successor went into office there was a million and a half dollars in the treasury.

Your President has referred to me as a representative of the Bureau of Mines. Since the war started and the cry has gone out to increase the output of the mines, mills, factories, quarries and munitions plants, the accident rate has increased in some places to an alarming extent. The government is doing all it can to conserve fuel and conserve food, but I feel there has not been enough done, there has not been enough specific action taken to conserve the man power of this country and cut down the accident rate as low as possible. We take the position that 75 per cent. of all industrial accidents in this country are preventable, and we ought to take drastic measures, if necessary, to save our own people at home whose labor is just as necessary in winning this world war as the efforts of the boys who go over to the trenches.

I think that recently the people of this country have realized for the first time that the miners of the United States are an important factor in the success of the United States. I remember the time, and it is not very many years ago, when we were looked upon as a bunch of roughnecks, and the term coal digger would not take you into any kind of high society. It is different today, and it is just as it should be. You

is the most important factor in the United States today so far as the very life of the government is concerned.

I am going to ask your President and whatever committee it may be proper to refer the matter to to take some action, so that by co-operation with the Bureau of Mines we can take steps to reduce the number of accidents in the coal mines of this country. There is no reason whatever for this increase in the number of accidents. I am not going to blame any one for it, but we are up against that very serious situation. I desire to express to you the wish for a healthy, happy and prosperous New Year, not only you but all of those whom you represent. I take some pride in the fact that in traveling through the country as a representative of the Bureau of Mines I have been given the glad hand wherever I have met my old colleagues or my new acquaintances. I want to express the appreciation of the Director of the Bureau of Mines, Mr. Manning, for the good will and co-operation of the miners' organization.

President Hayes: I am sure we all enjoyed the address of our old friend W. D. Ryan. I remember Bill well in the old days, and I remember the trip he referred to quite distinctly. We owe a debt of gratitude to the pioneers like W. D. Ryan, the men who blazed the way for us to follow. I am proud of the fact that my father gave me the obligation of the organization of which I am president. He was an associate of W. D. Ryan and the other pioneers of the movement. I hope the convention will adopt some resolution pledging the co-operation of this organization with the Bureau of Mines.

The question before the house is the report of the Committee on Constitution on Section 3 and non-concurrence in Resolution No. 34. The question is now before the convention for discussion.

Delegate Smith, District 19: I am one of the delegates from an outlying district. I come from a district that has had men in the councils of every organization of the miners of this country since the very early days, men who went into organizations that the courts of this country held were criminal because of the methods they had to adopt in order to form labor unions in those days. I come from a district that had men driven from it by persecution, and they are now in every one of your districts. They were driven out because they dared to try to build an or-

ganization to protect their rights and the rights of the men in and about the mines.

The men of District 19, Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, have always had hopes and aspirations as well as all the rest of you had. We aspired to a complete organization; we had hopes that in time our aspirations would be realized, but conditions over which the men in those fields had no control prevented us in accomplishing our hopes. At one time I went out and with the assistance of men of my district, many of them delegates here today, established a joint movement. That was in 1899. So far as the principle embraced in Resolution 34 is concerned, if I correctly understand what the object is, the men in District 19 would like to obtain the conditions the resolution tries to set forth. Some people may say the resolution is drastic. It may be drastic, but it is not the most drastic action that has ever been taken by an international convention of our organization to obtain the desires of all the members of our organization.

Some of you people who probably have not had an opportunity to attend previous conventions when men were fighting for the establishment of a complete joint movement to make contracts for the miners of the country do not know what the action of these conventions has been. The man who talked to you just after adjournment made a motion a few years ago in an international convention that no contract would be signed by any district until a contract was signed for all the districts and that was carried by unanimous vote. But, mind you, Bill Ryan did not have inserted into the constitution that no district could make a contract unless all the districts have contracts. He made the motion to show to the world that our policy was that we were going to continue to progress until such time as we would be able to meet in convention and make a contract covering the wages and conditions of employment for all the mines on the American continent. When that motion was carried it was by unanimous vote of the convention. It was the sentiment of the convention that if something would develop that would prevent its being carried into effect the convention would have the authority to reassemble and adopt another policy that would best suit the occasion.

Yesterday when a standing vote was taken we found a divided opinion as to what was the best policy for this organization to adopt.

The men who are opposing placing this resolution in the constitution state that, so far as the principle is concerned, they have no objection to its being adopted as the policy of the organization. It may be that if that resolution is adopted, before the time comes for us to hold another regular convention—and remember this constitution can only be amended by a regular convention—we may have an opportunity to make a contract that will embrace probably four-fifths of the members of our organization, and because some outlying districts refuse to be a part of it we cannot change the policy, we will have to make a contract for all or a contract for none.

I remember another resolution that was adopted in 1900. In 1900 we re-established the joint movement in Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. In meeting over here in Masonic Temple the national convention said there would not be any more contracts made by any of the outlying districts unless they expired on the 31st day of March. I opposed that motion and served notice on the delegates there that I would not, as an official of District 19, comply with it. Under this resolution that would have thrown me out of office for protecting the rights and interests of the men I represent in District 19. After we adjourned our national convention in 1900 we succeeded in a few months in negotiating a wage contract for District 19 that carried with it working conditions that were advantageous to the men and an advance of 7½ per cent. all the way around. Not another one of the organized districts in this country obtained one cent advance that year. And now you would penalize the men who might be the officials of a district for taking advantage of conditions that might arise to protect the men.

Delegate Helm: May I ask a question?

Delegate Smith: Keep your question in your pocket until I get through.

Now, Mr. President, I sat here the other day and listened while the rafters of this hall rang with condemnation of a penalty clause.

A delegate arose to a point of order and stated that Delegate Smith was not discussing the question before the house.

Delegate Smith: I want to call attention to the fact that one of the most damnable penalty clauses ever written is attached to this reso-

lution in question, therefore I say we have a right to reply to what has been stated here when people were opposing a clause in our contract that compelled the man who had no consideration for the welfare of thousands and hundreds of thousands of men and their families or for the success of this nation from wilfully jeopardizing the joint contract by violating it. Then why is it delegates will come in here now and say that if any officer, international or district, fails to comply with this resolution the penalty for him is to be decapitated and thrown on the junk heap where a lot of us probably ought to have been before some of you who are here now hollering for democracy were born? I fought for democracy before you were born, and I have the scars on my body that I got while fighting for it.

The language of this resolution is very peculiar. I have had some experience in my time serving the laboring people before different legislative bodies. I did that from time to time for over twenty years. I have been fighting the politicians and the rascals who have made the laws of our country, and I sometimes find things in resolutions that other people do not find there. You may make a whole lot of noise here today by hollering "louder" and "sit down," to drown out men who are trying to bring you to reason, but the noise you make here will be no more to be compared to the noise that will be heard in the next two years, if you adopt this, than the breath of a man in a hurricane.

This resolution says: "No international officer or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers will have the authority to meet and make a basic agreement and formulate a policy to govern any other district without all districts being given an opportunity to be represented and have a voice and vote on any question affecting wages and conditions or any policy that any other district will be expected to comply with." What do you mean by that? Do you mean that even if you adopt this resolution and all the officers of all the districts are called into convention for the purpose of adopting a policy, that then the minority in one district can ignore that policy and do as it pleases about it? Is that your idea? You want to say that no district is expected to comply with the policy that may be adopted by a minority unless it desires to do so? If you do, who is going to determine whether or not any district is expected to comply?

The resolution doesn't say what the result is to be after you have that meeting; it doesn't say how you are to be bound. Suppose a majority does adopt a policy and my district refuses to comply with it, as we did in 1900, and we would be forced to go into an industrial war in District 19, after we had taken a part in the deliberations, would we have a right to demand of this organization that it back us up in our industrial struggle down there? I don't think this delegation wants to adopt a resolution that is subject to so many different constructions.

I have been asked by some of the delegates from different districts here as to whether or not I believe this resolution ought to become a part of our Constitution. So far as I know we have never had an official in District 19 who did not at all times desire that the men in that district obtain the benefit of the organization that you people have obtained throughout the North and West. We have been enabled to obtain concessions in our district with a small organization because you have interstate agreements. We may talk about our democracy and the sacrifices we are willing to make, but let me ask you men of the Southwest if this had been your law in 1898-9, when you had your law, would you not have had to submit to the operators in your field? Men went through that struggle, and after the fight was given up took the responsibility upon themselves to go from camp to camp and make conditions so obnoxious to the operators that they were glad to ask the officers of the United Mine Workers to come into the Southwest and establish an organization that would give them some stability in the coal industry down there.

So far as my district is concerned, I believe the men of District 19 will be just as loyal to the organization without this in the Constitution as with it. I believe the principle contained in this question ought to be adopted as the policy of this organization, but not as an organic law. I am a member of a local union that has been able to make contracts with the operators down there, a local union that kept the fires of unionism burning in District 19 for the last nineteen years. That local union has not got what the members think they ought to have, although during the last contract period we were able to advance the mining price 38 cents a ton and day wages from \$1.20 to \$1.60 on the day above the wages received before. That local union has always been loyal to the United Mine Workers and loyal to the Government. If my information is correct, and I received it from the local officials, 126 of those stars repre-

sents the men who have enlisted in the army from Local 890, Soddy, Tenn.

We cannot expect or hope to accomplish all in one year's time down there that the organized men in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Western Pennsylvania have been able to accomplish. There was a time when the men of Ohio would strike and the men in Indiana would furnish them the wherewithal to live. I remember when many of your fathers had to walk from the different States where they were trying to make an organization to protect you. For God's sake don't get the mistaken idea that you can control the future negotiations for a wage contract by making an organic law. Let me say to some of you fellows who voted in the negative yesterday, when the question to refer to a special committee was lost, to make a motion to reconsider that vote so that we can refer it to a committee and have a resolution brought in here that will define the policy of this organization in all future wage agreements that we may negotiate. If you will do that you will safeguard all your rights and interests and run no risk of making the mistake of jeopardizing the joint method of making contracts. Now, what is your question?

Delegate Helm: The question I was going to ask Organizer Smith—

Delegate Smith: I have been an organizer since the 5th day of December.

Delegate Helm: You referred to a time when the men in your district obtained 7½ cents on the tonnage rate and other districts did not receive anything.

Delegate Smith: Seven and one-half per cent.

Delegate Helm: I want to ask if the agreement you made at that time established a basic rate for other districts, or established a policy for other districts to negotiate under?

Delegate Smith: If Delegate Helm had taken time in the different conventions he has attended when wage agreements were being negotiated he would find out that the operators he was trying to wring higher wages out of always brought in these outside districts and tried to make them the basis of their contracts. Come on!

Delegate Dempsey, District 1: Up to this time I have taken up but

very little time of this convention and I trust you will bear with me a moment while I discuss briefly the question before the house. I had hoped we would not find it necessary to enter this discussion so far as the anthracite districts are concerned; but as the discussion has developed and the intention of the proposed amendment has become more clear we have begun to realize its purpose. If I were to be satisfied to discuss the resolution itself I would say it was a meaningless, harmless proposition; but if I were to accept the interpretation of its sponsor it becomes a vicious resolution and one which is dangerous to the best interests of the men of this union.

In answer to President Kennedy yesterday Delegate Frampton said it did not affect the anthracite region, but later, in answer to President Farrington's question, he said no conference could be held next year or the year after unless every district in the union was represented. We have three districts in this union that up to this time have exercised their own autonomy; that is, we have made contracts covering the anthracite region without being influenced or controlled in any way, shape or manner by the international union, except in so far as assisting us is concerned.

Delegate Frampton: In order to clear up the matter I would like to ask a question. Did you understand me, in answering President Kennedy, to say it did not affect the anthracite?

Delegate Dempsey: Yes.

Delegate Frampton: President Kennedy asked if it would be necessary, if this resolution is adopted, for the miners and operators to come in from the anthracite, and I said it would not.

Delegate Dempsey, District 1: I did not understand that Delegate Kennedy asked the question in that way, and I do not so understand it now. We have a peculiar situation in so far as the anthracite district is concerned. We have found it difficult in the anthracite regions to negotiate contracts with the anthracite coal operators, and the fundamental opposition to entering into contracts with the organization as an organization is their fear of bituminous domination. We have had great difficulty in relieving them of the idea and convincing them that there is no intention on the part of the operators or miners of the bituminous

field to dominate their conference. If you will adopt the resolution before the house you can no longer convince the anthracite operators that they are not under the domination of the bituminous interests of this country. We don't want to be put in that position; we want to exercise, if you will permit us, autonomy in our own country. We have not undertaken to inject ourselves into the conferences where wage agreements affecting the bituminous interests are negotiated, and up to this time, I am glad to be able to say, we have been able to get along by mutual cooperation with both interests. But I see a danger in the passage of this resolution—I fear it will make it impossible to longer have mutual cooperation.

I want to say to you, as President Farrington said, that the preamble of the resolution does not state the facts. I know of no time in the last sixteen years when I have not served, or when some other representative of District 1 has not served, as a member of the scale committee in this great convention. We were given the right to participate in the formulation of the scale. I have never seen the time, either, in those years when, after the scale had been adopted by the convention, or approved by the convention, and the four States had gone into conference and brought back an agreement, that this convention itself did not ratify the agreement. If they brought back a disagreement and it became necessary for the convention to adjourn without an agreement, then this convention determined what the policy of the organization should be.

There are many reasons why we should not adopt the resolution before the house. I want to say to you that as a grammatical proposition it is a masterpiece of ambiguity. It attempts to amend this Constitution in the wrong place. If this amendment is to go into the Constitution at all it ought not to go into the article governing the jurisdiction of the union over its members. This resolution deals with a matter of procedure and not with the jurisdiction of the various branches of the union over the members. This belongs, if it belongs anywhere in the constitution—and I don't think it does—in Article XX instead of Article III.

The resolution carries with it a penalty which might be applied to district officers, and yet the resolution itself does not provide any duties of district officers. We never heard tell of an international officer making a wage agreement. It is ridiculous. And yet this resolution proposes

to prohibit such officers from exercising a right they never had and never exercised. Those in favor of the resolution might say this will be a voluntary arrangement if it is adopted, that if you get notice to come into a joint conference you do not need to come. All right! If I don't come after I am notified the joint conference can, at its pleasure, make a scale to cover me and my people and I haven't any kick coming. If my district organization should say to me, after receiving an invitation to come and join you, that I must not go, that our district will not participate, and I do not go and at the orders of my own people I sign up a contract independently I would be subject to removal from office, not by my own people, but by the International Executive Board.

Now, my friends, it seems to me that the policy of our union has been to extend the interstate joint conference into as many districts as possible. I have been in this convention more than once when resolutions were passed asking the joint conference to admit the State of Iowa. The miners never objected, the operators always objected. As has been said here before, there are two parties to the agreement, and unless the operators agree to the admission of a district it cannot be admitted. That being the policy of the union, and a mere matter of procedure, why make it a part of the fundamental law of the union? You cannot change your laws every day, and if this law is adopted and within a few months, or a year or two years, a conference is called you cannot bring in the interests covered in this resolution, you cannot hold any conference until the law is amended or repealed. We have no scale here this year, we have no conference in sight. My own opinion is that the time to map out the way you should proceed is when you are about to enter a conference, or when you have failed to reach an agreement in a conference, and not place such a resolution in the fundamental law of your union.

It is not very often the men of the anthracite field take up your time in this convention or elsewhere. Up to this time we have been able to get along very well without demanding much attention from the International Union or any of its officers, although whatever need we have had of their assistance has always been gladly given and has always been welcome. We do not want you, however, to amend our Constitution in such a manner as to say to the people of this country or to the anthra-

cite operators that our organization in the anthracite field, in so far as our right to make a scale with them is concerned, is at the mercy or under the domination of the bituminous interests of the country. In a way the industries are competitive; that is the cause, and it is a righteous cause, of the fear of the domination of those interests.

I might add before closing that if the past procedure of the organization in so far as securing material benefit for our members is concerned had been a failure, if the interstate joint movement had been a failure, if the outlying districts had suffered because of the existence of the joint interstate movement, there might be some just cause for the introduction of such a resolution. But with the results obtained through the interstate joint movement, supplemented by the agreements based thereon, the great achievements of this union stand out for themselves and this unnecessary criticism of its work comes with very bad grace at this day.

There are other men here from the anthracite field who may desire to take part in the discussion, but I ask you to be careful what you are doing in the adoption of this resolution. Read it carefully. I said a minute ago it was a masterpiece of ambiguity, and it is. If you want to put it into your Constitution you ought to at least put it in language that is not susceptible of more than one construction.

Delegate Robinson (P.), District 6: This question affects the Central Competitive Field. I was here in 1910 when we did not have such a delegation as we have here today. After we met here we went to Toledo and mapped out a policy there. I think we should adopt the resolution and not the committee's report. I don't believe in imposing a penalty on a district I am not a member of. Under Tom Lewis's administration we were compelled to go home from Toledo with a three-state agreement in the competitive movement instead of four, as we have today. Secretary Green was president of the Ohio miners at that time and he said he would not sign a contract until the four States would come into the conference. I want to say for Billy Green that he is all right, but I don't believe in the delegates of four States enforcing conditions on some other district.

You who swing the picks have been told many things by the officers. If you want the officers to lead you as they have in the past, they may

lead you to victory, but we should stand here together, and not take four states, but take a referendum vote of all the other states. Why can't you all be of the same opinion and vote to adopt or reject the thing you are fighting for on the floor of this convention today? West Virginia and the other states are not in the conference. President Walker has sat silent today, although in 1910 he was unseated in Toledo. If the miners had done that day as the officers had done you would not have the four-state competitive field united as we have it today. Don't let the men of one district cut the throats of men in other districts. Everyone of us today should stand for a contract based upon the principle that if the miners of one district receive anything we all receive it at the hands of the operators of this country.

Delegate Moyer, District 6: We have had enough discussion on this question to decide a presidential election. It has gone on until everybody is tired. I make a motion that we cease debate and proceed to vote on this proposition.

President Hayes: The chair promised the other day that before debate was closed the chairman of the committee could speak on the resolution. After he has had that opportunity the question will be voted on.

Delegate Mates: I want to ask a question. Is there anything in the joint agreements that prevent the outlying districts from receiving a higher rate than is agreed to by the joint movement?

Delegate Farrington: If this convention will permit I will endeavor to answer your question.

Delegate Jones, District 12: On Saturday, when we were discussing the agreement, the chairman at that time, when the question was called for, asked for a show of hands to find out whether the delegates wanted to close debate or not. Why not do that now?

A number of delegates insisted upon the motion to close debate being voted on.

President Hayes: Is this convention going to respect the rights of the chair? The chair promised the other day that President Farrington

would have a right to discuss the resolution before the question would be put. He discussed the motion to refer, but not the resolution.

Delegate Wilson (D.), District 12: I arise to a point of order. It requires the unanimous consent of this convention to speak more than once on any question.

President Hayes: The chairman of a committee has a right to defend his report, and the chair promised him that opportunity. He has a right to a second discussion of the resolution. The point of order is not well taken, and Delegate Wilson will be seated. Chairman Farrington of the committee has the floor.

Chairman Farrington: As chairman of your Constitution Committee I say to you that this committee has been working nights and Sundays while you boys have been out following your own bent and enjoying your own pleasures, and I do not appreciate the treatment that is being accorded us by this delegation. Can it be there is something in connection with this great fundamental question these delegates are fearful you should hear? I would not now ask your indulgence were it not for the fact that I know there are many important elements in connection with this great question that have not been put before the delegation. I have not disturbed the proceedings of this convention; I have not taken up any more of your time than it was absolutely necessary that I should take up; I have not sat here calling for the question and telling somebody to sit down; I have not raised points of order or done anything of that kind. If there is any delegate in this convention who has anything of importance to say I am certainly very glad to listen to whatever he may have to say.

This question is of such tremendous importance to the United Mine Workers of America that you can well afford to sit patiently and hear everything said that is to be said in connection with it. I hold for this delegation to adopt the resolution now before you would be one of the most dangerous blows that could be struck at the vitals of this organization. As I stated yesterday, the preamble of this resolution is not a statement of facts, nor does it set forth a true exposition of the procedure that has been followed in the convention in the negotiating of our joint agreements.

This resolution says: "Whereas, The international officials and the officials and representatives of the Central Competitive Field have assumed the authority to meet and negotiate contracts for the Central Competitive Field and set the basis for negotiating and outlining a policy to govern the outlying districts." There is not a word of truth in that.

A Delegate: There is.

Chairman Farrington: I will show you there isn't, if you will keep still long enough to let me do it. I availed myself of the opportunity to look over the records of this organization during the noon adjournment. I knew what they were, but I wanted to bring them in here to you so that you, too, might know and thereby be able to ascertain for yourselves that the statements set forth in the preamble of this resolution are not founded on facts.

During the Cleveland convention held in 1912 an agreement was negotiated for the Central Competitive Field. Pursuant to the instructions of the previous International convention the policy committee was assembled in Cleveland and the Interstate Agreement was presented to that Policy Committee. There was not a single syllable in the agreement that made it binding on the part of any district outside of the Central Competitive Field; but in that Policy Committee meeting were the representatives of all the district organizations under our jurisdiction, and by the adoption of a motion offered by one of the members of that committee the Central Competitive Field Interstate Agreement was made applicable to all the districts under our jurisdiction. There was not one sentence in the Cleveland Agreement that said the outlying districts must be guided by it in the negotiations of their wage scales, and they would not have been bound to be guided by it were it not for the fact that the Policy Committee adopted a motion making the agreement negotiated for the Central Competitive Field applicable to all the districts where agreements were to be made.

We were unable to secure an agreement for the Central Competitive Field in 1914. The Policy Committee, members of our own organization, met in the city of Chicago and devised a policy for our organization in making wage scales and the question of internal differences was left in such a way they could be referred back to the respective districts for adjustment. The agreement we are now working under was nego-

tiated in New York in 1916. It was applicable to the Central Competitive Field. After it had been completed the Policy Committee was assembled in Pittsburgh on the 15th of March, 1916. In that meeting were representatives from all the districts under our jurisdiction sent there for the purpose of ratifying the agreement negotiated for the Central Competitive Field, and here is the motion that was adopted in that Policy Committee meeting:

"Resolved, That the International Executive Board be vested with full discretionary power in the handling and adjustment of questions and problems arising out of the adoption of the tentative Interstate Agreement and its application to the various districts of the interstate field, and also determine its effect upon the demands of outlying districts affected."

The agreement made for the Central Competitive Field did not provide that it be applied and used as a basis in outlying districts, but the representatives in outlying districts accepted the agreement negotiated for the Central Competitive Field and said they were willing that it should be used as a basis for the negotiating of agreements in their district. Delegate O'Neil, secretary of District 2, Central Pennsylvania, then its vice-president, was the author of the motion adopted in the Pittsburgh Policy Committee.

Now, I hold that the statements set forth in that preamble are not founded on facts. I challenge any delegate in this convention to produce or refer to any agreement that has been negotiated for the Central Competitive Field in all the years we have had an organization in which there is incorporated a section or a sentence or a syllable saying that that agreement shall be the basis for the negotiation of wage scales in the outlying districts.

It was said yesterday that it is not proposed that the officers from the other districts shall participate in our Central Competitive Field interstate conferences. They propose, however, that they shall sit on the outside and have a voice and a vote in determining what the position of the officers representing those districts shall be on wage matters. In other words, the officers from Indiana, Illinois, Western Pennsylvania and Ohio are to receive their instructions during these scale conferences from officers representing the outlying districts. That, in fact, is what this

proposition means. I hold that to adopt the proposition would be to set aside one of the fundamentals that has been most jealously guarded by every district organization under our jurisdiction since we have had an organization; and that is district autonomy or state rights.

We have no assurance that we are going to have an interstate joint conference in two years. I am satisfied if this convention adopts the resolution pending we won't have, because I don't believe the operators of the Central Competitive Field are going to sit in a conference where the officers representing the district in that field are powerless to act for their constituency and must depend upon the instructions of men who have no vital interest in the questions before the joint conference for consideration. We will assume that we will not have an interstate joint conference. This resolution further provides: "No international official or no district or group of districts under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America will have authority to meet and make a basic agreement." Suppose we don't have a joint interstate conference two years from this time and it becomes necessary for the Illinois miners to meet in joint conference with our operators as we have had to do in the past. Must we in that joint conference have our hands tied? Must we await the instructions of the officers of the outlying districts before we can go ahead with our agreement?

I want to bring it home to you even closer than that. I want to ask you Illinois miners who were in the position you were in 1910, had a resolution of this kind been incorporated in the constitution of this organization, what would have been the result? You remember that year we were not on strike; we met in Peoria and could not get an agreement with the operators. We drew up our own program and went out in the field to fight for it. After we had the fight nearly won and 45,000 men working under that agreement, the then international president of this organization attempted to compromise the demands of the Illinois miners. At that time the international president of the organization was in opposition to the position taken by the Illinois miners, and he, in his position, was supported by a majority of the districts under the jurisdiction of this organization. When we met in special convention in the month of August that year, a convention called by the then international president of this organization to force the Illinois miners to accept the compromise agreement effected by him, it was only after days of the most bitter fight-

ing the Illinois miners succeeded in securing enough votes of the miners of the outlying districts to this convention to prevent Tom Lewis from putting over that compromise agreement on Illinois.

Now, I want to refer to another incident that took place in this organization. In 1906 we were unable to secure an interstate agreement. The districts of the Central Competitive Field went home and met their own operators and tried to work out an agreement in their own way. At the time the Illinois miners assembled in convention the officers of Ohio—and they are in this convention now—came over into Illinois and tried to influence the Illinois miners not to enter into an agreement with our operators. The Illinois miners became so indignant because of that attempt to influence them against their best interests that they refused to allow the officers from Ohio to address the convention. They are in this convention now, or at least two of them are—one is dead. I make this statement, not because of any desire to reflect upon the men from Ohio, but merely to show you that if this policy is adopted the membership of this organization will resent it with all their strength and vigor the first time you attempt to put it into operation. You ought to know that before you vote on the question.

There has never been an agreement negotiated for the Central Competitive Field which requires that it be applied and used as a basis for agreements in other districts. It is the officers of our own organization, policy committees, conventions and referendum votes of the membership that have decided that our Central Competitive Field agreement should be the basis for other agreements. If you don't want that to be done in the future, the thing for this convention to do is to defeat this resolution and provide a policy which shall set forth specifically that the agreement negotiated for the Central Competitive Field shall apply only to that territory and that outside districts will be at liberty to exercise their own will as to what the contracts for their men shall be.

Don't say that the miners of the Central Competitive Field must sit in a joint conference with their operators, but they cannot make a move unless they are authorized to do so by the officers from the outlying districts. I fear if you do, you will create a condition that will cause more trouble, more discontent, and perhaps the dissolution of the United Mine Workers of America, because men of dignity will not stand for things of

that kind, and that has been demonstrated by the Illinois miners in 1906, when the officers from Ohio came over there and tried to influence them not to make a wage agreement for the Illinois miners. You want to think these things over carefully before you vote on this question.

The thing for districts to do if they are dissatisfied with the policy allowed by this organization ever since we have had an organization, is to say to your international officers, your district officers and your policy committees that no agreement negotiated for any district shall be applicable to any other district unless the men who are to be affected by it are willing to accept its terms. In that way you will accomplish the thing you want to accomplish, you will prevent the Central Competitive Field Agreement being used as a basis for the negotiation of your agreement; but if you adopt the plan proposed by this resolution you will not accomplish that, but you will have laid down a policy that will divide the members of this organization.

Delegate Moore, District 6: I want to ask the speaker if I was one of the Ohio officers who came over to Illinois in 1906?

Chairman Farrington: No, you were not. No reflection was intended on those who did come over there from Ohio, as I have already said. I merely made reference to the incident so as to demonstrate that the Illinois miners resented interference of that kind.

Delegate Robinson, District 6: You referred to 1906. Didn't Billy Green help to enforce the policy of the four-state agreement, and didn't he say he would not sign an agreement with the three states? The operators refused to seat the Illinois miners, and when we got to Cincinnati didn't we find the Illinois operators ready to make an agreement?

Chairman Farrington: We were unable to get an interstate agreement. A policy was laid down for the guidance of the organization. The demand was for three cents a ton. The Illinois miners could not get an agreement with the operators; they met in their own convention and provided an increase of seven cents for the Southern field, five cents for the North, and required the operators to pay the shot firers. We went out in the field and won what we asked for.

The motion to close debate was carried.

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that 355 votes had been
in the negative.

He then asked a roll call on the motion.

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demand a roll call, in view of v

of their feet.

He then asked:

In the opinion of the chair, there are not

the motion to adopt the report

the committee, continued the re

Article IX, Sections 1, 2, 3 and 4, were adopted, no resolution proposing to amend these sections having been submitted and the committee recommending no changes.

Chairman Farrington: Resolutions Nos. 75, No. 121, No. 122, No. 146 and No. 200 relate to Section 5 of Article IX. The committee has non-concurred in all of them and recommends no change in the section as it now reads.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Helm, District 25, opposed the recommendation of the committee and advocated the adoption of Resolution No. 121, which read as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 121.

Higginsville, Mo., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The appointive power of the International President in the appointment of International organizers and field workers has been a source of discontent and dissatisfaction among the membership; and

Whereas, There has been instances where International organizers have spent much of their time at the expense of the International Organization in hampering the district officials in performing their duties; therefore be it

Resolved, That Section 5 of Article 9 of the International Constitution be stricken out and the following section inserted in lieu thereof:

"He may appoint such office workers as may be necessary to conduct the affairs of his office and a sufficient number of organizers and field workers to conduct the affairs of the International Union, but no International organizer or field worker shall assume his position as a representative of the International Organization or draw any salary from International Union until his appointment has been approved by the International Executive Board and the District Executive Board in which district the appointee holds membership, and that the number of

International organizers to be proportioned from each district according to the number of paid-up members to the district and International Organization."

Submitted by Local Union 286, Higginsville, Mo.

Delegate Helm, District 25: I suppose this is another resolution that possibly will be considered at length. I arise at this time to oppose the report of the committee and to speak in support of Resolution No. 121. In the preamble of this resolution we claim that national organizers interfere with the work of the district officials and that the appointive power of the international president has been abused by some of his appointees. We have had occasion in our small districts to come in contact with international organizers who have interfered to a large degree in our conferences with the operators when we were attempting to negotiate wage agreements. By reason of that fact dissatisfaction was brought about in the ranks of our membership. I see no good reason why the appointees of the international president, who ought to go out into the field and do field work, and work in connection with the district organizations, should not have their appointments approved of by the executive boards of the districts from which they come.

I know this is not a popular issue to bring to the attention of this convention, and I don't think it is one that will give anyone an opportunity to accuse me or any other member of this delegation who supports the resolution, of playing politics. If I wanted to play a successful game of politics I would not come into the international convention and oppose any measure that was proposed by the international representatives; that is, I would not do so if I wanted to perpetuate myself in a job, because the past history of our organization has been that in many instances where district officers have been defeated by overwhelming majorities of their constituents in their respective districts they were immediately successful in obtaining appointments as organizers. If I wanted to perpetuate myself in a job I would count on getting appointed as an organizer if the men no longer wanted me as a district official.

In that resolution we claim that the district officials have been hampered in negotiating contracts; that there have been organizers on the scene at the time we were in conference, and they were in a condition unbecoming representatives of the international organization, unbecom-

ing the humblest member of our organization, and as a result reflections have been cast upon our organization by having them around when we were negotiating agreements. If my remarks are questioned, I have telegrams and replies to telegrams that will prove conclusively that such a condition has existed in the past. I don't think there is anyone who will question that if that condition has existed it ought to be remedied, and we have taken this method of trying to remedy it. If my remarks are contradicted by anybody when I say that organizers have hampered district officials in their work and have been on the scene in a condition unbecoming representatives of our organization, I will later on read some of the telegrams that were sent in the way of requests to have such organizers removed from the scene.

I hope the delegates will see fit to remedy the present laws and stop the abuses of international organizers going on as they have been doing in the past, casting reflections upon the integrity of our organization and at the same time preventing district officials from doing what is right and just toward their fellow men. I don't want the convention to run away with the idea that this is a personal attack on any individual; in fact, I would like to have been relieved of the responsibility of bringing the matter to the attention of this convention, but necessity has forced me as a representative of the men in my district to bring to the attention of the international convention impositions that are being imposed upon the officers of our district by organizers who cannot get re-elected at the hands of their respective membership.

Delegate Wilkinson, Secretary of the Committee: In the many conventions I have attended I have never failed to find resolutions of this character. There has always been some contention within the organization as to the method of appointing organizers. The resolution that has been presented by Delegate Helm seeks a new method of appointing organizers. What is the method? It may be said that in the past the international presidents have not used good judgment in appointing organizers. However, we must recognize that the appointive officers of this organization are responsible to the president. This resolution seeks, not to make a change in the present system, but merely to transfer the power now held by the international president and the international executive board to the district president and district executive boards. That is what this resolution contends for.

The committee, in non-concurring in this resolution, believed that the system now in effect is the only system that can be successfully operated in our organization. There are many elected officials and appointed officials that do not meet with my approval and do not meet with the approval of a large number of the members in our organization, but the present system, which has been in effect for many years, is the only system that can be successfully carried out. It has been said that certain district presidents who have been defeated for office have been immediately given positions as international organizers, and the men who succeeded them as district officials objected to that procedure. I want to say in behalf of this committee, and of myself as a member of the International Executive Board, that in a majority of cases the men who have had experience as district presidents are undoubtedly the best fitted to perform the duties of organizers. Their experience and training while serving as district officers fit them for these positions.

And why should men who have served their districts as officials be denied the right to act as international organizers? If you adopt this resolution it will be impossible for an ex-district president to be appointed as an international organizer, because the new district president undoubtedly will seek to prevent him from securing that position. The purpose of this resolution is to transfer the appointive power from the International President and International Executive Board to the district president and district executive board. Surely, the International President, who is responsible for the conduct of the affairs of this organization, should not have men foisted upon him as international organizers who do not meet with his approval. That would be the inevitable result of the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Mavrodís, Colorado: I rise to request the convention to adopt this resolution. We have some international organizers in Colorado who did not do anything but loaf in the streets. An organizer came to our local last August and told me if I would go to the convention and support President Moran I would get my expenses paid by the district organization. I told him I didn't know about that, that there was plenty of time to see about it. As soon as they found I was a delegate they came and asked me what I was going to do in the district convention. I told them I was going to support John R. Lawson. Then the international organizer left the local.

Delegate Jones, District 12: How many organizers are on the pay roll at the present time?

President Hayes: Less than under the previous administration.

Delegate Jones: I want to know so that it will govern me in voting on this question.

President Hayes: Of whom are you asking the question?

Delegate Jones: I am asking Secretary Green.

Secretary Green: I cannot tell you now what the number is, because I haven't the report here with me.

Delegate Jones: Will you give me that information tomorrow?

Secretary Green: Yes; I will prepare it and give it to you.

Delegate Flyzik, District 10: During the last fourteen years I have been on both sides of the house. My constant attendance at these international conventions, I think, fits me to say a few words on the question of selecting international organizers. I am one of those who welcome very gracefully any reform that will tend to purify the mine workers' organization; I am one of those who favor any legislation that will reduce to the minimum the evils that some of the advocates of this legislation are afraid of, but I do not want you men to be deceived. Examine very carefully the resolution that contemplates changing the policy you have adopted in the past and see whether or not the advocates of this change are sincere and conscientious in their position.

One of the speakers who opposed the committee's report called your attention to the evil condition that exists in his district. He pointed out that the president of your international organization used his power to select some defeated officer of the district he represents as international organizer. May I at this time ask my friend who is more competent to serve as an international organizer than a man who has had experience as a district or subdistrict officer and has participated in the negotiations for joint agreements? But suppose the president of the international organization attempts to select a defeated officer who may be opposed to the new administration in the district. If the change that is contemplated by those who favor the resolution goes into effect what will be the policy?

The ablest man in the district may be selected as an international organizer, but because a district officer does not like him personally or for political reasons he will not be allowed to serve. Is that fair? I say it is not.

So far as my own district is concerned, I don't care if you send in a dozen organizers opposed to me; we will play the game fair, with the cards on the table, and we invite all your officers to come there if they desire to do so. No district official who is carrying out the fundamental principles of this organization need fear any man who is on the pay roll of the international union. Yet men stand up here and tell us we must have this change because of the personal conduct of one or two men in their respective districts. I don't care what kind of legislation you may write into this constitution, it will never be broad enough or strict enough to regulate the morals or the conduct of men; and I hope the day will never arrive when this economic organization will attempt to undertake that task. If any international organizer or other official does something that warrants his removal you have laws provided in the constitution to remove him.

I favor the report of the committee. I believe it ought to be adopted. Let us stop wasting the money of the mine workers on freak legislation. What is your past record in this convention? Let me tell you, boys. All these so-called progressive reforms come from hostile communities and territories. While I have no desire to impugn the motives of any man who may disagree with me, I have seen men on this floor opposing this question that shouted at the top of their voices to uphold and perpetuate the old system under a former administration. It seems to me the policy is all right so long as the international organizers may be used to perpetuate some of these district officials in office. I believe our international president in the future should have the same power he has had in the past in the appointment of organizers. I hope the time will never come when the highest tribunal of your organization must bow to the wishes of a district executive board.

Delegate Lawson, Colorado: Mr. Chairman, I arise to oppose the report of the committee. I feel the time has come when something must be done by this organization if we are going to preserve its integrity and its good name. Therefore, I am very much in favor of a change in this

section of our constitution. And let me say at the outset that I do not desire to leave the impression that any man who receives an appointment as an international organizer is not a good man or a good union man; but there are on the pay roll of this international union men acting as organizers today who are a disgrace to the United Mine Workers and a discredit to themselves. I come from one of the partially organized districts in which it is very necessary to have organizers to help in the work of building up this great union. I have had a sufficient amount of experience to be able to talk on this question and to point out some of the things that this resolution would help to remedy.

The last speaker made a statement that we do not need to fear the organizers. In our district we do not fear the organizers, but we are ashamed to think that some of the men on the pay roll of this organization would do the kind of work they do in that district in the name of the United Mine Workers of America. I realize that it is possible that a man who has held district office will make a good organizer in a field where men are needed to do this great work; but I also realize what a condition will arise when such men do not attend to their duties but interfere with everything else except the work they are paid to perform.

In our district—Colorado, New Mexico and Utah—we have had an election or two recently and we know something about the activities of men in the pay of this union who call themselves organizers. Only a short time ago we had an election for officers of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado, and what do we find? Do we find men who are supposed to be in that field to educate the men who are not in our organization and bring them into this great union expounding the doctrines of unionism and teaching them what the United Mine Workers of America stand for? No; but we find them doing everything in their power to defeat a member of this organization; we find them participating in one of the rottenest election frauds in one of the most astounding attempts to steal an election that has ever taken place in this organization.

I feel I would not be doing my duty to our membership at home, that I would not be doing my duty in this convention if I did not draw your attention to some of the things that have taken place in Colorado within the last year or so. We found international organizers going up and down the State doing all in their power to discredit members of this

union, going into the locals and interfering in the elections, not trying to build up a harmonious organization, not trying to do the things they are sworn to do, not trying to do the things that will redound to the credit of our union. Instead we found them doing everything in their power to disrupt a district and keep it in turmoil. As one delegate said, this is a question of who can keep himself on the pay roll. That is what has been done by some of the organizers that have been sent into Colorado—they have fought to keep themselves on the pay roll and keep their snouts in the per capita tax trough.

I want to give you a few figures and make an explanation. I want to tell you plainly why I believe this power should not be in the hands of the International President. In the election of which I have spoken, the election of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, when this outrageous but unsuccessful attempt was made to defeat me for president of that organization, I found this condition existing in our district. And I say to you it was participated in by men on the pay roll of this International organization. In Local 1393 thirty votes were cast for Lawson. This was reduced to eleven votes. Mr. Carpenter, the man who ran against me for president, received one vote. Mr. Carpenter's vote was reduced to none. In Local 3095 Lawson received forty-five votes. That was reduced to three votes. Carpenter received four votes, but that number was raised to 111 votes. In Local 834 Lawson received thirty-five votes and Mr. Carpenter about the same number.

A Delegate: I rise to a point of order. We are not electing a president of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

President Hayes: The chair has no desire to restrict the delegate, but he is not talking on the motion. He is discussing an election of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lawson: I am pointing out the need of a change in our Constitution.

President Hayes: You may proceed. The chair has no desire to take any advantage of you, even though you are not speaking on the motion.

Delegate Lawson: Mr. Carpenter received thirty-five votes. That number was raised by 136 by the time it arrived in the hands of the

tellers. Mr. Cunion, an international organizer from Iowa, according to the statement of the secretary of that local union, went to the Firestone Local Union and helped the secretary count the votes. Mr. Cunion carried the two sheets to Denver in his pockets, and when he reached the tellers the vote had been raised from thirty-five to 136.

In Local Union 3030 Lawson received forty-six votes, Carpenter fifteen votes. Mr. Carpenter's vote was raised by the time it got to the hands of the tellers in Denver to 145 votes. I understand that International Organizers Pippin, Llewellyn and Dwyer were in the meeting. Local 2060 gave Lawson eighty-four votes and Carpenter one vote. When this vote arrived in Denver Mr. Carpenter had seventy-one votes. Local 3518 gave Lawson five votes and Carpenter twelve votes. Mr. Carpenter's vote was raised to sixty-eight. Local 3008 gave Lawson twenty-four votes, Carpenter one vote. Mr. Carpenter's vote was raised to 251.

Delegate Flyzik: I rise to a point of order. There is another side to this. We will get the audit if you wish it. My point is that Delegate Lawson is not discussing the question before the house.

President Hayes: Let the chair make a ruling. The point of order is well taken, but the chair is going to rule that the whole matter will be heard, because if these conditions exist this organization ought to know it, the president of the union ought to know it and the laws of our organization will be enforced.

Delegate Lawson: Local 1878 gave Lawson seventy-nine votes and Mr. Carpenter 121 votes. An international organizer named Dick Robinson has his card in that local. According to the president and other members of that local union Organizer Robinson called J. W. Morris, the president, on the 'phone the day of the election and asked him to hold the election until he could get there. He was informed that it was too late, that the election was going on. Organizer Robinson appeared in the camp just at the time the ballots were counted and made the request of the local president that he lay the return sheet down so he could get an opportunity to raise the vote for Carpenter. When the vote was received in Denver by the tellers Mr. Carpenter had, not 121 votes, but 421 votes.

In our district office we had a seal for the convenience of men in our organization who might be going to the city whose cards, because they

were traveling around, would be getting delinquent. This local seal is left there for such members as pay their dues. We found that Local 1082 cast ten votes for Mr. Carpenter. The return sheet was signed by James F. Moran and Warren Pippin, acting president and acting secretary of our district. In the last ten or eleven months not one single cent of tax was paid in this local union; they asked that they be exonerated each month, and on the 18th day of this month, in this city, Warren Pippin walked into the national headquarters and had this local union exonerated for the months of October, November and December, and in this convention today there sits the international organizer as a delegate from that local union.

Local 3104 gave Lawson no votes and gave Mr. Carpenter twenty-five votes. This local union has not been holding meetings; they have not been able to hold meetings in that camp for some months and the charter, seal and supplies are in the hands of an international organizer, Mike Salvage, who is a delegate to this convention. The return sheet for this local is signed by Mike Salvage and Mike Valda, a member of our union in the Walsenburg district, and Mr. Valda makes an affidavit to the effect that he never signed those returns. He also said that Mike Salvage requested him to plump the votes of that and another local union.

Local 3003 gave Lawson no votes and gave Mr. Carpenter 250 votes. This local union was organized last May and the company closed down its mines and drove the members of our union out of the camp. The charter, seal and supplies were taken into the Colorado State Federation of Labor office in Denver and finally turned over to International Organizer J. W. Cunion. That local union never had more than 130 members when it was a fully organized camp, and not more than 149 men on an average have been employed in that mine this year. Yet we find Mr. Cunion's name signed to the returns—"Lawson no votes and Mr. Carpenter 250 votes."

Local Union 3012 has not been in operation for some months. The men have not been able to hold their organization there, yet we find from the Forbes Local Union, "Lawson no votes, Mr. Carpenter seventy-five votes." Local 3099 gave Lawson no votes and gave Mr. Carpenter 131 votes.

A Delegate: I move that we adjourn.

President Hayes: I do not see any necessity of repeating that tabulation; it is not interesting to the delegates. You have produced enough without taking up any more time, Delegate Lawson. The chair has tried to be very liberal with Delegate Lawson, but he does not think he should try the patience of the delegates by going into this at such great length.

Delegate Lawson: If the delegation does not want to hear it I am willing to take my seat. I am giving my reasons why this section of the Constitution should be amended so that this sort of thing cannot be repeated.

President Hayes: I presume that Delegate Lawson, who was on the international pay roll for more than fifteen years, knows the laws of our international union. If there are any charges to be preferred against international organizers the following section applies:

"When any officer of the organization, other than local, is charged with an alleged official offense against the organization or any of its members, the charge must be lodged with the Executive Board of the branch of which he is an officer and the decision of said Executive Board shall close the case in so far as such tribunal is concerned, but should the accused or his accuser be dissatisfied with the decision of the tribunal first trying the case, either shall have the right of appeal to the next highest tribunal in authority, and so on until a final decision is reached, as provided in Section 3 of Article III."

Did you ever bring this matter to the attention of the International Executive Board, according to the law in our International Union?

Delegate Lawson: I do understand the law of our organization, and I understand also that if I make a false statement here I can be put out of our organization. No, I have not brought this particular case to the notice of our International President, but I did bring a number of other cases to the attention of the former International President and the International Executive Board, of which President Hayes was a member.

Delegate Pippin: I want to answer that.

President Hayes: Delegate Lawson has the floor. You will be given the floor in due time.

Delegate Lawson: At the last meeting of the International Executive Board I attended, one year ago this month, I preferred charges against two men who were international organizers, and I read into the records affidavits concerning other organizers in this union. One of them was Robert Bolton, who is still on the staff. I made statements against another organizer, John Ramsay, and read statements from an Italian paper which had been translated, and also read into the records of that International Board meeting articles written by the editor of the Trinidad Free Press, John M. O'Neil. This organization was paying about \$8,000 a year to that paper. These statements were slanderous. I read these things into the records, but did not prefer charges for the reason that I believed that if a citizen walking down a street meets crooks or law violators it is not up to him to have them arrested if they molest him; it is supposed that the authorities will see that he has an opportunity to go about his business.

I felt when those things were read into the records our President and Vice-President of the international organization would see to it that they would never occur again. But, let me say to you, they have occurred again and again and again, and when this election took place they set out deliberately to put me out of business. In the election just recently held, in which I was elected president of our district, they again tried to put me out of business and failed once more. I drew the attention of our international officers to these matters and no action was taken.

President Hayes: I don't think you ought to make a wrong statement to this convention. The International Executive Board, when dealing with two cases you presented to them, accepted your verdict and removed two organizers from the staff of the United Mine Workers. Why don't you tell the convention that?

Delegate Lawson: I say except in these two cases, and I repeat if I have to prefer charges against every individual international officer that is going up and down our State trying to destroy my good name I will have no time for anything else, I will have a pretty busy job all the time.

Delegate Harlin, District 10: I would like to ask Brother Lawson if he does not believe any man under charges ought to be given a trial by this organization?

Delegate Lawson: Yes, I believe it all right; and I demonstrated a good many times that I believed it, but I found it did not bring results.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, January 24.

NINTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Ind., January 24, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, January 24, President Hayes in the chair.

Discussion was resumed on the report of the Committee on Constitution on Section 5 of Article IX, recommending no change in that section and non-concurring in Resolution No. 121, containing a proposed amendment to the section.

Delegate Lawson, Colorado: Speaking in opposition to the report of the committee and in favor of the amendment to the Constitution, I want to repeat that it is my desire to have this section amended, not because I want to curtail the authority of our International President in selecting the men who may help him in his work of directing the organization, and it is not for the purpose of denying credit to men who have held and now hold positions as international organizers; but it is for the purpose of having something done to amend our Constitution that will prevent a repetition of what has taken place in our district.

Last night before adjournment I read some of the returns that have been tampered with in the State Federation of Labor election in Colorado. I shall not read the rest of them, but make a very brief statement concerning them and will try to get through as quickly as possible so that those who desire to do so may speak on this question.

One other local I desired to speak of was the Cokedale local. It was affiliated with the Colorado State Federation of Labor November 7, 1917, and the election took place in October. No per capita tax had been paid on that local to the State Federation of Labor or to this organization. Men working in that camp who are members of our organization state positively there was no local union in Cokedale at all. The Oak Creek

President Hayes: The motion to concur in the committee's report, which is to non-concur in Resolution No. 34 and to adopt Section 3 of Article II of the constitution, is before you.

A viva voce vote was taken. The chair, being unable to decide the result of the vote, asked for a rising vote. Several delegates requested a roll call. The chairman announced that after the rising vote had been taken if a sufficient number of delegates asked for it, a roll call would be had.

A rising vote was taken, the count being made by the messengers and sergeants-at-arms, who announced that 958 votes had been cast in the affirmative and 554 votes in the negative.

A number of delegates requested a roll call on the motion.

President Hayes: A roll call would consume an entire day. The rules provide that 300 delegates must demand a roll call. Are there that many who wish a roll call? There is no doubt in the mind of the chair that there is an attempt on the part of some delegates in this convention to obstruct the work. I want to make that point clear to this delegation at this time. The chair is going to enforce respect for his office while he is presiding over this convention. Are there 300 delegates who desire a roll call? The delegates who demand a roll call, in view of what the chairman has said, will rise to their feet.

A number of delegates arose.

President Hayes: In the opinion of the chair, there are not 300.

The chairman then declared the motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Chairman Farrington, of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Article IV. No resolutions were offered and the committee recommends no change. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The same report was made for Article V, Article VI, Article VII, and Article VIII, that no resolutions had been offered proposing to amend these articles and the committee recommended no changes. The report of the committee was adopted.

Article IX, Sections 1, 2, 3 and 4, were adopted, no resolution proposing to amend these sections having been submitted and the committee recommending no changes.

Chairman Farrington: Resolutions Nos. 75, No. 121, No. 122, No. 146 and No. 200 relate to Section 5 of Article IX. The committee has non-concurred in all of them and recommends no change in the section as it now reads.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Helm, District 25, opposed the recommendation of the committee and advocated the adoption of Resolution No. 121, which read as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 121.

Higginsville, Mo., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The appointive power of the International President in the appointment of International organizers and field workers has been a source of discontent and dissatisfaction among the membership; and

Whereas, There has been instances where International organizers have spent much of their time at the expense of the International Organization in hampering the district officials in performing their duties; therefore be it

Resolved, That Section 5 of Article 9 of the International Constitution be stricken out and the following section inserted in lieu thereof:

"He may appoint such office workers as may be necessary to conduct the affairs of his office and a sufficient number of organizers and field workers to conduct the affairs of the International Union, but no International organizer or field worker shall assume his position as a representative of the International Organization or draw any salary from International Union until his appointment has been approved by the International Executive Board and the District Executive Board in which district the appointee holds membership, and that the number of

International organizers to be proportioned from each district according to the number of paid-up members to the district and International Organization."

Submitted by Local Union 286, Higginsville, Mo.

Delegate Helm, District 25: I suppose this is another resolution that possibly will be considered at length. I arise at this time to oppose the report of the committee and to speak in support of Resolution No. 121. In the preamble of this resolution we claim that national organizers interfere with the work of the district officials and that the appointive power of the international president has been abused by some of his appointees. We have had occasion in our small districts to come in contact with international organizers who have interfered to a large degree in our conferences with the operators when we were attempting to negotiate wage agreements. By reason of that fact dissatisfaction was brought about in the ranks of our membership. I see no good reason why the appointees of the international president, who ought to go out into the field and do field work, and work in connection with the district organizations, should not have their appointments approved of by the executive boards of the districts from which they come.

I know this is not a popular issue to bring to the attention of this convention, and I don't think it is one that will give anyone an opportunity to accuse me or any other member of this delegation who supports the resolution, of playing politics. If I wanted to play a successful game of politics I would not come into the international convention and oppose any measure that was proposed by the international representatives; that is, I would not do so if I wanted to perpetuate myself in a job, because the past history of our organization has been that in many instances where district officers have been defeated by overwhelming majorities of their constituents in their respective districts they were immediately successful in obtaining appointments as organizers. If I wanted to perpetuate myself in a job I would count on getting appointed as an organizer if the men no longer wanted me as a district official.

In that resolution we claim that the district officials have been hampered in negotiating contracts; that there have been organizers on the scene at the time we were in conference, and they were in a condition unbecoming representatives of the international organization, unbecom-

ing the humblest member of our organization, and as a result reflections have been cast upon our organization by having them around when we were negotiating agreements. If my remarks are questioned, I have telegrams and replies to telegrams that will prove conclusively that such a condition has existed in the past. I don't think there is anyone who will question that if that condition has existed it ought to be remedied, and we have taken this method of trying to remedy it. If my remarks are contradicted by anybody when I say that organizers have hampered district officials in their work and have been on the scene in a condition unbecoming representatives of our organization, I will later on read some of the telegrams that were sent in the way of requests to have such organizers removed from the scene.

I hope the delegates will see fit to remedy the present laws and stop the abuses of international organizers going on as they have been doing in the past, casting reflections upon the integrity of our organization and at the same time preventing district officials from doing what is right and just toward their fellow men. I don't want the convention to run away with the idea that this is a personal attack on any individual; in fact, I would like to have been relieved of the responsibility of bringing the matter to the attention of this convention, but necessity has forced me as a representative of the men in my district to bring to the attention of the international convention impositions that are being imposed upon the officers of our district by organizers who cannot get re-elected at the hands of their respective membership.

Delegate Wilkinson, Secretary of the Committee: In the many conventions I have attended I have never failed to find resolutions of this character. There has always been some contention within the organization as to the method of appointing organizers. The resolution that has been presented by Delegate Helm seeks a new method of appointing organizers. What is the method? It may be said that in the past the international presidents have not used good judgment in appointing organizers. However, we must recognize that the appointive officers of this organization are responsible to the president. This resolution seeks, not to make a change in the present system, but merely to transfer the power now held by the international president and the international executive board to the district president and district executive boards. That is what this resolution contends for.

The committee, in non-concurring in this resolution, believed that the system now in effect is the only system that can be successfully operated in our organization. There are many elected officials and appointed officials that do not meet with my approval and do not meet with the approval of a large number of the members in our organization, but the present system, which has been in effect for many years, is the only system that can be successfully carried out. It has been said that certain district presidents who have been defeated for office have been immediately given positions as international organizers, and the men who succeeded them as district officials objected to that procedure. I want to say in behalf of this committee, and of myself as a member of the International Executive Board, that in a majority of cases the men who have had experience as district presidents are undoubtedly the best fitted to perform the duties of organizers. Their experience and training while serving as district officers fit them for these positions.

And why should men who have served their districts as officials be denied the right to act as international organizers? If you adopt this resolution it will be impossible for an ex-district president to be appointed as an international organizer, because the new district president undoubtedly will seek to prevent him from securing that position. The purpose of this resolution is to transfer the appointive power from the International President and International Executive Board to the district president and district executive board. Surely, the International President, who is responsible for the conduct of the affairs of this organization, should not have men foisted upon him as international organizers who do not meet with his approval. That would be the inevitable result of the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Mavrodis, Colorado: I rise to request the convention to adopt this resolution. We have some international organizers in Colorado who did not do anything but loaf in the streets. An organizer came to our local last August and told me if I would go to the convention and support President Moran I would get my expenses paid by the district organization. I told him I didn't know about that, that there was plenty of time to see about it. As soon as they found I was a delegate they came and asked me what I was going to do in the district convention. I told them I was going to support John R. Lawson. Then the international organizer left the local.

Delegate Jones, District 12: How many organizers are on the pay roll at the present time?

President Hayes: Less than under the previous administration.

Delegate Jones: I want to know so that it will govern me in voting on this question.

President Hayes: Of whom are you asking the question?

Delegate Jones: I am asking Secretary Green.

Secretary Green: I cannot tell you now what the number is, because I haven't the report here with me.

Delegate Jones: Will you give me that information tomorrow?

Secretary Green: Yes; I will prepare it and give it to you.

Delegate Flyzik, District 10: During the last fourteen years I have been on both sides of the house. My constant attendance at these international conventions, I think, fits me to say a few words on the question of selecting international organizers. I am one of those who welcome very gracefully any reform that will tend to purify the mine workers' organization; I am one of those who favor any legislation that will reduce to the minimum the evils that some of the advocates of this legislation are afraid of, but I do not want you men to be deceived. Examine very carefully the resolution that contemplates changing the policy you have adopted in the past and see whether or not the advocates of this change are sincere and conscientious in their position.

One of the speakers who opposed the committee's report called your attention to the evil condition that exists in his district. He pointed out that the president of your international organization used his power to select some defeated officer of the district he represents as international organizer. May I at this time ask my friend who is more competent to serve as an international organizer than a man who has had experience as a district or subdistrict officer and has participated in the negotiations for joint agreements? But suppose the president of the international organization attempts to select a defeated officer who may be opposed to the new administration in the district. If the change that is contemplated by those who favor the resolution goes into effect what will be the policy?

The ablest man in the district may be selected as an international organizer, but because a district officer does not like him personally or for political reasons he will not be allowed to serve. Is that fair? I say it is not.

So far as my own district is concerned, I don't care if you send in a dozen organizers opposed to me; we will play the game fair, with the cards on the table, and we invite all your officers to come there if they desire to do so. No district official who is carrying out the fundamental principles of this organization need fear any man who is on the pay roll of the international union. Yet men stand up here and tell us we must have this change because of the personal conduct of one or two men in their respective districts. I don't care what kind of legislation you may write into this constitution, it will never be broad enough or strict enough to regulate the morals or the conduct of men; and I hope the day will never arrive when this economic organization will attempt to undertake that task. If any international organizer or other official does something that warrants his removal you have laws provided in the constitution to remove him.

I favor the report of the committee. I believe it ought to be adopted. Let us stop wasting the money of the mine workers on freak legislation. What is your past record in this convention? Let me tell you, boys. All these so-called progressive reforms come from hostile communities and territories. While I have no desire to impugn the motives of any man who may disagree with me, I have seen men on this floor opposing this question that shouted at the top of their voices to uphold and perpetuate the old system under a former administration. It seems to me the policy is all right so long as the international organizers may be used to perpetuate some of these district officials in office. I believe our international president in the future should have the same power he has had in the past in the appointment of organizers. I hope the time will never come when the highest tribunal of your organization must bow to the wishes of a district executive board.

Delegate Lawson, Colorado: Mr. Chairman, I arise to oppose the report of the committee. I feel the time has come when something must be done by this organization if we are going to preserve its integrity and its good name. Therefore, I am very much in favor of a change in this

section of our constitution. And let me say at the outset that I do not desire to leave the impression that any man who receives an appointment as an international organizer is not a good man or a good union man; but there are on the pay roll of this international union men acting as organizers today who are a disgrace to the United Mine Workers and a discredit to themselves. I come from one of the partially organized districts in which it is very necessary to have organizers to help in the work of building up this great union. I have had a sufficient amount of experience to be able to talk on this question and to point out some of the things that this resolution would help to remedy.

The last speaker made a statement that we do not need to fear the organizers. In our district we do not fear the organizers, but we are ashamed to think that some of the men on the pay roll of this organization would do the kind of work they do in that district in the name of the United Mine Workers of America. I realize that it is possible that a man who has held district office will make a good organizer in a field where men are needed to do this great work; but I also realize what a condition will arise when such men do not attend to their duties but interfere with everything else except the work they are paid to perform.

In our district—Colorado, New Mexico and Utah—we have had an election or two recently and we know something about the activities of men in the pay of this union who call themselves organizers. Only a short time ago we had an election for officers of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado, and what do we find? Do we find men who are supposed to be in that field to educate the men who are not in our organization and bring them into this great union expounding the doctrines of unionism and teaching them what the United Mine Workers of America stand for? No; but we find them doing everything in their power to defeat a member of this organization; we find them participating in one of the rottenest election frauds in one of the most astounding attempts to steal an election that has ever taken place in this organization.

I feel I would not be doing my duty to our membership at home, that I would not be doing my duty in this convention if I did not draw your attention to some of the things that have taken place in Colorado within the last year or so. We found international organizers going up and down the State doing all in their power to discredit members of this

union, going into the locals and interfering in the elections, not trying to build up a harmonious organization, not trying to do the things they are sworn to do, not trying to do the things that will redound to the credit of our union. Instead we found them doing everything in their power to disrupt a district and keep it in turmoil. As one delegate said, this is a question of who can keep himself on the pay roll. That is what has been done by some of the organizers that have been sent into Colorado—they have fought to keep themselves on the pay roll and keep their snouts in the per capita tax trough.

I want to give you a few figures and make an explanation. I want to tell you plainly why I believe this power should not be in the hands of the International President. In the election of which I have spoken, the election of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, when this outrageous but unsuccessful attempt was made to defeat me for president of that organization, I found this condition existing in our district. And I say to you it was participated in by men on the pay roll of this International organization. In Local 1393 thirty votes were cast for Lawson. This was reduced to eleven votes. Mr. Carpenter, the man who ran against me for president, received one vote. Mr. Carpenter's vote was reduced to none. In Local 3095 Lawson received forty-five votes. That was reduced to three votes. Carpenter received four votes, but that number was raised to 111 votes. In Local 834 Lawson received thirty-five votes and Mr. Carpenter about the same number.

A Delegate: I rise to a point of order. We are not electing a president of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

President Hayes: The chair has no desire to restrict the delegate, but he is not talking on the motion. He is discussing an election of the Colorado State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lawson: I am pointing out the need of a change in our Constitution.

President Hayes: You may proceed. The chair has no desire to take any advantage of you, even though you are not speaking on the motion.

Delegate Lawson: Mr. Carpenter received thirty-five votes. That number was raised by 136 by the time it arrived in the hands of the

tellers. Mr. Cunion, an international organizer from Iowa, according to the statement of the secretary of that local union, went to the Firestone Local Union and helped the secretary count the votes. Mr. Cunion carried the two sheets to Denver in his pockets, and when he reached the tellers the vote had been raised from thirty-five to 136.

In Local Union 3030 Lawson received forty-six votes, Carpenter fifteen votes. Mr. Carpenter's vote was raised by the time it got to the hands of the tellers in Denver to 145 votes. I understand that International Organizers Pippin, Llewellyn and Dwyer were in the meeting. Local 2060 gave Lawson eighty-four votes and Carpenter one vote. When this vote arrived in Denver Mr. Carpenter had seventy-one votes. Local 3518 gave Lawson five votes and Carpenter twelve votes. Mr. Carpenter's vote was raised to sixty-eight. Local 3008 gave Lawson twenty-four votes, Carpenter one vote. Mr. Carpenter's vote was raised to 251.

Delegate Flyzik: I rise to a point of order. There is another side to this. We will get the audit if you wish it. My point is that Delegate Lawson is not discussing the question before the house.

President Hayes: Let the chair make a ruling. The point of order is well taken, but the chair is going to rule that the whole matter will be heard, because if these conditions exist this organization ought to know it, the president of the union ought to know it and the laws of our organization will be enforced.

Delegate Lawson: Local 1878 gave Lawson seventy-nine votes and Mr. Carpenter 121 votes. An international organizer named Dick Robinson has his card in that local. According to the president and other members of that local union Organizer Robinson called J. W. Morris, the president, on the 'phone the day of the election and asked him to hold the election until he could get there. He was informed that it was too late, that the election was going on. Organizer Robinson appeared in the camp just at the time the ballots were counted and made the request of the local president that he lay the return sheet down so he could get an opportunity to raise the vote for Carpenter. When the vote was received in Denver by the tellers Mr. Carpenter had, not 121 votes, but 421 votes.

In our district office we had a seal for the convenience of men in our organization who might be going to the city whose cards, because they

were traveling around, would be getting delinquent. This local seal is left there for such members as pay their dues. We found that Local 1082 cast ten votes for Mr. Carpenter. The return sheet was signed by James F. Moran and Warren Pippin, acting president and acting secretary of our district. In the last ten or eleven months not one single cent of tax was paid in this local union; they asked that they be exonerated each month, and on the 18th day of this month, in this city, Warren Pippin walked into the national headquarters and had this local union exonerated for the months of October, November and December, and in this convention today there sits the international organizer as a delegate from that local union.

Local 3104 gave Lawson no votes and gave Mr. Carpenter twenty-five votes. This local union has not been holding meetings; they have not been able to hold meetings in that camp for some months and the charter, seal and supplies are in the hands of an international organizer, Mike Salvage, who is a delegate to this convention. The return sheet for this local is signed by Mike Salvage and Mike Valda, a member of our union in the Walsenburg district, and Mr. Valda makes an affidavit to the effect that he never signed those returns. He also said that Mike Salvage requested him to plump the votes of that and another local union.

Local 3003 gave Lawson no votes and gave Mr. Carpenter 250 votes. This local union was organized last May and the company closed down its mines and drove the members of our union out of the camp. The charter, seal and supplies were taken into the Colorado State Federation of Labor office in Denver and finally turned over to International Organizer J. W. Cunion. That local union never had more than 130 members when it was a fully organized camp, and not more than 149 men on an average have been employed in that mine this year. Yet we find Mr. Cunion's name signed to the returns—"Lawson no votes and Mr. Carpenter 250 votes."

Local Union 3012 has not been in operation for some months. The men have not been able to hold their organization there, yet we find from the Forbes Local Union, "Lawson no votes, Mr. Carpenter seventy-five votes." Local 3099 gave Lawson no votes and gave Mr. Carpenter 131 votes.

A Delegate: I move that we adjourn.

President Hayes: I do not see any necessity of repeating that tabulation; it is not interesting to the delegates. You have produced enough without taking up any more time, Delegate Lawson. The chair has tried to be very liberal with Delegate Lawson, but he does not think he should try the patience of the delegates by going into this at such great length.

Delegate Lawson: If the delegation does not want to hear it I am willing to take my seat. I am giving my reasons why this section of the Constitution should be amended so that this sort of thing cannot be repeated.

President Hayes: I presume that Delegate Lawson, who was on the international pay roll for more than fifteen years, knows the laws of our international union. If there are any charges to be preferred against international organizers the following section applies:

"When any officer of the organization, other than local, is charged with an alleged official offense against the organization or any of its members, the charge must be lodged with the Executive Board of the branch of which he is an officer and the decision of said Executive Board shall close the case in so far as such tribunal is concerned, but should the accused or his accuser be dissatisfied with the decision of the tribunal first trying the case, either shall have the right of appeal to the next highest tribunal in authority, and so on until a final decision is reached, as provided in Section 3 of Article III."

Did you ever bring this matter to the attention of the International Executive Board, according to the law in our International Union?

Delegate Lawson: I do understand the law of our organization, and I understand also that if I make a false statement here I can be put out of our organization. No, I have not brought this particular case to the notice of our International President, but I did bring a number of other cases to the attention of the former International President and the International Executive Board, of which President Hayes was a member.

Delegate Pippin: I want to answer that.

President Hayes: Delegate Lawson has the floor. You will be given the floor in due time.

Delegate Lawson: At the last meeting of the International Executive Board I attended, one year ago this month, I preferred charges against two men who were international organizers, and I read into the records affidavits concerning other organizers in this union. One of them was Robert Bolton, who is still on the staff. I made statements against another organizer, John Ramsay, and read statements from an Italian paper which had been translated, and also read into the records of that International Board meeting articles written by the editor of the Trinidad Free Press, John M. O'Neil. This organization was paying about \$8,000 a year to that paper. These statements were slanderous. I read these things into the records, but did not prefer charges for the reason that I believed that if a citizen walking down a street meets crooks or law violators it is not up to him to have them arrested if they molest him; it is supposed that the authorities will see that he has an opportunity to go about his business.

I felt when those things were read into the records our President and Vice-President of the international organization would see to it that they would never occur again. But, let me say to you, they have occurred again and again and again, and when this election took place they set out deliberately to put me out of business. In the election just recently held, in which I was elected president of our district, they again tried to put me out of business and failed once more. I drew the attention of our international officers to these matters and no action was taken.

President Hayes: I don't think you ought to make a wrong statement to this convention. The International Executive Board, when dealing with two cases you presented to them, accepted your verdict and removed two organizers from the staff of the United Mine Workers. Why don't you tell the convention that?

Delegate Lawson: I say except in these two cases, and I repeat if I have to prefer charges against every individual international officer that is going up and down our State trying to destroy my good name I will have no time for anything else, I will have a pretty busy job all the time.

Delegate Harlin, District 10: I would like to ask Brother Lawson if he does not believe any man under charges ought to be given a trial by this organization?

Delegate Lawson: Yes, I believe it all right; and I demonstrated a good many times that I believed it, but I found it did not bring results.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, January 24.

NINTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Ind., January 24, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, January 24, President Hayes in the chair.

Discussion was resumed on the report of the Committee on Constitution on Section 5 of Article IX, recommending no change in that section and non-concurring in Resolution No. 121, containing a proposed amendment to the section.

Delegate Lawson, Colorado: Speaking in opposition to the report of the committee and in favor of the amendment to the Constitution, I want to repeat that it is my desire to have this section amended, not because I want to curtail the authority of our International President in electing the men who may help him in his work of directing the organization, and it is not for the purpose of denying credit to men who have held and now hold positions as international organizers; but it is for the purpose of having something done to amend our Constitution that will prevent a repetition of what has taken place in our district.

Last night before adjournment I read some of the returns that have been tampered with in the State Federation of Labor election in Colorado. I shall not read the rest of them, but make a very brief statement concerning them and will try to get through as quickly as possible so that those who desire to do so may speak on this question.

One other local I desired to speak of was the Cokedale local. It was affiliated with the Colorado State Federation of Labor November 7, 1917, and the election took place in October. No per capita tax had been paid by that local to the State Federation of Labor or to this organization. Men working in that camp who are members of our organization state positively there was no local union in Cokedale at all. The Oak Creek

Local Union is much in the same position. During the month of May last this local was consolidated with the Oak Hill local, yet it cast no votes for Lawson and 145 for Mr. Carpenter. The Cokedale local cast no votes for Lawson and 148 for Mr. Carpenter.

I have in my hand a brief list of locals whose votes were plumped. The vote was taken in these locals by the members rising. I understand the international organizer recommended this. The total of these votes is eleven for Lawson and 1,100 for Mr. Carpenter. These are some of the reasons why this evil should not be permitted to continue and why the convention should take some action on this section of the Constitution. I want to point out these things in as impersonal a manner as possible, because this is not a personal matter; it is a matter of right and justice; it is a matter of the integrity of our organization in that State. The name of our great organization must be preserved, for if this thing is permitted to go on and on the organization finally will suffer because of it.

I have in my hand a circular letter dated November 1, 1917, signed by "James F. Moran, President." I am just going to read a few words at the bottom of this circular letter, as follows: "I give you this information so that you will be prepared to proceed to nominate good and efficient men to office as soon as you receive official call for election." That was sent out to the members of District 15 concerning the recent district election.

I have in my hand a statement signed by Harry P. Connor, who informed me that he had been approached by some international organizers and permitted himself to be nominated for International Executive Board Member. This statement is as follows:

"Hastings, Colo., December 21, 1917.

"This is to certify that James F. Moran and Robert Bolton asked me to lay down and not make the race for International Board Member of District 15. This request was made on the night of December 2, 1917. They said if I accepted the nomination it would injure the chances of

Luke Brennan. I was nominated by four local unions and accepted the nomination and mailed the same to Warren Pippin on December 11, 1917.

Signed: "HARRY P. CONNOR.

Witness:

"BERT H. ALLISON.

"W. F. FORD.

"LON SWAFFORD."

That is another reason why I am opposed at this time to the report of the committee and why I believe something should be done to remedy these evils.

I have an affidavit made in Huerfano county, Colorado, which reads:

"AFFIDAVIT.

"State of Colorado, County of Huerfano, ss.:

"Now, on this 1st day of January, A. D. 1918, comes Angelo Sanchez, of lawful age, a resident of Huerfano county, Colorado, first being duly sworn, on oath deposes and says, That he was at one time president of Local No. 3104, United Mine Workers of America, located at Ideal, Huerfano county, Colorado. Says that on the 31st day of December, A. D. 1917, Mike Salvage came to me and asked me to go to Ideal and take a sample ballot and show or instruct all members in good standing how to vote on January 3, 1918.

"Affiant further deposes and says that Mike Salvage told him to be sure and mark the cross for G. O. Johnston.

his

"ANGELO (X) SANCHEZ.

mark

Witness to mark:

"MIKE VALDEZ.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me at my office in Walsenburg, Huerfano county, Colorado, this 1st day of January, A. D. 1918.

(Seal)

"JOSEPH H. PATTERSON,

"Judge and Acting Clerk of the County Court, Huerfano County, Colorado."

This is the organizer I spoke of whose name is signed to the returns in the Colorado State Federation of Labor election and is not even a member of that local union. In the statement made by Brother O'Connor, whose name was not put on the ballot because it might injure the chances of Board Member Luke Brennan, who was running against Brother E. L. Doyle.

I want to draw your attention now to part of a statement that has come into my possession from Local 3006. This is dated "Heybro, Colo., July 27, 1917," and the part I will read is as follows:

"This is to inform you of statements by one Bob L. Lewellyn, organizer for Rout End, Moffat county, Colorado: That John R. Lawson must be supported by some unknown source that he is able to be on the road continually from Denver to the southern coal fields of Colorado. That John R. Lawson is a menace to organized labor in Colorado and that pressure must be brought to bear at the present convention of the State Federation of Labor to be held at Boulder, August 6, 1917, and he, Bob Lewellyn, is launching a three-cornered fight in said convention to get John R. Lawson out of the labor movement altogether in the State of Colorado, and he, Bob Lewellyn, says it must be done."

This is signed by the officers of the local union and the seal is attached. As a farther reason why this section of the Constitution should be amended, let me go back to the time and the history of our organization when I was in the Trinidad jail after having been sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor by a coal company's hand-picked jury. This is in regard to statements made by Mr. Robert Bolton, who was then on the staff and who is still on the staff:

"I was in the city of Pueblo, Colo., during the month of July, 1915, and while waiting for a key and open a room to get my suit case to leave the city. Mr. Robert Bolton, then a national organizer for the United Mine Workers of America, happened to pass by where I was standing.

"Having known him for a while and of him for a longer period of time, I shook hands with him and in a few words made known to him my intentions of leaving the city.

"While waiting for the key I expressed my indignation of the wanton prosecution of so many brother unionists and especially did I lament the

prosecution and the recent conviction of Brother John R. Lawson, also the unfair means employed to bring it about.

"Bolton had only replied with a few words when I was astonished at the opinion he expressed about Lawson, as he (Bolton) considered Lawson an outlaw as well as the coal operators.

"Bolton then said in substance: 'That he thought Lawson had not got near what he deserved and that his courting publicity had incurred the ire of the powers that be.

"'Also that he had not got what he deserved or anything approaching it, and that a combination was being formed of which he (Bolton) was a member that had for its prime object the setting forth of facts that would show Lawson up for just what he was to the public and the union.'

"In short, I would not speak of Lawson as he did even though he was my mortal enemy and had wronged me beyond reparation.

"T. J. POTESIO.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16th day of October, 1916.
(Seal)

"JOHN E. DAVIS, Notary Public.

"My commission expires August 7, 1917."

This affidavit was read to the International Executive Board one year ago this month, and other similar affidavits were read, and nothing has been done about it so far as I know.

Delegate McCleish, District 12: Has this convention a grievance committee?

President Hayes: Yes.

Delegate McCleish: I think that is the place for Brother Lawson to take his grievance. We have listened for quite a long time to this correspondence, and for one delegate I am getting tired of hearing these disputes in regard to elections. We want to discuss the resolution before the convention. I don't think it is right to waste our time listening to these affidavits. If Brother Lawson has been unjustly dealt with I think he should take his case up with the Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

President Hayes: The chair wants to give Delegate Lawson full opportunity to state any grievance he has against the international organizers, and we expect them to reply when he has finished. There are two sides to this story. Delegate Lawson has full latitude to discuss the question.

Delegate Lawson: I think this story must be tiresome to every one of the delegates in this convention, and I know it must be extremely tiresome and annoying to some of them. I believe our constitution should be amended so that a repetition of this kind of thing cannot take place in Colorado or any other district. I understand this may be misinterpreted, or probably that the wording of the resolution is not what it might have been. I understand what it will mean to the president of the organization if his proper authority is curtailed, and I am not in favor of doing anything that would hamper him in the proper work he has to perform for this organization; but if this kind of thing is permitted to go on; if organizers are to be permitted to become the adjuncts of any political machine; if they are permitted to go up and down the United States maligning the character and the reputation of men in the labor movement, then I don't understand the obligation I took when I became a member of this union.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am through for this time. I hope the delegates will consider this resolution and the report of this committee in a calm, cool and dispassionate manner, and when they cast their votes that they will vote to do the thing that will make our organization better and bigger than it ever has been before.

Delegate Moran, Acting President District 15: I rise at this time to support the recommendation of the committee and to oppose the resolution before the house. This resolution comes from a district that is 100 per cent. organized and is not bothered with organizers. I don't understand why they ask this convention for the privilege of appointing organizers. This resolution says in part—and, in fact, this is the whole of the resolution:

"Whereas, There have been instances where international organizers have spent much of their time at the expense of the international organization in hampering the district officials in performing their duties."

I don't know of any instance where any international organizer hampered the membership of Missouri or the district officials of Missouri. I believe the men who are responsible for the actions of the international organizers, the men they have to report to, ought to have the right to appoint them. I don't believe this delegation should depart from the rule that has been in force these many years. If an international organizer does anything that is not right there is a remedy. I don't believe it is right and just for anyone to come before this convention and ridicule and malign the characters of the organizers—and he himself makes the statement that nobody should malign the character of members of the organization.

I have been an official of this organization for a good many years, and I have had no controversy with any brothers in the organization. On the second of last February I met President White in Des Moines. At that time the autonomy of District 15 had been acted upon by the International Executive Board and the charter was to be suspended on the 15th of February. President White asked me if I would assume charge of Colorado and see if I could not cement the forces over there, because that district, as a result of internal strife and turmoil, had its charter suspended. As a result of that strike and turmoil the membership had suffered. I knew John R. Lawson; I had known him for six years, when I worked with him side by side on the International Executive Board. During that six years we never had a word; we were good friends. President White thought that, inasmuch as we had been good friends, I might be able to bring harmony into the district. With that object in view, and with that object only, I was sent to Colorado.

I am sorry this matter has come up in the manner it has, and I am sorry to have to ask the indulgence of this convention to go into it; but in justice to the organizers who worked in Colorado during my tenure of office; in justice to those men who worked night and day and Sunday in order to build up the organization, I feel it my duty to say a word in their behalf.

When I arrived in Colorado about the 10th day of February I immediately wrote to John R. Lawson. I will read the letter I wrote on that occasion and then make my discussion as brief as possible. Delegate Lawson has opened up a wide field and it would take me all day to answer

all the charges and all the allegations he has made in this convention. As I said before, when I arrived in Colorado I immediately wrote to Delegate Lawson. I thought when I wrote the following letter he would take it in the spirit in which it was intended:

"Oxford Hotel, Denver, Colorado, February 13, 1917.

"Mr. J. R. Lawson, Denver, Colorado: .

"Dear Sir and Brother—I believe that you are aware of the fact that on February 15th, 1917, the international organization will take over the affairs of District 15, U. M. W. of A., in harmony with the action of the International Executive Board at the last meeting of that body, and I wish to inform you that the undersigned has been appointed acting president, and Warren Pippin of Kansas acting secretary-treasurer, with instructions to report for duty at District 15 headquarters, Denver, Colorado, on above mentioned date.

"Inasmuch as you are very active in the affairs of District 15, U. M. W. of A., and believing as I do that you have the welfare of the organization at heart, I at this time ask your co-operation and assistance in an effort to establish a 100 per cent. organization in Colorado. I believe we should be big enough to lay aside any personal feeling that we might have in this matter, and work together with good will and harmony, with the object in view of giving to the miners and the dependents in Colorado that measure of protection that will be theirs by the building up of our organization, and that they are entitled to in view of the many sacrifices that have been made in the past in this field.

"Again asking your co-operation and assistance, as above set forth, I remain,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) "JAS. F. MORAN."

John R. Lawson answered that letter and refused to co-operate with me in an effort to build up the organization in Colorado. Why did John R. Lawson refuse to co-operate with me? I will tell you why—Lawson wouldn't tell it. He had in view at that time a job with the operators as labor commissioner and worked under cover for a long time before he was discovered. When he was discovered he made the bluff that he resigned, but I don't believe he has resigned yet. Perhaps John R. Lawson, the great martyr, who ate chicken twenty-one times a week in the

jail, and had Louis Zancannelli, who was in with him, cooking the chicken, can tell that.

I called a meeting of the organizers and we outlined a policy in Colorado. We made up our minds to do all we could to build up the organization, and we did all we could. We worked hard, but there was always an obstacle cropping up here and there through some inner force that we could not discover then. We afterwards discovered that everything thrown in our way by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company was thrown in our way, and everything John R. Lawson could do against the establishment of the organization was done. The first meeting the C. F. & I. held with the representatives of organized labor in Colorado I attended. There were representatives from all the C. F. & I. camps. Mr. Weitzel, the manager of the company, said our organization was not a democratic organization, that if it were it would have John R. Lawson as president. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company wants John R. Lawson to be president!

There are two sides to the question of the election. John R. Lawson doesn't make any specific charges. If any of the organizers did wrong, why didn't he prefer charges in the proper way? We work under a constitution and if he made charges he would get redress, as he did on a former occasion. I was on a committee with Brothers Harlin and Wilkinson when he preferred charges against two organizers and we sustained his charges. Now, he has come into this convention and tries to create prejudice against the organizers, although he has not advanced one argument why the report of the committee should not be adopted.

The State Federation election! I have a grip full of statements here if I wanted to impose them on the convention. How was the election of the Colorado State Federation of Labor held? That election dragged on for a month. The mixed trades opened it on the day specified and closed it a month later. Here is one thing Mr. Lawson failed to mention. The barbers, who held no election at all, are recorded in the tellers' report as having giving Lawson 250 votes—they voted everything, barber chairs, razors, towels, cuspidors, everything they had! Did Lawson object? Oh, no; that was for Lawson! He would not cast any reflections on the allied trades. The teamsters cast 35 votes, and the tellers' report gives Lawson, I believe, 350 votes. Anderson, the secretary-treasurer, who

received all the reports, made a statement to several men that the mixed trades plumped over 50 per cent. of their votes for John R. Lawson. The president of the State Federation of Labor at that time, and who had been president for several years, I believe, will verify that statement. If John McLennan is in the hall I want to ask him if that is true?

Delegate McLennan, District 15: Yes.

Delegate Moran: You bet it is true! But Lawson wouldn't say a word about that. He comes here, as he went up and down Colorado during the campaign that has just closed—he was a candidate for president of District 15—ridiculing the miners and publishing these things in the papers, but he never said a word against the trades that voted for him. I am positive that if the votes had been counted fairly and squarely Albert Carpenter would be found to be elected president of the Colorado State Federation of Labor. The miners, the men John R. Lawson comes here and maligns, were the only ones that voted fairly and squarely. How could the vote be changed? If it was changed it was done for a purpose—it was changed for the purpose of giving the election to Lawson, and he was in on the changing. The miners voted as they always do and sent their returns to the secretary of the State Federation of Labor. He was the only one who had access to the ballots; he was a friend of Lawson, worked tooth and nail for him, and I understand he knew the vote; he knew how many Lawson had; how many to get him—and he gave him enough to elect him. He had, I understand, several returns he had not reported on because Lawson didn't need them.

Now, about the local union that meets at State Federation headquarters. Delegate Lawson says the seal is there. Why, bless his soul, that is their meeting place! That crowd of men have been locked out by the coal company because they put a check-weighman on the tippie. They meet at State Federation headquarters because their charter is there.

Delegate Lawson referred to Organizer Cunion. He happened to be in the northern field and they gave him the returns for the Firestone local union. The returns were given to Anderson without the seal being broken. Who changed the figures? I am positive it wasn't any of the international organizers.

We have in Colorado something you men perhaps have not thought of. Colorado is the hardest state in the union to organize, for this reason. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, which is the Standard Oil Company, is the strongest corporation in that country, and has what is called an industrial plan. In every local union that we have organized and in localities we have not organized there are two representatives of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and two delegates that meet every month at the suggestion of the company. These men are members of our local union. They meet with the C. F. & I. representatives and go over the supposed grievances. The C. F. & I. pays them their per diem, their expenses, gives them a turkey dinner, and sends them home to report to the locals. We have that to contend with. We have also the C. F. & I. paper, which is distributed among the miners. It prints the names and pictures of the delegates and their friends, and tries to get them to repudiate the Mine Workers and work in harmony with the company. They are succeeding in some places.

The C. F. & I. also has a pension plan, and the old men who have worked there all their lives feel if they continue to work until they can work no more they will get a little pension to give them enough to eat for the balance of their lives. But you must remember that they will not live long after the C. F. & I. gets through with them. However, if they do not live up to every rule and obey every whim of this company their pension is cut off.

John R. Lawson was traveling from one end of the district to the other in Colorado with apparently no means of support. I knew he had no money, for he was indebted to the international organization when he was in Denver. Whether the indebtedness was for a purpose or not nobody but John R. Lawson knows. I thought he was working for the coal company. I wrote to the president of that coal company to find out what Lawson was doing. Here is the letter I wrote to the president of the Victor American Fuel Company:

"May 26, 1917.

"Mr. G. F. Bartlett, 311 E. & C. Building, Denver, Colo.:

"Dear Sir—I have been informed that Brother Lawson, a member of our organization, who worked for you at Hastings, has quit down there and accepted another position with your company.

•

I remain

reply to my letter of May 26:

"Denver, May 29, 1917.

"Mr. J. F. Moran, Pueblo, Colo.:

we give him work when he applied for it at Hastings.

contract with Mine Workers.

Yours truly,

"G. F. BARTLETT."

Constitution.

I received another letter from Mr. Bartlett. Lawson was found out. Somebody told what he was doing. Mr. Bartlett telephoned to me, "Don't tell anybody what Lawson is doing." I replied that I didn't think I would. Then Bartlett wrote me as follows:

"Denver, June 2, 1917.

"Mr. J. F. Moran, 422 Thatcher Building, Pueblo, Colo.:

"Dear Sir—I presume you noticed the article in the Post this evening about John R. Lawson, and I would like to know if you have given the information directly or indirectly on which this article is based.

"Yours truly,

"G. F. BARTLETT."

He was sorry that people had found out John R. Lawson was his labor agent!

I answered his letter as follows:

"Des Moines, Iowa, June 7, 1917.

"Mr. G. F. Bartlett, 315 E. & C. Bldg., Denver, Colo.:

"Dear Sir—I am in receipt of your favor of June 2 and contents carefully noted. In reply will say that I have not seen the article in The Post regarding John R. Lawson, and I wish to state that I have not spoken to any one concerning his employment. I presume Mr. Lawson has given the information himself to some of his confidential friends, or supposed friends, and they were glad to peddle it.

"Trusting this is satisfactory, I remain

"Yours truly,"

The article in The Post is said to be a very vicious article. I will not read it. It does not say a word against John R. Lawson's character or his integrity, ability or honesty; but it does say "that John R. Lawson accepted a position with the operators and may never again dig any coal in Colorado or anywhere else." That is the sum and substance of the article in The Post. It is a long article, and if I have misrepresented it John R. Lawson is here to contradict me. It told only the truth. In the

Boulder convention Lawson accused me of approving of the article. What I did say was that the article told the truth, and it did; he did accept the position and perhaps he will never dig any coal again.

After the article appeared in The Post the Denver Labor Bulletin came out with a vicious article attacking me and Secretary Pippin, calling us "the invaders," and charging us with trying to deprive John R. Lawson of his membership in the organization. This Denver Labor Bulletin is opposed to the United Mine Workers and is supporting John R. Lawson. The Bulletin went to such an extent that the State Federation of Labor of Colorado, which met on the 6th of August last, repudiated that paper and took away its support.

To show you what has been going on I will read an affidavit. First I want to speak of Harry Connor, who accuses me of asking him to lay down and not run for International Board Member. That is a deliberate, vicious falsehood, and Harry Connor knows it. But I don't believe Harry Connor ever told it. I know him. He told me in the Oxford Hotel in Denver, when the question was up, "Jim, I cannot run for National Board Member because my membership lapsed and I only joined the organization three months ago." He had no intention of running for International Board Member, and I don't believe he made that statement that has been read.

Here is an affidavit that was handed me a few days ago. I have three or four more, but I will read this one:

"AFFIDAVIT.

"State of Colorado, County of Huerfano, ss.:

"Personally appeared before me this day Eli Romich of the county of Huerfano and State of Colorado, and being first duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: That on or about the 25th day of July, 1917, John R. Lawson came to me and began talking politics to me secretly, and I told John that I did not understand the political affairs and I told him if he had anything to say to talk straight to me, so he told me that I ought not to kick about Super or pit boss and that I was making good money and that the contract was no good, and if I did not cease complaining that I would be given a wet place or fired and I couldn't be rein-

stated under the contract. I did not agree with him and in a few days I was discharged and arrested and fined for having too much powder in my place. I was the only one amongst all the miners at Ravenwood mine, notwithstanding there were a good many more had extra powder in the mine, and it was known to pit boss and super. It seems to me that this was a put-up job by Lawson or someone else because I did not agree with his policy. A few days after I told my story at the meeting and later on E. L. Doyle came to me and was trying to get me to say in the presence of a witness that Mike Salvage, H. D. Friel and R. F. Robinson promised me a job for what I said against Lawson. I said I could do nothing because I can't talk good English, read or write, so then he tried to get me to say they offered me money or would give me money.

“ELY ROMICH.

“Subscribed and sworn to before me this 11th day of January, A. D. 1918.

(Seal)

“VICTOR MAZZONE, Notary Public.

“My commission expires June 1, 1919.”

Delegate Marks, District 6: I understand the man who made the affidavit could not talk good English?

Delegate Moran: It was interpreted. It is sworn to before a notary public. During the last election of state officials in Colorado John R. Lawson went from one end of the state to the other campaigning. He went as far as Gallup, New Mexico, and for the life of me I don't know how he could do it. I don't know where the money came from, but I know Lawson didn't have it. He criticised the international organizers, the organization and everybody. I will say for the committee of international board members that conducted the election, Watkins, Zimmerman and Van Horn, that they were told if they could find out that the international organizers interfered to bring me the information and I would report to President Hayes and I knew they would be removed. The organizers worked night and day and Sundays to build up this organization and they did it over the protest of Lawson.

When I assumed charge of Colorado on February 15, 1917, we had the vast membership of 250—250 members after Lawson's eleven years in office! At the present time, as a result of the work of these organ-

Boulder convention Lawson accused me of approving of the article. What I did say was that the article told the truth, and it did; he did accept the position and perhaps he will never dig any coal again.

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When I assumed charge of Colorado on February 15, 1917, we had the vast membership of 250—250 members after Lawson's eleven years in office! At the present time, as a result of the work of these organ-

izers who have been so much abused, we have in the neighborhood of 7,500 dues-paying members, and for the first time in sixteen years in the history of Colorado we have a self-supporting district there.

I don't know whether Lawson is elected; we will wait until we have the vote counted to decide. I believe from the unofficial reports I have that the miners of Colorado elected somebody, but it wasn't John R. Lawson. When the new officers take office these "invaders," these "pie-eaters," as they are called, including myself, will be in a position to turn over to the duly elected officers of that district a self-sustaining organization and one that will not be any more trouble to the international, but it will be in a position to support its own officers.

Delegate Lawson: May I later on ask Brother Moran a few question?

President Hayes: You will have that privilege.

Delegate Harlin, District 10: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—With the exception of matters reported upon by my committee, this is the first time I have taken the opportunity to speak upon any question from the floor of this convention. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that like a great many other delegates I must confess that upon several occasions I tried, without success, to secure the floor, and I want to ask your patience now while I discuss briefly the pending question.

This is a matter of extreme importance; it deals with more than the question of the policy of the international organization. By virtue of the subject-matter injected into this question by Delegate Lawson on the floor of this convention, it now deals with the honor and integrity of men who are members of our organization, and some of whom I am pleased to call my friends. I want to speak, if I am privileged, in defense of some of the men who have been indicted and who are not here to say a word in their own defense.

I sat in this convention the other day and saw the enthusiasm and felt the thrill, when Secretary Green read his ringing challenge to the supreme court of the United States. That court has seen fit to challenge a great fundamental right, the right of men and women to organize; but I want to say to you that, great as that right is, there is a greater human right than even that, and that is the great fundamental principle

of human liberty that guarantees to every man who is accused of wrongdoing a hearing and a right to a fair and impartial trial by a jury of his peers. So I heard with amazement yesterday evening a man who is a delegate to this convention stand before this vast assembly and render indictments against many men, some of whom are not present, and ask that they be condemned, convicted and punished without a hearing. This right I have spoken of is protected in this constitution, and the gentleman who spoke yesterday evening and this morning knows full well the procedure he ought to have adopted in prosecuting the charges he made against members of this organization.

This great right, Mr. Chairman, has been handed down to us out of the mists of the centuries, consecrated by the blood of millions of human beings; it is a right in the fight for which emperors have trembled and kings have tumbled from their thrones. I think this organization can do nothing less than see that members of our organization will have a trial. We know that every man that may be mentioned cannot have the opportunity of the floor in this convention to defend himself; therefore, I believe the gentleman who made these charges ought to have preferred them according to regular procedure so that the men he indicted might have an opportunity to say a word in their own defense.

This fight brought up on the floor of this convention dates a long way back, away back, if you please, to 1910, the year that saw the commencement of the strike in the Northern Colorado coal field. At that time Delegate Lawson was a friend of the international administration. T. L. Lewis was then president of this organization and John R. Lawson was one of his henchmen. The floor of this convention in that year and in previous years would ring with the voice of John R. Lawson defending every policy of the then international president, including the appointment of international organizers. That year this man who now shrieks to the heavens for justice was a member of the Committee on Appeals and Grievances; he sat there on the trial of a man who was international board member for Colorado, and the result of that trial was to unseat this man and find a verdict in behalf of John R. Lawson, who sat himself on the trial committee.

Delegate Lawson: I deny that charge.

Delegate Harlin: You were an organizer at that time. Verily, my friends, how the times have changed!

This is not a clean-cut fight for a principle. I have been able to see in this convention a thread of organized and premeditated effort to discredit the international administration, and upon every question that could be popularized on the floor of this convention that opposition has developed and an attempt has been made to play upon the passions and prejudices of men in order that discredit might be brought to those who have been given the responsibility of administering the affairs of this international union.

I know something of the situation in Colorado and I believe I ought to be given the privilege of speaking a few words in connection with that matter. I had occasion to go to the Southern Colorado coal fields in September, 1913, immediately after the great strike in the Southern fields was called. On the September morning I arrived in Trinidad, Colo., I reported to the office of the United Mine Workers in that city and there met William Diamond, who was in charge of that office. He said he had just received a telephone call from Forbes, Colo., and the men there informed him that they were being menaced by a group of armed guards, that they were being menaced by two machine guns and they wanted somebody to go out there and help them. Along with some others, I volunteered.

In the party that went to Forbes that morning was the editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal, Edgar Wallace. Accompanying us also were two men on the pay roll of the United Mine Workers of America, Murphy and Schneider. For our protection, I say frankly, we carried high-power Winchester rifles. We drove until we came in sight of the tent colony at Forbes. Before us on the road we could see some twenty or more armed guards and accompanying them there was an armored automobile, an automobile encased in steel within which sat a man who operated a machine gun. He himself was protected from attack by rifle, because no rifle bullet could penetrate that steel frame of the automobile. We halted, of course, when we saw the cordon of guards around the tent colony.

It is very significant that Mr. Murphy and Mr. Schneider were very courageous that morning, so courageous that they wished to make a

demonstration in the face of these armed guards. I felt afterwards that it was very suspicious. I advised that we get out unarmed and ask those men what they were doing. The rest of the story is not pertinent, except that after a parley the guards went away. The significant part is that Mr. Murphy and Mr. Schneider were on the pay roll of this organization by virtue of the action of John R. Lawson and E. L. Doyle, of Colorado, and that very morning, when they were anxious that we make a demonstration, they were drawing pay from the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency. And then you wonder why it is they were anxious that the arrangement that has held good for years should be continued!

One of those men, formerly a guard in the Northern Colorado coal fields, was securing all the information he could and later was used against John R. Lawson himself when he stood trial in Colorado. These are hard, cold facts that no amount of sentimental argument can overcome and it behooves this convention this morning to weigh carefully and well their action, to determine in their own minds whether this and other fights in this convention are legitimate fights for some principle, or whether they are brought before the delegates for the purpose of utilizing some issue that may be popularized to discredit the administration of this organization.

Now, I want to say a word in behalf of international organizers. It has never been a very popular thing to do. I commend the present vice-president of the organization because he had the courage to do that in the report he submitted. The organizers have been vilified and abused until in the minds of many men there is a conception that no organizer is a fit person to associate with. These organizers are called upon to leave their homes. Within their breasts there burns an enthusiasm for the advancement of this organization, and times without number they have gone with indomitable courage into the very lairs of the gunmen of the great industrial centers of this country. Some of the men who have been indicted on the floor of this convention are friends of mine, and with all the vigor I can command I intend to fight in this convention that these men be given a fair and impartial trial. For that principle, my friends, I would fight for the meanest wretch that ever walked the face of God's green earth. I don't think we should take seriously the position of a man who, knowing he can prefer these

charges in the proper way, chooses to make some rambling statement of accusations on the floor of this convention.

Delegate Lawson mentioned specifically Robert Bolton, who is not present in this convention, but who is out working for the organization. He felt much displeased because on a former occasion he brought to the attention of former President White the fact that he did not like Robert Bolton and because of his unsupported statements I presume he felt Robert Bolton ought to be summarily discharged. I don't believe we stand for that kind of principle in the United Mine Workers of America. By the way, I think Delegate Lawson was instrumental in the first place in appointing Robert Bolton as an organizer, and that is a very good reason why we should permit him and others like him to select international organizers in the future, I suppose!

Following the big strike in Colorado things did not look very good out there. I have in my hand a tabulation of the membership in the district that we have in Colorado. In 1915 we had 520 dues-paying members in Colorado; in 1916 we had approximately 1,000 members in that district. Just a year ago this month the International Executive Board, in view of the condition that existed in Colorado and other small districts that were not self-supporting, decided to change the international policy affecting those districts, and instead of paying a corps of district officers their salaries they decided to suspend the charters of these districts and place the work of organizing in the hands of representatives of the international union. And so it was that the charter of District 15 was suspended. The charter of Alabama and of Southeastern Kentucky and Tennessee was suspended and international organizers took charge of the affairs of the organization. Of course, that did not please Mr. Lawson and he made a great speech against it.

A year before that time Board Member Lawson had been on a committee of which I was chairman when the autonomy of District 17 and District 19 was suspended, so when he got up to protest against suspending the autonomy of District 15 it did not create a very good effect. Since that time the international organizers have been in charge of affairs in these other small districts. What is the result? I believe it is results that count; it is deeds and actions that ought to be the convincing argument in this convention. The results accomplished in Colo-

rado, Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee speak more eloquently than any words of mine could as to the wisdom of the policy of the international organization and the work of the international organizers. Within three months in Colorado, due to the change in policy, a joint conference was arranged with the Victor-American Coal Company. In that conference a wage agreement was signed, and I do not believe any man who had anything to do with the negotiation of that wage agreement need make any apology for it on the floor of this convention.

I had the honor, with President Hayes, who was then vice-president, to represent the Colorado miners on the sub-committee that made that agreement. We secured from the company that had been a most implacable foe of the United Mine Workers in times gone by a contract providing for a check-off and for all the essential things contained in the agreements of Kansas, Missouri and even District 12. Shortly after that the men in charge of Colorado signed up other companies and today we have upwards of 6,000 members paying dues to this organization; they are self-supporting, and on the first day of April the autonomy of District 15 will be restored.

What happened in Tennessee and Eastern Kentucky? Perhaps I should not tell the story. I am a member of the International Executive Board and I believe the story could be better told by some members of the rank and file of District 19; but in that district, helpless, with hardly any membership, after we took direct charge we succeeded in organizing practically every man in the Cumberland Mountains of Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. Today they have an agreement, they have pit committees, and I believe they will be willing to testify on the floor of this convention to the work that has been done by the much maligned men who happen to be organizers of this international union.

I believe there comes a time when a lot of the guff that has been spread before the delegates of this convention should be called and even though it be unpopular to take that stand I am taking in defense of those men, I take great pleasure in assuming that position this morning. I stand, Mr. Chairman, unqualifiedly for the report of the committee. If my advice counts for anything, if I have merited the confidence of any man in this convention, I advise that the report of the committee be adopted. I understand that subject-matter that may be a little remote from the question under consideration has been injected

into this discussion, but I believe that in securing an understanding of what has happened and a knowledge of the facts in the case the money we have spent in going into this matter has been well spent.

So, Mr. Chairman, in closing I desire to say that if we wish to protect this organization, if we wish to secure the best results in the future we will not at this time make the change contemplated in the resolution pending before the convention. I believe the men who go at the behest of the international officers into the various non-union districts where the great industrial predatory powers of America are in control ought to be selected directly by the men who have been given the responsibility of administering the international affairs of this organization. That can be done by the International President with the consent of the International Executive Board. I feel it would be a fatal mistake to adopt the proposition submitted by those who drafted the resolution, and I advise the delegation to adopt the report of the committee and leave the section now in the constitution unchanged.

Delegate O'Neil (John M.), Colorado: Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Convention—I do not desire to abuse your patience. I hold in my hand a condensed history of my stewardship while editor of the Free Press of Trinidad, Colo., for three years under the supervision of your international officials. I know that a majority of the delegates in this convention are worn out, tired and weary of oratory, and I realize they are anxious to return to their homes as soon as possible; therefore, I will not take up the time of this convention by reading this lengthy article, but will turn it over to the convention after I get through and then it will be the property of the international organization.

I have listened to the speech, or rather the harangue of John R. Lawson, and if I did not know the man I would be tempted to believe that he was the most unfortunate victim of wrong and persecution who had ever lived in any age of history, and yet that he was the most perfect and patient man who had ever been born since Christ was crucified on Calvary. I told you that I would only read a few pages of this report, and it will be the part of the report which referred specifically to John R. Lawson.—Who is John R. Lawson? What has he achieved, and to what monument can he point as a preacher of the gospel of unionism while on the pay roll of your international organization for a period of twelve long years? And as international organizer for four years, if I have

been informed correctly, he never organized one single local union—but all through his official career he courted that fulsome adulation that nauseates the intelligence of human beings in a normal mental condition.

“To get a glimpse of the stature of John Lawson it is only necessary to read the story of his life as told by John to Harvey O’Higgins, who dressed up his data in three installments which appeared in the Metropolitan Magazine commencing November 15, 1916. I have read some history concerning the great men of the past whose bones have crumbled into dust; I have pondered over the prowess of a Napoleon and a Wellington, and have felt my nerves tingle as I contemplated an Alexander weeping for more worlds to conquer. But, as I read the word-painting of Harvey O’Higgins, picturing the life of Lawson, as told by himself, my mind flashed back to the days when the vivid imagination of the novelist fabricated that peerless story of fiction that made immortal such names as Sixteen-String Jack, Dick Turpin and Claude Duval. In the ghost-story penned by Harvey O’Higgins, Spartacus, the Roman gladiator, looks like a pigmy compared to honest and fearless John, for when the invincible John struck a man in Colorado he went whirling through the immensity of space until he hit the bosom of old Mother Earth in California, fell in the state of Arizona, or dropped in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico.

“John, through the publicity which he gained by his official connection with your organization, became known to the great automobile manufacturer of the city of Detroit, and when Mr. Ford launched his peace ship, an invitation was sent to John, requesting that he accompany the celebrities, whose mission across the seas was to bring back the doves of peace to the battlefields of the warring nations of the Old World. John, in his modesty, shrinking from the limelight like a coy maiden from a bald-headed specimen of ancient manhood, published the letter of Ford and likewise his letter of declination.

“When these letters were published America wept, and the sighs and sobs that broke from the trembling lips of 100,000,000 people upon the soil of Young Columbia were pitiful to hear, as forty-eight states of our Union contemplated the irreparable loss that must follow through John’s failure to cross the seas as a prince of peace to quench the fires of war that had crimsoned Europe’s sky with the flames of a raging and roaring hell.

"When 'Kaiser Bill' and the war lords of Europe learned that the hero and martyr of Ludlow had declined to be a guest on the peace ship, there was joy and jubilation among the royal-robed autocrats of the German Empire, for they felt that if the unconquerable spartan of Colorado had pressed his pedal extremities upon the shore of Europe, the 'partner of God' would have unconditionally surrendered, and the royal dictum would have been issued from the throne that the flags of war must be furled and the sword sheathed, to make way for the coming of the millennium, when war shall be no more.

"John has been lauded as the hero and martyr of Ludlow—but where was John on that ever memorable day, the 20th of April, 1915, when the lives of men, women and children went out to satiate the vengeance of industrial oppressors? John was in Trinidad, twelve miles away from the scene of battle, and when the tidings were brought to Trinidad that the tented city at Ludlow was being fired upon by the state militia and the paid man-killers of coal corporations, John Barlich, Peter Gorman and John Lawson entered an automobile and drove toward Ludlow, but when the automobile came within range of the machine guns, the missiles from the machines of death halted the automobile, and John Barlich and Peter Gorman got out of the automobile and laid flat upon the ground to escape the messengers of death that were shot from the smoking lips of the most modern weapons of death and destruction. What did John do? Did he lay upon the ground like his associates? No! John's feet hit the earth with such rapidity that the jack-rabbits on the prairies of Las Animas County have never boasted of their sprinting abilities since John broke the record from Ludlow to Trinidad.

"In the middle of December, in the year 1915, the Federal Industrial Relations Committee sat in the legislative chamber of the state capitol at Denver. John appeared before that commission, with Frank P. Walsh as chairman, and read a prepared and compiled document giving his conclusions on conditions that had prevailed in the coal fields of Colorado. It was to be presumed that John gave a full and complete history of industrial conditions and the many infamies that had been perpetrated during the strike under the regime of 'law and order,' as established by the ultimatums of the captains of industry. But it seemed that John did not tell all, for in the next month—the month of January—brave and dauntless John was the star actor before the same Industrial Com-

mission in the city of New York, to tell again the story that was woven from the brutal economic conditions in Colorado and from the crimes that had been committed, while broadcloth anarchy sat upon the throne of power and authority."

A delegate arose to a point of order and stated that Delegate O'Neil was not discussing the question before the house.

President Hayes: The chair is trying to give every delegate a hearing. I did not allow Delegate Lawson to be interrupted.

Delegate Hall, District 6: We are discussing a report of the Committee on Constitution and not John R. Lawson, international organizers or any one else.

President Hayes: The chair ruled the other day that Delegate Lawson would have full opportunity to discuss any phase of the organizer question, and it is only fair to grant the opposition the same opportunity. The chair declares the point not well taken.

Delegate O'Neil: Since I have been in this convention I have not interrupted any delegate. I have listened to Mr. Lawson and I have never raised a single exception to any word he uttered. In the beginning of his harangue the gates were opened wide for Mr. Lawson to cover every field, and Mr. Lawson did not hesitate to malign and calumniate almost every man in the employ of the international organization. I want to show who and what Mr. Lawson is. Mr. Lawson himself opened the gates wide and made it possible for us to impeach his record.

I want to call attention to the fact that after the Hastings disaster in Colorado, when 121 victims were ushered into eternity through an explosion, John Lawson became the employment agent of the Victor-American Fuel Company, the second most powerful corporation operating in the state. No one would have censured or criticised Mr. Lawson for securing such employment had he placed his cards upon the table with their faces up. But Mr. Lawson secured his job clandestinely and kept the fact of his being an employment agent from the miners. He did not take these miners, for whom he pretended to sweat blood, into his confidence. He still kept his card in the United Mine Workers' organization regardless of the fact that the position he had accepted made him one of the confidential men of the second largest coal com-

panies in the state of Colorado. I want Mr. Lawson to explain upon the floor of this convention why he kept the fact of being a confidential agent of the Victor-American Fuel Company under cover.

I told you in the beginning that I would not abuse your patience. I merely wanted to show in a brief way who and what John R. Lawson is. I have no personal ax to grind, I have no personal ambition to serve. In giving you this brief history in connection with John Lawson's career in Colorado I am only performing my duty as an employe of your international organization.

A Delegate: Is that any reason why we should not amend the constitution?

President Hayes: Your question is not a proper one.

Delegate O'Neil: If the gentleman will keep his chair for a few minutes I will be through. I have passed the three-score milestone in the pathway of life and in a few more years my work will be finished, but I want to feel that in the evening of my life your organization and the whole labor movement of this country will move onward and upward to a grander situation where there will be shining the stars of civilization.

Delegate Farrington, Chairman of the Committee: I have been sitting here patiently listening to this discussion since about 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon and I have been wondering how long it would be before the delegation got tired of it.

At this point the speaker was interrupted by several delegates.

Chairman Farrington: I would hate to be sent to a convention by my local union with the knowledge that the only ability I had was to holler "louder," or "sit down," or "previous question." Under circumstances of that kind I would feel I was the rankest kind of impostor upon the members making up the local union I came here to represent. If a man comes here who can neither speak in defense of or against the policies of the organization, and he is not willing to hear those who can, that delegate ought to be at home.

Delegate Morris, Local 1421, District 12: There is no chance for a delegate to speak.

Chairman Farrington: I have not stopped any one from speaking.

President Hayes: The chair resents that statement. I have endeavored to give everybody an opportunity to speak, but you must remember there are 1,650 delegates here. I will recognize you next.

Chairman Farrington: Do you want the floor now? I will surrender it if you do.

Delegate Morris: I care not where a man comes from or who he represents if he comes to this convention trying to voice the sentiments of the men at home he is immediately exposed to all the dirty, sarcastic slurs possible, not only he himself but the men at the face. One delegate stated that a miner did not know what he did want. I want to compare that man with Mr. George F. Baer, of Pennsylvania, president of an anthracite coal company. I am here to defend the men I represent from those slurs and abuses. I may get a black eye at the convention, but don't want to see the men I represent get a black eye. George F. Baer said the rights and interests of the laboring men would not be protected by labor agitators, but by good, christian men to whom God in his finite wisdom has given control of the industries of this country. The only difference between him and the men who cast slurs at the men at the face is that God Almighty, according to Mr. Baer, gave the country to Mr. Baer, Mr. Rockefeller and Wall Street and those men who cast these slurs.

A child of ten years could come here and see how things are working. They ran the big forty-two centimeters in on the automatic penalty clause. This is what I want to say in regard to the autocratic rule in this convention. Such men as Bismarck, that we read about, this great rainy man that laid the foundation for the slaughterhouse in Europe that is under the present management of Kaiser Bill—

A Delegate: I arise to a point of order. The delegate is not speaking to the question.

President Hayes: The delegate is not speaking on the motion before the house, but the chair rules that he will be heard. He stated that the chair was not recognizing any delegates from the pick, and I am going to let him speak as long as he wants to.

Delegate Morris: We see things are drifting in this organization just like they drifted in the Western Federation at the time I was a member of Local No. 1, Butte, Mont. They had a clique there, with the president the paramount ruler. He would sit up there with his hammer and one of the Amalgamated Copper Company's curs would get up and make a motion for the benefit of the copper company and be seconded by twenty or thirty men representing the Amalgamated Copper Company. There would be a lot of honest and conscientious men there, too, and they would voice their sentiments and protest against these dirty curs. If an honest, conscientious man got up to talk he would be immediately told to "sit down," or somebody would say: "Out through the door with him!" It has been proved that the Amalgamated Copper Company had three to four hundred men in Local No. 1 and when one of them got through talking he was immediately applauded by these stool pigeons. When an honest man got up it was: "Out through the door with him!"

Delegate Farrington, Chairman of the Committee: As one member of the Committee on Constitution I object to our report being confused by the introduction of matter that has no relation whatever to it. Ever since 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon this delegation has sat here listening to the discussion of a subject which is not related to the committee's report and to which we have not attempted to affix our action in any manner, shape or form. I also object to the imputation that this committee has attempted to insult any delegate in this convention. So far as I have been able to discern, no member of this committee has made a single offensive remark to any delegate here, unless that delegate should be gifted with a feeling of prejudice that puts him in a position where he wants to regard our remarks as being offensive.

It has been said that the steam roller is working in conventions. A remark or a charge of that kind is an insult to the intelligence of this delegation; it is a reflection upon the 1,600 men sitting in this convention for the purpose of passing upon the policies of our organization. When men in debate lose the side they represent then they begin immediately to say "machine politics." It was ever so, and I presume it always will be. I would dislike to think that the delegates in this convention are so destitute of ability to pass judgment on these policies as to allow themselves to be run over by a machine, as has been charged of certain men who have lost their side of the question in the debate coming before

the convention on the various policies. I am satisfied the delegates in this convention are thoroughly competent to pass judgment on any question that may be submitted to them, and they are competent to do that in an impartial way. I am satisfied that no machine, no matter how effective it may be or how smoothly it may run, can deter this delegation from passing fair, impartial and intelligent judgment upon every question coming before the convention. And when that judgment has been rendered, I am perfectly satisfied that the delegates will feel they have done that which is best for the United Mine Workers of America. But I am sick and tired of hearing this eternal charge of men who are defeated on the various issues coming before the convention that the convention is being dominated by a machine, and whenever a man makes that charge, I repeat, that he insults the intelligence of this delegation.

I want to now speak briefly in defense of the committee's report. The trouble with the United Mine Workers is that we do not have positions enough to go around; we do not have jobs enough. I am satisfied that the great bulk of our membership are willing that the appointive power of the president shall remain as it is, but there are always certain men among us who, because of their inability to secure some position with the organization, are eternally introducing resolutions proposing that the appointive power of the president be taken away from him, in the hope that by so doing they may be fortunate enough to get struck by lightning and land in some of those jobs. That is the truth about it, Mr. Chairman.

This resolution proposes in part that the appointment of organizers must be confirmed by the district executive board of the district from which those organizers come. Suppose the convention should adopt the resolution and the plan proposed therein should become operative in this organization, would that fact prevent an occurrence such as has been complained of by Delegate Lawson? Would the fact that the appointment of these organizers is confirmed by the respective district executive boards prevent the thing Delegate Lawson has complained of? The argument that has been occupying the time of this convention since yesterday afternoon has no place in the convention at this time. If Delegate Lawson had any complaint to lodge as to the conduct of any organizer in Colorado, we have a Committee on Appeals and Grievances in this convention appointed for the purpose of hearing just such com-

plaints as he has made. That is where his complaints should have been filed instead of taking up the time of this convention and attempting to defeat the report of the Committee on Constitution to which his argument has no relation whatever.

However, the subject has been opened up and I just want to call your attention to this fact: The initial trouble in Colorado was caused because of the fact that the International Executive Board suspended the charter of that district. That was done because the district was not self-sustaining and had to depend entirely upon the international organization for financial expenses. Delegate Lawson as a member of the International Executive Board sat on a committee that suspended the charters of the two West Virginia districts.

A Delegate: I rise to a point of order. That question is to come before the Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

President Hayes: Your point is not well taken.

Chairman Farrington: Your point should have been made some time ago. I was hoping some one would raise it. As I said, Delegate Lawson, when a member of the International Executive Board sat on the committee that suspended the charters of District 17 and District 29, West Virginia, and when the time came to apply the same policy—concurred in by Delegate Lawson for West Virginia—to Colorado he objected, and that is the thing that caused all the trouble. Delegate Lawson, I am informed, was offered a position by the President of this International Union and told that he might go to work for the international organization and use his power and influence and whatever ability he might have to build up the organization in Colorado. Delegate Lawson refused to accept that appointment.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I believe the results accomplished by the International Union in years gone by demonstrated the effectiveness and the desirability of continuing the appointive power of our International President as it has been in the past. It is true we may not all get jobs organizing, but I am satisfied that, taken as a whole, men who are thoroughly capable of discharging their obligations as organizers will be selected for the positions, and they will do the very best they can to build up this organization.

I, too, have some reason for complaining about the appointment of organizers. Organizers have been appointed from Illinois by the International President over my protest, but I do not feel that fact in itself is sufficient to warrant this convention changing the policy that has proved so advantageous to the organization in the past. I take it the thing this membership wants is to build up our organization. If that is done we should not have much reason to complain about the details in the matter. I complained about the appointment of organizers, but the President of this International Union evidently felt that my objections were not well founded; he evidently believed the men whom he had selected were capable of rendering efficient service to the organization. And, after all, he is the one who is held accountable for the success or failure of this organization and he should be privileged to exercise his judgment and disregard mine if he chooses to do so. I may have a personal dislike for some of the things the President may do, but because of that personal dislike I have no desire to hamper him in his efforts to build up the membership of the organization.

I hope the committee's report will be adopted. If the best interests of this organization are to be served the report will be adopted.

Delegate White (J. P.), District 18: I take the floor at this time to defend the course I pursued while President of this great organization. I have watched very carefully the studied attempt—a sort of last-ditch fight of some kind—that has been going on here for some days to adopt a policy that might give comfort to those who would seek to hamper the organization and cast aspersions on those who swelter under responsibilities. I am by no means a stranger to this controversy; we have had this to contend with in one form or another for, lo, these many, many years. Every man who has occupied a position of trust and responsibility in this organization has met from time to time the same opposition, the same attempt to fasten upon him the full responsibility for all the work of this organization, and then in the same breath try to limit his power to cope with the problems that confront this mighty organization. I sat in this convention on more than one occasion when this sort of fight has been carried on. I think two years ago I stated that I thought I analyzed the cause of the fight that occurred each succeeding year when I said the great trouble was that we had created more

members than we had offices to bestow. Time has vindicated that statement fully in my humble judgment.

This resolution emanating from the Southwest is similar to resolutions that have come from other sections of the country, and has for its object the curtailment of the power of the President to make such appointments as will enable him to prosecute the work of organizing and building up this union and take away from him that right to appoint organizers. If it were adopted he would have to go to those sections of the country where our district presidents reside and gain their consent before he might appoint men for the purpose of carrying on the work of this organization. Speakers have sought to leave the impression that the President of this organization has rested the success of his policies for the organization on his personal ambition, on his ability to appoint men who, according to Delegate Lawson and others, have no higher regard for their functions as organizers than to do the personal bidding of the man they receive their appointments from. The delegates and the members know there is not a single particle of truth in that statement.

For nearly seven years I had the honor to preside over this great organization, and I never predicated my success upon my appointments. I have met you face to face in every controversy where my good name or the honor of the organization was at stake. I have traversed your great jurisdiction, and I have not been content solely to meet the officers of the organization, but went out on the hillsides and addressed the multitudes of men that compose this organization. I never hesitated to account fully for any official act of my administration.

The dark side of this is held up here to make you believe there are some dire consequences about to overtake you. Again the straw man is put out to delude those who are not conversant with all the facts in the case. We have listened here to the internal affairs of an election in Colorado that had no place in this convention, that has no relation to the issue before us; but Delegate Lawson saw fit to take advantage of the situation in order that he might drive prejudice into the minds of the delegates in the hope that it would help to adopt the resolution. There is no reform wrapped up in this proposition; it would not remove the evil complained of if adopted. The President of this organization, if he desires men to assist in the non-union fields or elsewhere, must go and

consult the president of some district and his associates if in the opinion of the International President there resides in that district a member of our organization competent to perform the duty of an organizer.

It comes with poor grace from the lips of John R. Lawson, a man who has received every consideration from this organization of ours, when he says that he never received justice in the unfortunate controversy that found him a prisoner in Colorado. In five tremendous mass-meetings in the anthracite field, when he was under indictment and facing a hostile and prejudiced court, the International President of this organization and the organizers in the anthracite coal field, the officers and sympathizing members passed resolutions daily in their meetings and sent their mighty protest to the President of the United States, to the Governor of Colorado and to every authority we hoped might bring influence to bear to get this man his day in court. John Lawson sat on our International Executive Board during the almost seven years I was president and he cannot say and no other member of that Board can say that in the slightest degree he was ever hampered or singled out by the President of this organization for special treatment or to do anything against him that was not done to every member of that Board. And in the years I was associated with him I am pleased to testify personally that my relations with John were most cordial.

These much-despised organizers are used for political expediency in this hour, as they have been used in years gone by, and not one single word is said by these men who seek to bring about this change in our law of what has been accomplished through the aid and help of these individuals. In the seven years of my official service 1,872 locals were organized in the United Mine Workers of America. According to the report of your statistician we had during that time an increase of 179,000 members. What administration, taking them all in, has done more in a like period? The insurmountable barrier that held the men in non-union fields in check have been broken down and the gospel of our union planted in their midst. And the men who are today receiving the condemnation of John R. Lawson and others of his kind were some of the agencies that contributed to the improvements that are reflected in the reports of your international officials.

There never was an organizer, when charges were preferred against

him by any bona fide representative of our organization, that did not have his affairs investigated, and if we found his conduct was not such as to inspire confidence and insure us that he was a proper representative of the organization, we removed him from the staff. The last act that John R. Lawson performed as a member of our International Executive Board was to present charges involving the conduct of two international organizers, and I immediately removed those men by wire from the service of this organization. These two men were lifelong friends of mine.

These resolutions are introduced by the most part to detract, even if it is in a small way, from the credit that is due the men that have been charged with the responsibilities of your organization, and also with the hope that there may come to those who oppose the policies of the organization that have proved so fundamental some few crumbs of comfort. All men who make appointments make mistakes. We place confidence in the fidelity and integrity of men and sometimes we are in error; they fall away from the standards that should guide their conduct; but the organization is amply protected if our laws are employed, because no self-respecting president can preside over such a great army of men if he seeks to fasten upon this organization employees who are not what they ought to be, and I most earnestly resent the insinuation that the president, during the years of the past when he served you, employed these organizers to perpetuate himself in power.

The international organizers, for the most part, during my entire term worked in the districts with the consent of the district president, and the complaints that are now coming from Colorado have no foundation in fact, so far as the power of the president to appoint is concerned, because that district organization is being handled and its affairs are being conducted by the international organization. And when the time comes to give back the autonomy of that district I have no doubt the same policy will prevail there that prevails in other districts and the men who are sent in there by the International President will work under the direction of the district president. The district presidents here who wish to do myself and my administration simple justice will testify to the truthfulness of what I have said.

I have heard a great deal said during my travels throughout the

country about the International President having to bolster his political power up by appointments of this kind. The records of the organization will show that not a single organizer was ever employed by me for that purpose, and I removed a number of organizers on complaint of men in the local unions when I was satisfied their removal meant progress for this organization. I am satisfied that the good sense and sound judgment of the men in this convention will continue to repose that authority in the President of the organization. It is true I refused at times to appoint men at the instigation of district presidents, but with all respect to the district presidents, I hold the authority given the International President under the law gives him a right to select men from among the membership on such a basis as he sees fit to exercise. The time for the district president to favor this resolution to criticise the International President is when he sends men to their districts to work against the interests of those districts. In that case you have a remedy, the machinery of your organization is always in operation. A man who hoping to continue himself in power through the use of unscrupulous henchmen cannot long preside over the destinies of a great democratic organization of this kind.

The improvements that have come to the mine workers, the great growth in the representation in our international convention, is the surest guide that the policies of the past have been successful. And when we have men journeying to this convention who seem to be more concerned about lessening the authority of the President of this great union by such arguments than they are concerned about the future growth and progress of the United Mine Workers. The president of our organization is clothed only with the powers, or practically so, that were given him at the foundation of this organization.

When I first became your president, as the records will show, there was little or no effort being made to organize the great non-union fields that were menacing the progress of the mine workers of this country. Our organization was honeycombed with internal strife and warring movements. Dual movements had been built up on a large scale and hope for success had almost fled from the hearts of men who had laid the foundations of this organization. The proud position your president occupies today was a very thankless task in 1911. These matters have all been related to you, the obstacles were surmounted from time

to time, this movement took on new force and gave expression to the hopes and wishes of the members. Fields are now organized in part of this movement that then had no organization. We have been busy in extending our influence into those non-union fields. As the records show, our organization is gaining new members in Tennessee, Alabama, West Virginia, Colorado, Pennsylvania and elsewhere. Look over the records of your organization and see what administration has ever gained more in the way of extending your movement and establishing broader democracy within the affairs of the organization than has been gained under the present policy.

There is no real sentiment in the districts where these resolutions come from for a change in our laws in this respect. I have the complete files in the office from all local unions and the complaints in regard to this policy are very, very few. The great body of men here would be led to believe, however, that something very terrible would overtake the mine workers unless this new-found philosophy is substituted for the policy that has been so successful during your entire career.

When I took the office of president in 1911 I was called upon in Columbus, Ohio, to say a few words. In thanking the membership for conferring upon me this great honor I told the delegates I would safeguard well the accomplishments of the men who had preceded me in this high office and safeguard to the best of my ability those things that made it possible to build up the splendid organization we then had. I have carried out that pledge.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that there should have been injected into this convention on a resolution of this kind and character a debate such as we have been listening to for many hours. One would be led to believe that all this had come about because the International President has been clothed with authority to appoint certain men to positions from time to time, and yet we find there has been no effort made to bring this to the attention of the proper authorities by the men making the complaint. John Lawson will testify to the fact that my associations with him were such that there could not be in the slightest degree any personal enmity whatever. I endeavored in all the years I served with him on the International Executive Board to help him in his work to the best of my ability.

I hope this question will not be determined upon personalities or upon the outgrowth of an election of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado. If wrong has been done to John R. Lawson or to any other member of this organization there the way to correct that and curb the men in the employ of the international organization is to follow out the way you have laid down for the government of your members. There is no reason for changing the constitution. If the resolution is adopted the president will be hampered by the men who will have the authority to pass upon the organizers who are to work for you, and yet the president will be responsible for the success or failure of this great organization and its affairs.

Despite all that has been said about your organization not being democratic, there is no other labor organization in the country that is more democratic. You can analyze all the trade union movements of this country and you will not find one that is predicated upon a broader democracy than is found in the United Mine Workers of America. I have too much faith in the intelligence of the members of this organization and the delegates to this convention in particular to rush to the conclusion, even if it is true that somebody has done John R. Lawson an injustice locally, that he cannot get his day in court the same as any other member when he submits any charges he has to make.

I hope the report of the committee will be adopted and we will give our president the same power that all his predecessors had, and see if he will not measure up to the responsibility.

A motion was made and seconded to close debate.

President Hayes: Delegate Lawson requested permission to ask a question some time ago. The chair will grant him the privilege at this time. Let us be fair to Delegate Lawson. He made these charges.

Delegate Lawson: International Board Member Harlin told the convention what had taken place relative to suspending the charters of the West Virginia districts. He said I had voted to take them away. He said Colorado has been organized because the charter was taken away, or words to that effect.

Delegate Harlin, District 10: I have in my possession the committee's report which Delegate Lawson signed. It suspends the autonomy

of Districts 29 and 17, West Virginia. His signature is attached to that report. With regard to your other question, if I understand it aright, it is that the change in Colorado was responsible for the increase in membership. In reply I can only direct the attention of the delegates to the results accomplished in Colorado.

President Hayes: You have had the privilege of asking the questions. Delegate Harlin has replied. The motion is to close debate. The chair wants to speak on this question, too, but he will have to forego his rights. If I am given an opportunity I can say a great deal on the Colorado situation, but I am going to surrender my personal privilege on that if this convention closes debate.

The motion to close debate was carried.

President Hayes: There were several delegates who wanted to speak on questions of personal privilege, but nothing is in order now but the committee's report. The motion is to concur in the committee's report, which affirms the present section and non-concurs in Resolution 121.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Constitution, which recommended that Section 5 of Article IX remain unchanged, and recommending non-concurrence in Resolutions 75, 121, 122, 146 and 200, was carried by viva voce vote.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

NINTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 o'clock p. m., Thursday, January 24. President Hayes in the chair.

President Hayes: We have with us today a very distinguished member of the Women's Trade Union League who desires to lay before the convention the ideals and hopes of the organization she represents. I take great pleasure in presenting Miss Emma Steghagen, of the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

ADDRESS OF MISS EMMA STEGHAGEN.

Mr. President and Brother Delegates—It is almost foolish for me tell you, when your time is so precious, how greatly pleased I am to come before this convention of the miners. The organization I represent, the National Women's Trade Union League, is an organization of women workers and their allies. We are organized for the purpose of helping the unorganized women to come into the labor movement. We feel that our organization is fitted for this purpose. We are composed of women trades unionists, individuals and also affiliated organizations of women's trade unions. We are banded together for the purpose of getting better organization among women workers and getting equal pay for equal work. When a woman does a man's work we feel she is entitled to a man's pay. We do not want to force women into men's work, because we feel that situation will be adjusted, although in this strenuous time of war more and more the women are going into men's work; and therefore we feel at this time it is more than necessary that we care for the women workers so that they may not underbid the men, and it is only the unorganized woman who will underbid a man in going into his work or any other work.

We are out for the eight-hour day, a living wage and full citizenship for women. That is our platform. Our first object, however, is organization of women into trades unions so that they can do for themselves the thing that you men are doing in your miners' organization, so that we can have democracy in the workshop as well as democracy in the government. The National Women's Trade Union League, through its different branches in many parts of the country, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Springfield, Ill., St. Louis, Kansas City, and even in Los Angeles, is doing everything possible for this organization of women.

We have been active in many strikes that have involved women—in New York in the great cloak makers' strike not so long ago, in Chicago in the garment workers' strike, the waitresses' strike and the ladies' garment workers' strike just recently in Chicago. The Women's Trade Union League is well adapted to this work. When the girls are arrested for picketing we get bail for them and help them. We find out the needs of the strikers and do what we can for them. We have been very successful in this through the aid of our allies. Those allies are women who

give of their wealth and those who are not so wealthy help us to do this work. We cannot as yet finance our own organization. In England, where the Women's Trade Union League has been established for thirty years—and we patterned in America after this English organization—they have a special way of financing the organization, but we have not come to the point where we can do this.

I want to tell you now something of the things we have done to help the government carry on the war. In our national convention in Kansas City last June we appointed a Committee on Women in War and drew up standards of women's work. These standards have been adopted by all the Women in Industry Committees, both federal and state; in fact, everywhere the women have come together to try to do work for the war we have gotten to them our standards, because we are part of the Women in Industry Committee. The Women's National Trade Union League is recognized as better able to give those standards than any other organization; so all the women's organizations that are active in war work have adopted our standards and are working hand in hand with us.

We are not going to lower the standards during the war; we are looking for the time that peace will return and when our brothers come back from the war we want to keep places so that they will not feel we have lowered their wages. That is why we have introduced the standards before all the Women in Industry Committees. I could tell you many other things we are doing and that we intend to do, only the time is short and I do not want to take up so much of your precious time. In our last national convention we decided to go before conventions of this sort and tell our story, tell what we are doing for the women, what we want to do for the women, tell about our standards, our work in strikes and other activities of organizations. We feel that men's organizations ought to do something to help finance our organization until we are on such a footing that we can finance it ourselves, until we have a sufficient organization among women to do it. We have been before a number of conventions and we have had very good results. I am going to ask you now to help us a little financially. Some organizations are giving us a monthly sum and others give us lump sums. A number of years ago I believe the miners' organization gave \$50 a month to the Women's Trade Union League. I believe it was the miners' delegation

in the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor that saw the necessity of having something done for the organization of women and introduced a resolution to the effect that the American Federation of Labor levy an assessment of one per cent. for that purpose. That money was spent on the organization of women workers through the American Federation of Labor; but the Women's Trade Union League really is fitted to go before women and organize them many times when the American Federation of Labor has no one in the field. We feel we should have some support separately and do our work in our own way.

I am going to close by saying that I am very thankful that I have been able to come before this convention. I appreciate it and thank you very much. We will thank you also for whatever you can do to help us financially.

President Hayes: In behalf of the convention I desire to thank Miss Steghagen for her address and assure her of the hearty support of the United Mine Workers of America in extending the scope of the Women's Trade Union League.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT OF TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.

Mr. A. McAndrew: Mr. Chairman and Brothers—For over fifteen years I have been attending your conventions and saying a word in behalf of union label tobacco, cigars and cigarettes. In former years I have distributed union-made tobacco in the convention, but unfortunately this year, owing to the high price, none of the manufacturers will donate tobacco for that purpose. In former years the delegates said the tobacco that was distributed was the best that could be secured. It does not seem the members at home think that way for the trust tobacco is sold generally in your localities. Men who are getting high wages and short working hours are not receiving the consideration at your hands they ought to expect.

You have a Service Flag that represents a small army of men. In civilian life those men possibly used union label tobacco and cigarettes. The American Tobacco Trust, through newspaper advertising and paid agents, are getting up subscriptions to send tobacco to the boys in the trenches. Not one pound of it is union-made tobacco. I have told you

time and again the conditions that exist in the factories operated by this corporation and I will not take up your time this afternoon repeating what I have said in the past. The Tobacco Workers' International Union and the American Federation of Labor are soliciting a fund to distribute union label tobacco to the men in camp in this country and on the other side. If you make a donation for tobacco in your local union, see that it is sent to Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor or to our organization. We will see that union label tobacco is sent wherever you desire it.

In Louisville, Ky., where we had two large union factories, using the label for eight or ten years, those people told us there was no use putting the label on, that it was expensive and they had to pay a higher rate of wages than the other factories. They complained that as a consequence of this they were losing money. One of these concerns offered the union men in the factory a twenty per cent. reduction. The men refused to accept it and were locked out. The other factory, in collusion with the first, declared for an open shop and said the label no longer helped them. A lot of their goods have been sold throughout the mining sections. One of the principal brands of the Burley Tobacco Society is called City Club. We appeal to you to show these two factories that union men are consistent, that you are going to look for the union label on your tobacco and cigarettes when making purchases.

When you go into a store to make a purchase, whether it be tobacco, bread, shoes or any other necessity, you will know if a union label is attached that no little child's fingers has been employed in its production in the hours intended for childish sleep. Dealers sometimes say: "What does the union label stand for?" Knowing the conditions our men and women receive through the agreement for the use of that label, I say it stands for the noblest sentiments of the human race. It is the emblem through which the working people can conquer humanity's high-handed oppressors; it is the only guarantee of industrial peace. Every man and woman in this hall today is an employer of labor. When you try to make your mine a union mine if the operators do not come to your terms you will criticise them, but you will go out at the same time and give employment to non-union labor through your purchasing power.

In closing, I wish you success and Godspeed. I hope when your deliberations here are completed you will have done something for the

benefit of the men at the pick. I hope also that you will not forget the other men and women who are endeavoring to better their conditions.

Delegate Helm, District 25: I wish to correct a statement in the press.

President Hayes: I trust the delegate will make his remarks brief and not enter into any controversial matter, because that will require an answer. Nothing is in order but the correction.

Delegate Helm: I have been misquoted and I want to make a correction. In looking over what is termed the "Convention Reporter" I find a part of President Samuel Gompers' speech, wherein he refers to the Bolsheviki of Russia. In his arraignment of the Bolsheviki he refers to them as being labor union wreckers. Mr. Adams, in the Convention Reporter, refers to delegates and officers who have taken part in discussions in this convention as Bolsheviki and union-wreckers. I want to say for his benefit that I am no labor union-wrecker. My efforts here have been honest and sincere. I don't think it is proper for a gentleman of that character to be permitted to remain in the convention, maligning the character of men who come here with honest intentions and purposes.

President Hayes: At the request of President Keeney of West Virginia, Mr. Harold Houston, an attorney who has been interested in cases for the mine workers, will address the convention.

ADDRESS OF MR. HAROLD HOUSTON.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention—I certainly appreciate the courtesy that has been extended me and I appreciate the privilege of looking into the faces of such a magnificent representation of American labor. I came here with no particular message; I came merely to look upon the coal miners of the United States in one of their great conventions. But there is one thing that has been in my mind, and while I have been here but a short time—I reached here only yesterday afternoon—I have been looking for some expression that may show the attitude of the organized miners of the United States toward a question, not alone of importance but of paramount importance, not alone to the coal miners of America but to all the workers and espe-

cially all the organized workers of the United States. I have heard some talk here this afternoon dealing with your internal controversies, and I sometimes wonder if you are forgetting during those controversies the main enemy you have to fight when you are at home.

West Virginia during recent years has earned a right at the council tables of organized labor. West Virginia is the home of many things, and one thing in particular—hostile labor legislation and hostile judicial decisions. I would like to know before this convention adjourns, and I know the rank and file of the miners of America would like to know what you are going to do in the face of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, especially the one handed down recently in the case of the Hitchman Coal Company vs. John Mitchell. That decision means that when a coal operator or an employer requires as a condition of employment that the men agree, either verbally or in writing, not to join any labor union, why then the representatives of your organization dare not go to them and even in peaceable terms and by persuasion attempt to get them to join your organization. That means, I take it, if enforced, the death of not only the United Mine Workers of America but all organizations.

That case originated about ten years ago in the state of West Virginia, just a little ways below Wheeling. The Supreme Court of the United States in this crucial hour of the nation's history has taken the opportunity to strike what I believe is a fatal blow at organized labor, if something is not eventually done. There are two things that possibly can be done and only two. There are only two courses open. You must either meekly submit and bow before that decision, lay down flatly in the face of it and accept that decree, or you must serve notice upon the Congress of the United States—which is the only tribunal that can correct that wrong—that unless within a given time some action is taken to nullify that infamous decision the miners of the United States will lay down their picks.

You can talk about appealing to the courts, but that decree stands because it is the final decree of the highest tribunal of the land. That court will not rehear it, it will not be reconsidered and there is only one method by which it can be nullified and that is by an act of congress. Of what use is it to the American worker to win democracy on the battlefields of Europe if you are going to lose it here at home? We have

our internal enemies, and the working class of America can rest assured of one thing—I want you to mark this, I know I have the reputation of a radical, and all that—but when the armies of America return in triumph from Europe they are going to be ready for the working class of America here at home. The workers of Russia have taught a few lessons that America should learn. Why, think of it, a country to which we have been accustomed to refer as a land of tyranny and almost barbarism has called a constituent congress and there is not a single capitalist in the whole bunch. Here in America we have scarcely a legislature that truly represents the workers of America.

Unless some action is taken that will prevent such acts of the court in the future and prevent hostile legislation such as has been passed in the last few years, the American labor movement, if not destroyed, will be so completely dehumanized that it will be of no use. Of what use will 500,000 members or a million members of the United Mine Workers of America be if they are going to meekly bow to every decision of every petty court? Knowing the value of your time, I want to thank you for this opportunity of looking into your faces and assure you that in all the struggles to come—and they are going to be many—you are going to find the organized miners of West Virginia on the firing line.

Delegate Howat, District 14: A question of personal privilege.

President Hayes: The question of personal privilege will be entertained under Miscellaneous Business.

Delegate Howat: Day before yesterday it was agreed that I could reply to former President White when the question before the house yesterday was disposed of. I think I ought to have that opportunity.

President Hayes: You will have it under Miscellaneous Business. I don't think we ought to consider it at this time, because it will probably bring forth replies from other delegates who may question your statements.

Delegate Howat: I don't want to wait to make my reply until the delegates are ready to go home. I want to make it now.

Delegate White (J. P.): He never tried to get the floor when I referred to him particularly. He has no right to take the floor now and

engage the delegates in discussion. Before he gets the floor I want him to state the personal reference he wants to reply to.

President Hayes: There is nothing in order now but the report of the committee. The chair has ruled that Delegate Howat will be heard under Miscellaneous Business.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

Chairman Farrington continued the report of the committee as follows: The committee recommends no change in Sections 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Article IX. No resolutions proposing to amend these sections were offered. We recommend the adoption of these sections without change.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Chairman Farrington: The committee recommends no change in Section 10 of Article IX. Resolutions 101, 130 and 199 contain proposed amendments to this section. The committee recommends non-concurrence in these resolutions.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Sections 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, of Article IX, were readopted, no resolutions proposing to amend these sections having been submitted and the committee recommending no changes.

Chairman Farrington: The committee concurred in Resolution No. 126 and recommends that Section 35 be amended by adding the following paragraph:

"The Tellers shall also meet at headquarters and open and tabulate the nomination returns and file their report with the Secretary-Treasurer so that he may send out notifications, as required by Section 6, Article XI. In arranging the ballot, the Secretary-Treasurer shall place the names of the different candidates on the ballot in graduated order, in accordance with the number of nominations received."

Delegate Wieck (E.), District 12: The resolutions ask that the number of nominations received by each candidate be given on the notification. Is that included in the committee's report?

Chairman Farrington: It is not. The committee did not think it necessary to notify each candidate, for the reason that the report provides that the names shall be placed on the ballot in graduated order.

The candidates receiving the highest number of nominations shall be given precedence on the ballot.

Delegate Wieck (E.): I don't know that I want to oppose the committee's report very much, but I want to state why the resolution was sent in asking that candidates be told the number of nominations they receive. Our district has such a section in its constitution. In the last international election I know it to be a fact that Brother John Walker was not notified, and I don't believe he knows now exactly how many nominations he received. I believe every candidate should know the number of nominations he receives. I cannot see any harm in that, and I believe it will have the effect of keeping men's names off the ballot when there is no possible chance for them to be elected. If some of the men nominated knew the exact circumstances in some cases they would not be candidates.

Delegate White (J. P.): I don't know where Brother Wieck gets his information, but if I remember correctly the statement appeared in the press that John H. Walker received so many nominations. John H. Walker evidently had that information. I think possibly the Secretary might have imparted it to him.

Delegate Wieck: I said he had no official information. Duncan McDonald, then secretary-treasurer, sent a letter asking how many nominations he had received for the various offices he had notices he had been nominated for. I think it was secretary and delegate to the American Federation of Labor. Secretary Green answered and gave him that information, but he gave him to understand in that letter that that information was not to be given out and he was doing Duncan McDonald a favor by giving it to him. I don't think such a condition should be allowed to continue. I believe every candidate should know how many nominations he receives.

Secretary Green: In reply to what Brother Wieck has said. Since I have been Secretary-Treasurer of this organization if any candidate

for office wanted to know the number of nominations he received he has been given that information.

Delegate Wieck: But you gave Duncan McDonald to understand the information was not to be given out and that you were doing him a favor by giving him that information.

Secretary Green: I don't know what interpretation was gained from the letter I wrote. I presume I said the laws of the organization in no way provided that that information should be given, but I was not restrained or limited by law from giving any candidate for office information as to the number of nominations he received. However, it has not been customary to notify each candidate how many nominations he received and how many his opponent received; but we have endeavored to furnish every one with the information which the laws of our organization permits whenever it is asked for.

Chairman Farrington: Under the present law the nominations have been tabulated by the secretary's office. The law provides that the international tellers, in addition to meeting and tabulating the election returns, shall, if this amendment is adopted, meet in headquarters and tabulate the nominations also. The law is in harmony with the district constitution of Illinois. There is no section in the Illinois constitution that requires that each nominee shall be notified as to the number of nominations he receives. It has been the practice over there, however, to give that information to all the nominees.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Sections 36, 37, 38 and 39 of Article IX were readopted, no resolutions proposing to amend them having been submitted and the committee recommending no changes.

Article X. The committee recommended the following substitute for Section 1:

"The salary of the President shall be \$5,000.00 per annum; Vice-President, \$4,125.00 per annum; Secretary-Treasurer, \$4,125.00 per annum; Editor of the official Journal, \$2,500.00 per annum; International Executive Board members, \$175.00 per month when employed; tellers, auditors and delegates to the A. F. of L. convention, \$7.00 per day when

employed. Each of the above mentioned officers and editor shall receive, in addition to their salaries, all legitimate expenses when employed by the organization away from their places of residence."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

President Hayes asked that Delegate Moore, President of the Ohio District, preside during discussion on the report of the Committee on Officers' Salaries. President Moore, not being in the convention, the chairman requested the president of the Pittsburgh District to preside during the consideration of that portion of the committee's report.

Delegate Murray, Pittsburgh District, in the chair.

Chairman Farrington: Our constitution specifies the wages that shall be paid the various officers of the organization. However, since that section of the constitution was adopted the mine workers of the country have received two substantial increases in wages. The officers of the organization felt that they were entitled to some consideration because of that fact and because the conditions under which they must live had radically changed since the section was written into our law. The International Executive Board assumed to increase the wages of the officers as set forth in the constitution. The matter has been disposed of by this convention by reason of your action on the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports. President Hayes, in reporting to the convention, brought to your attention the fact that the officers' salaries had been raised over and above the rates specified in the constitution. The Committee on Officers' Reports, when reporting to the convention, endorsed the action of the International Executive Board. That report of the committee was adopted, and by doing so this convention has already adopted the increase in salaries, so that in-reality the matter has been disposed of and the only thing left for the Committee on Constitution to do was to amend the constitution in accordance with the instructions of the convention when you acted upon the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports. The action of the committee merely rearranges the present section of the constitution so as to conform with the action of the International Executive Board in this convention.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Foster, District 6: I want to ask if it takes \$1,000 in the President's salary to get the \$2 a day increase we got?

Chairman Farrington: Evidently this convention thought so because they concurred in the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports, and the report of that committee provided for the thing recommended by the Committee on Constitution.

Delegate Foster: In Secretary-Treasurer Green's report the salary of ex-President White is listed at \$6,000. How does it come his salary is \$6,000?

Chairman Farrington: That is a matter that does not relate to the Constitution Committee's report. If you have found a typographical error in the Secretary's report, take it up with him, and don't delay the report of the committee.

Delegate Foster: I don't think it is losing money when we try to save money if we think it is going the way it should not go.

Chairman Murray: I would suggest for the benefit of Delegate Foster that he permit Secretary Green to reply to his question. This question has already been disposed of by the convention. Immediately after action had been taken upon it Delegate Foster proceeded to ask a question from the chairman of the Committee on Constitution. I would suggest that we permit the question you have asked of the chairman of the Committee on Constitution to be fully answered by Secretary Green. After your question has been properly answered, in order that the proceedings of the convention may not be disturbed, I will suggest that you then take your seat, inasmuch as the matter has already been acted upon by the convention.

Delegate Foster: I don't want to disturb the proceedings of this convention, but when we voted on the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports—and I voted in favor of it—I did not think we were voting on the officers' salaries, but on the recommendations of President Hayes. I knew the question of salaries would come up under the report of the Committee on Constitution.

Secretary Green: I want to explain, in answer to Brother Foster, that if there is any item in my report that sets forth that ex-President

White was paid a salary of \$6,000 it must be a typographical error, because his salary was \$4,000 a year. That is all he was paid.

Chairman Murray: I trust the information imparted to Delegate Foster will be satisfactory.

Delegate Harper, District 12, arose and proceeded to discuss the question.

Chairman Murray: Let me suggest that it is unnecessary to have any suggestion on this question at this time, inasmuch as the convention has already acted upon the report of the Committee on Constitution on this matter. If you desire to have any information pertaining to the report of the committee you can ask that question, but it is not debatable.

Delegate Harper: I arise on a question of personal privilege.

Chairman Murray: I know of no delegate that was attacked, Brother Harper. If you have any questions to ask kindly confine yourself to something that can be properly entertained by the chair at this time. There is nothing before the convention at this time but the report of the Committee on Constitution. The committee will proceed with the report.

A number of delegates arose and attempted to speak on the question just disposed of.

Chairman Murray: It is unnecessary at this time for any concerted effort to be made by any certain element in this convention to disturb the progress of your deliberations.

Delegate Marks, Ohio: Hasn't a delegate the right to ask the president for information?

Chairman Murray: Certainly he has. I suggest that all the delegates be seated and every delegate will be given fair consideration.

A number of delegates asked loudly for a roll call.

Chairman Murray: There isn't any use whatever asking in that way. There is a way in which you can get a roll call.

Chairman Farrington: So far as the Constitution Committee is concerned, if there is any part of our report the delegates want informa-

tion about we will give it to you if you will keep those rowdies in the convention still long enough for us to do so.

Delegate Harper: We want some information.

Chairman Farrington: Why don't you keep still until some one can give it to you. I don't know what all this commotion is about. If there is anything about this report any of the delegates want any information on, if you will keep still we will be glad to give you any information we can.

A Delegate: All we want is a fair vote and if it is carried we will be satisfied.

Chairman Farrington: What do you want a vote on?

A Delegate: On officers' salaries.

Chairman Farrington: The chair declared the motion carried on a viva voce vote. If you want a rising vote, why don't you ask for it? Why don't you have a little order so it can be asked for properly?

A number of delegates again asked for a roll call.

Chairman Murray: There seems to be a general misunderstanding among the delegates concerning the motion I declared had been passed by the convention a short time ago. There is apparently a demand being made by a certain portion of the delegates for a rising vote on the report of the committee. It is not the intention of the chair to deprive the delegates of the right to properly vote their sentiments on any question. Inasmuch as this disturbance has arisen and inasmuch as there is some misunderstanding among the delegates I shall present this matter to you and take a rising vote on it.

The section of the constitution as amended was read by the chairman of the Committee on Constitution.

Chairman Murray: The motion before the house is to concur in the report of the committee. All those in favor of adopting the report of the committee will arise.

Delegate Harper: I think the delegates were misled in the adoption of the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports. We did not

realize what we were voting on. What part of the constitution delegates the authority to the International Executive Board to raise the officers' salaries?

Chairman Murray: Your international and district representatives during the year just past succeeded, despite the terms of a contract, despite our contractual relations, in securing two substantial increases in your wages to meet the high cost of living. The executive board decided a similar increase should be granted the officers of the organization to meet also the high cost of living, with the distinct understanding that whatever they did would be submitted to this convention. That was done and it was unanimously adopted by this convention when the Committee on Officers' Reports brought the matter before you. There is nothing now before the convention but the report of the Committee on constitution. The chair desires to be fair to each and every delegate, and if there has been any misunderstanding a rising vote will be taken.

A rising vote was taken which was counted by the messengers and sergeants-at-arms. These tellers announced that 882 votes had been cast in favor of the recommendation of the committee and 268 opposed the recommendation of the committee.

A number of delegates stated that they wished to be recorded as opposing the motion.

Chairman Murray: The report of the committee has been concurred in and adopted by an overwhelming vote of this convention. Any delegate who wishes to register his vote against this part of the committee's report will write out his protest and present it to the secretary of the convention.

Delegate Foster, District 6: I arise to a point of order. You are not entitled to act as chairman during these proceedings because you are chairman of the Committee on Officers' Reports, the report that has been put through here.

Chairman Murray: Your point of order is not well taken. The question before the house pertains to an increase in the salaries of officers, and I am not a salaried international employee but the officer of district organization.

Delegate Rogers: Does our agreement expire at the end of the war?

Chairman Murray: Yes.

Delegate Rogers: Do the salaries of the officers expire at the same time?

Chairman Murray: The salary of the officers is a strictly constitutional matter that is legislated for by the delegates in the convention. If the delegate will refer to his constitution it will be unnecessary for him to ask me that question.

Delegate McCleish, District 12: I understood you to make the assertion that this is a constitutional matter. Our contract is signed up for the period of the war, as a war measure. Do you think the officers are any better than the men at the pick when they get their salaries as a constitutional matter?

Chairman Farrington: The contract runs for the period of the war or not longer than two years. That contract specifies certain rates of wages that will be paid our members. I am satisfied if the war ends tomorrow that rates of wages specified in that contract will not be lowered. The work of this committee reminds me of a little story I heard the other day. The vote taken on the last proposition adopted by the convention indicates very clearly that the great overwhelming majority of the delegates in this convention are in favor of orderly procedure. The minority who voted against the committee's report indicates there are only comparatively a few men in this convention who seem to be actuated by a disposition to halt the work of the convention.

A number of delegates stated that they had not spoken but they had voted against the report.

Chairman Farrington: That proves that those who are creating the disturbance are even fewer in number than those who voted against the committee's report.

The following delegates desired to be so recorded as opposed to the report increasing officers' salaries:

Delegates D. S. McCall, Local Union 295, District 25; George Brubaker, Local 124; Isaiah Spatzer, Local 2596; Stanley Seroski, Local 984; John C. Rumberger, Local 1023 and Local 1669, District 9; Edward G. Renn, Local 160; Frank Trykowski, Local 1725; R. E. Walker, Local

3643, District 19; F. K. Linhard, Local 552, District 6; Thomas Fleming, Local 2512, District 10; Charles Croci, Local 2682, District 10; William Hays, Local 1443, District 9; Emil Coda, Local 397; Joe Marcinko, Local 3041, District 11; Joseph Strickland, Local 2411, District 11; Earl Atkinson, Local 155, District 11; William Gillen, Local 884, District 11; Frank Bender, Local 2449, District 6; Ivor Johns, Local 1971, District 12; Alex Allison, Local 383, District 6; Charles C. Rogers, Local 1748, District 6; Frank Johnston, Local 1053, District 12; Edward Nicholas, Local 2522, District 11; Lewis Orel, Local 2386.

Delegate Gillen desired to be further recorded as objecting to not being allowed to debate the proposition.

Delegate Marcinko, Local 3041, District 11, desired also to be recorded as voting against paying the salary of John P. White as assistant to the fuel director, and also being recorded as opposing the penalty clause in the Washington Agreement.

Delegate R. E. Walker, Local 3643, District 19, and P. F. Gammon, Local 3262; John Emery, Local 3645; William Nelson, Local 3644, District 19; desired to be recorded as voting against the penalty clause in the Washington Agreement and against paying the salary of former President White as assistant to the fuel director.

President Hayes in the chair.

Chairman Farrington: The committee recommends no change in Section 2 of Article 10, no resolutions were submitted and we recommend its adoption without change.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Article XI, Section 1. The committee nonconcurred in Resolution 25, containing an amendment to this section, and recommends no change in the section.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Chairman Farrington: No resolutions were submitted proposing to amend Section 2 of Article XI. The committee recommends that the section be amended by striking out "1916" and inserting in lieu thereof "1918."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Farrington: The committee recommends that Section 3 of Article XI be amended by striking out the word "on" in line two and inserting in lieu thereof "for at least three months prior to and including."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Chairman Farrington: This means that in future in International elections, if our report is concurred in, a man will have to be a member of the organization three months previous to the date in which the election is held.

Delegate Savage, District 6: Will that apply to newly organized local unions?

Chairman Farrington: It will apply to them providing they are made up of men who have not belonged to the organization three months prior to the election; but if the membership is made up of old members it will not apply.

Delegate Savage: Suppose there are 100 new members and 50 old members go into that local union, how can we determine?

Chairman Farrington: The records of the local union ought to determine that fact.

Delegate Dempsey, District 1: How are the tellers going to determine the membership? I understand the tellers now make their count upon the number of members in good standing in the month of November. Do I understand, if the report of the committee is adopted, they will base their count upon the three months including the month of November?

Chairman Farrington: They will base it upon the number of members who vote, or should vote. The law is not changed in any material respect, excepting it requires members to belong to the new organization a greater length of time than the old law did. The old law said a man had to be a member on the first of December preceding the election;

in other words, ten or fifteen days prior to the election. If this is adopted he will have to belong three months previous to the election.

Delegate Greenway, District 11: If this section is amended will it not conflict with the obligation which gives every man certain rights?

Chairman Farrington: No. The obligation sets forth that the member shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of the organization. Those rights and privileges are restricted by any section that may be written into our law. What are the rights and privileges of a member? Only such as are given him by reason of our law.

Delegate Hall, District 6: The section as proposed provides that members shall be in the organization three months before they can vote. If a local union is in arrears for assessments to this branch of the organization will it be entitled to vote?

Chairman Farrington: If a local union is in arrears for dues and assessments will it be in good standing in all branches of the organization?

Delegate Hall: Most assuredly not.

Chairman Farrington: Then they would not be allowed to vote.

Delegate Hall: Our constitution provides that local unions and members must be in good standing before they are entitled to vote. It also provides in another section that if they fail to pay their assessments they are placed on the delinquent list and are not entitled to representation in the convention. In the past they have been allowed such representation. Now I think the time has come in the history of this organization to set aside the precedent of seating delegates and allowing local unions to vote when they are in arrears for dues or assessments.

Delegate Gay, District 13: I rise for the purpose of opposing the report of the committee. I believe we have enough contention in our elections under the present law, and I am satisfied if the report of the committee is adopted it will leave more room for contests. I certainly hope the delegates will vote the report down. I am opposed to the report generally and hope it will be voted down.

Delegate Haywood, District 12: I rise to support the report of the committee. This has been a matter of contention for years. I hold that

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

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Chairman Farrington: They will base it upon the number of members who vote, or should vote. The law is not changed in any material respect, excepting it requires members to belong to the new organization a greater length of time than the old law did. The old law said a man had to be a member on the first of December preceding the election;

in other words, ten or fifteen days prior to the election. If this is adopted he will have to belong three months previous to the election.

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Delegate Haywood, District 12: I rise to support the report of the committee. This has been a matter of contention for years. I hold that

when we take in members and give them the vote immediately after taking the obligation before the election it is a big blunder. The report of the committee will eliminate some of the things we believe happen in some of the elections in the partially organized districts. It has been claimed that organizers came in and voted new local unions in favor of certain candidates. This report of the committee will eliminate that to some degree. How can a man vote intelligently who has just come into the organization? How can he be expected to? We complain that local union tellers mark ballots for our members. Are we going to oppose a reform now that will give the member an opportunity to acquaint himself with the officers and what this organization wants before he is entitled to vote? I hope the report of the committee will be adopted.

Delegate Gay, District 13: I am surprised at this committee making such a report. I did not expect it. Do I understand the answer given by the chairman of the committee to Secretary Savage of District 6 when he stated it was not the intention of this section to govern newly organized local unions?

Delegate Haywood: I did not. I expect it would cover the members who are in the organization less than three months.

Chairman Farrington: Of course, the committee feels duly humiliated because they have done something Delegate Gay did not anticipate they were going to do and has caused him so much surprise and dissatisfaction, but I am satisfied Delegate Gay misunderstood my answer to Delegate Savage's question. I said this question of law would apply to newly organized locals if those locals were made up of new members of the organization, but that it would not apply to newly organized locals if the locals were made up of old members of the organization.

The reason the committee makes this recommendation to the convention has been covered by the remarks of Delegate Haywood. It has been charged that during past elections the administration has been guilty of going out and inaugurating strikes in non-union fields for the purpose of getting a large number of men into the organization and that those men have voted in the elections in favor of the administration. We don't say that that is true, but it is possible, and we want to remove the possibility of anything of that kind being done.

Upon motion of Delegate Delbarre, District 5, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Article XI, Sections 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 were readopted, no resolutions proposing to amend them having been submitted and the committee recommending no changes.

Chairman Farrington: Resolution No. 133 proposes to amend Section 1 of Article XII. The committee nonconcurs in the resolution and recommends that this section be amended by striking out the words "third Tuesday in January" in line 3, and insert in lieu thereof "second Tuesday in September." That will mean that if the recommendation of the committee is adopted our convention, instead of being held beginning with the third Tuesday in January will be convened on the second Tuesday in September.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Chairman Farrington: The committee recommends the readoption of Section 2, Article XII. Resolution 154 proposes to amend this section. The committee nonconcurs in the resolution and recommends the adoption of the section as it now reads.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Sections 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20, Article XII, were readopted, the committee recommending no changes and no resolutions proposing to amend these sections having been submitted.

Chairman Farrington: The committee recommends the readoption of Section 1 of Article XIII. Resolution No. 27 relates to this section. The committee nonconcurs and recommends the adoption of the section without change.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Sections 2, 3 and 4 of Article XIII were readopted, no changes having been suggested by the committee and no resolutions submitted.

Section 1 of Article XIV was readopted, no resolutions having been submitted relating to it and the committee recommended no change.

The committee recommended the following in lieu of Section 2 of Article XIV:

"No applicant for membership in the United Mine Workers of America shall be regarded as being a member in good standing until the full amount of his initiation fee has been paid or a check-off order authorizing the collection of the same has been filed in or through the local union where application for membership is made, and the obligation has been administered, except in case the applicant has religious scruples against taking the obligation. In such case the obligation shall be waived providing the applicant gives notice of his objections to taking the obligation at the time his application for membership is filed. In all cases applicants for membership must pay dues and assessments for the month during which they start work.

"Mine managers, top foreman, operators' commissioners, persons engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors and members of the Civic Federation, shall not be eligible for membership.

"Any member accepting membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, the Working Class Union or any other labor organization not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, shall be expelled from membership in the United Mine Workers of America and no members of any such organization shall be permitted to have membership in our union unless they forfeit their membership in the dual organization immediately upon securing membership in the United Mine Workers of America."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Potter, District 18: I would like the chairman of the Constitution Committee to answer a question. In his interpretation of that clause he says no person can belong to the United Mine Workers unless he is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. What about the Canadian locals that belong to other organizations?

Chairman Farrington: The recommendation of the committee will not disturb their condition in any manner whatever. I think the organi-

zation you have in mind is in Nova Scotia, and it is affiliated with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore the committee's report does not disturb that condition in any way whatever.

Delegate Wieck (E), District 12: I have no great objection to the committee's report, with the exception of their action on the Boy Scout proposition which they have stricken from the constitution. Action was taken in the Illinois State Federation of Labor on the Boy Scout question after it had been studied by a committee in that body for a year. The committee reported to the convention last October in Joliet. They reported that there were two organizations of Boy Scouts, the "American Boy Scouts" and the "Boy Scouts of the United States"; that one of these organizations is decidedly militaristic in its teachings and the other is not. That committee recommended that organized labor had nothing whatever to do with the militaristic organization and recommended the other organization as a good thing for the children of the working people of Illinois. I don't know whether our committee knows about this report or not. I believe it should be taken into consideration by this convention and by this committee. The report to the Illinois State Federation of Labor was not snap judgment, but was the result of a thorough investigation made by a committee, headed by Matt Woll of the Photo-Engravers' Union. They studied the question for an entire year, reported to the convention and that was the action taken. The delegates from Illinois will remember the stand of organized labor of that state on this proposition.

Delegate Jackson, District 23: I rise to oppose that part of the report which exempts from taking the obligation people who have religious scruples against it. If they are too good to take the obligation the organization is too good for them. I don't think taking the obligation interferes with any man's religious belief. If a man will not take an obligation to see that every human being is given justice he is not a fit member of this organization. Men have died for this organization and I oppose this recommendation with all the power at my command. Many men will refrain from coming to the local union meetings and give as an excuse that they have religious scruples against it.

Delegate Bittner, District 19: I desire to say that the reason the committee incorporated this section relative to releasing those men from taking the obligation who have religious scruples is that it has been a ruling of our international union in the past. We are changing no ruling of the organization in so doing. In 1907 President Mitchell, in his report to the international convention, so reported and the convention by unanimous vote decided that this should be the procedure of the United Mine Workers of America. Our report only puts into the constitution what has always been a ruling of our international organization.

During our campaigns of organization in Southeastern Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama we found in many localities men who desired to become members of the United Mine Workers of America, but could not take the obligation because of religious scruples. We believed it would conserve the best interests of the United Mine Workers of America to exempt these people from taking the obligation. So we have recommended that they be taken in if they pay their dues, assessments and initiation in the organization. This organization has nothing to lose by adopting this report of the committee and it will aid materially in organizing sections of this country that are still unorganized. The constitution of the United States gives a man the right of freedom of worship, and the United Mine Workers of America as a labor organization should not, and I do not believe will, take any action that will in any way take this right away from the men who work in the coal mines of this country.

Delegate Lawson, District 15: Perhaps I did not thoroughly understand the report of the committee, but I want to ask this question: Does this mean that a member of our organization who goes to work on the railroad and joins a railroad brotherhood will be expelled from this organization?

Chairman Farrington: No, it means nothing of the kind, Delegate Lawson. It means men who join these various dual organizations that are trying to get a foothold in the mines of this country.

Delegate Grills, District 12: Does it mean that a mine manager shall not be allowed to join the union?

Chairman Farrington: It says he cannot hold membership while he is a mine manager.

Delegate Reese, Local 1397, District 12: Does this apply to an organization such as the Franklin County Ways and Means Committee or the Belleville Educational Society in Illinois?

Chairman Farrington: No, we don't think they are big enough to draft into an international constitution. We will fix that in our district convention.

Delegate Lavender: I am going to register my protest because the mechanics and the inside shops in Huntington, W. Va., refused to armor the car that spread death in West Virginia will be excluded and these people with religious scruples who did that work will be allowed to hold membership. For that reason I am going to oppose it. I have come in contact with that character of people in several instances in my travels and fights for the interests of the mine workers of this country. I am opposed to another amendment in the report. We have dual organizations, it is true. I see the signs of some of that dualism in this convention here today. I know it is not the intention of the constituents at home to have delegates come here and act in an unmannerly way when we are trying to settle the affairs of the organization. Rise and register your protest when the time comes with your voice and your vote. We should stop making such a noise here. You cannot get results in the way you have tried to, telling delegates to sit down and raising a shindy all over the hall. Let's get our heads together. There is no man living that believes more in religious scruples than I do, but I don't believe any man should say he hasn't a right to take this obligation. It is as good an obligation as the one he takes in the churches of this country. I believe in every man in the mines subscribing to the laws under which he lives, and if he violates those laws he should atone for it.

President Hayes announced that the Garment Workers were to have a ball in the hall during the evening and had requested that the convention adjourn at 4 p. m. to allow the hall to be placed in readiness.

At 4 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 a. m., Friday, January 25.

TENTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Ind., January 25, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, January 25, President Hayes in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION.

Delegate Neutzling, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 25, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, your Committee on Transportation, after examining the lists furnished by the various district secretaries, beg leave to submit the following statement showing the number of delegates, number of local unions represented, number of votes and amount of transportation by districts.

Dist. No.	Secretary	Number of Delegates	No. L. U.	No. Votes	Amount Transp.
1	John Mack	68	66	152	\$ 2,184.35
2	Richard Gilbert	102	99	310	2,795.44
5	William Hargest	161	159	389	2,691.23
6	G. W. Savage	178	224	367	2,234.07
7	John Yourishin	20	26	70	934.50
8	Ed. Haverkamp	7	23	24	20.00
9	James J. McAndrews	83	88	173	2,430.42
10	William Short	18	25	50	2,663.34
11	William Mitch	104	102	201	414.31
12	Walter Nesbit	345	261	834	3,837.92
13	John Gay	58	62	143	1,415.32
14	Thomas Harvey	100	105	133	3,458.76
15	Warren Pippin	25	43	49	2,343.70
16	Wm. Trickett	20	14	43	436.70
17	Fred Mooney	84	89	118	1,161.21
18	Ed. Browne	7	6	25	639.92

19	David Robb	90	90	105	1,181.90
20	J. L. Clemo.....	45	42	62	1,096.40
21	E. F. Ross	69	66	126	3,194.14
22	James Morgan	22	26	62	2,008.32
23	H. H. Vincent.....	38	40	60	459.95
24	John Crutchfield	9	11	16	195.42
25	Geo. Hepple	35	37	87	1,955.96
27	Stephen Ely	13	16	42	1,411.45
28	.....	1	1	1	.....
29	John Gatherun	50	51	60	488.76
Total.....		1752	1772	3652	\$40,709.09

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MOSSOP,

ALBERT NEUTZLING,

T. G. MORGAN,

Transportation Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

ADDRESS OF MEMBER OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE ON WAR SAVINGS.

Mr. Charles L. Blaine, secretary of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, representing the government as a member of the Committee on War Savings, was introduced by President Hayes and addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I realize that it is somewhat of an imposition to ask the privilege of addressing your convention so late in its sessions; but I feel it my duty to say a few words as a representative of organized labor on the National Committee of War Savings appointed by the government. I want to call your attention to a few of the reasons why I think organized labor should pay particular attention to the war savings plan. I know you will agree with me that one of the principal things necessary for successfully carrying on this war is finance, and I believe very little on this subject has been discussed before this convention or before any of the conventions of organized labor since the plan was decided upon.

So far the government in its endeavor to secure extra funds for carrying on the war has only issued for sale liberty bonds. The government discovered, however, that the large denomination of even the smallest bond was, with but few exceptions, beyond the reach of the ordinary wage-earner. The result was that they could not make purchases of bonds except through the installment plan, helped out by the coal operators and other employers. Complaint was made that the investment was not given to the employe until he had made his last payment, so that whatever interest accrued on the former payments the manufacturer or operator retained. In many cases it was reported that when men were discharged or they voluntarily left their employment they found it difficult to secure the money paid on their investment.

The government then decided to issue what is called a war savings certificate, which will permit every man, woman and child in this country to make an investment in government securities in the interest of bringing to a successful conclusion the war now in progress. The savings stamps are sold at the rate of \$4.12 in January, \$4.13 in February, and so on, 1 cent being added for each month. The stamp is of the denomination of \$5 and will be paid on January 1, 1923. The idea of the government is to discount the interest, which is 4 per cent. compounded quarterly, making it a five-dollar investment almost immediately. In order to make it possible for even the children to invest in war savings, what is called a 25-cent thrift stamp has been issued. Any one buying these thrift stamps, after securing sixteen of them, can take them to any post-office and secure a war savings stamp by paying the extra 12 cents or 13 cents.

I am not going into further details, because those you can secure from the different committees that have been appointed throughout the country, but I want to call you attention to the fact that one of the most essential features of the plan is that it will encourage thrift among the wage-workers of this country, and thrift among the wage-workers, as you will have to admit, creates more independence among them and makes it easier for them to secure wages and conditions. In addition, this will give every man, woman and child an opportunity to do something in the interests of the war. There are many of us who, because of age or physical disability, cannot shoulder a gun, but we can by this plan show

that we are willing to back up the men who have shouldered guns and are going to give their lives in some instances for the country.

The financial interests of this country, for some reason, always seem to control the big things that happen, and I believe that is true of every business I know of. The people that control the finance will control the actions. Now here is an opportunity for the organized forces of the country to invest in government securities, giving them more opportunity to have something to say about government affairs. A couple of weeks ago, in the Ohio district convention, I heard what I consider a good definition of a slacker. Private Peat, in addressing the Ohio miners' convention, said: "Any man or woman who has been given an opportunity to do anything in the interests of bringing about a successful conclusion of this war and has failed to do so is a damn slacker!" I am quoting his own words exactly, and I say to you, brothers, that any of you who fails to do something that you know you can do in the interests of this war and fails to do it is a slacker. Any man, woman or child who does not make a purchase of war savings stamps is a slacker, provided there is ability to do so, of course.

In my experience since the war began, and possibly it is the same as yours, I find we have in the manufacturing class men who have realized the situation that confronts our country and have stepped forward and volunteered their services gratis in the interests of the government. Men have volunteered one day, two days, a month or a year, and some even for years, to give their time to the government. This is a class that is patriotic. There is a second class of men who have not waked up to the fact that we are in a serious situation, men who prefer to go along in a normal way and not be interfered with. There is a third class who can see nothing but an opportunity for excess profits. These men want to make fortunes out of the war and want the other people to do the fighting and financiering.

We have thousands of men in labor's ranks who are giving all the time they possibly can to government work. They cannot volunteer their entire services because they are not financially able to do so, but I know men everywhere I go who are giving all their spare time to the service of the government. There are other wage-earners, many of them members of organized labor, who do not realize the situation and they, too,

are going on in a normal way as far as they are permitted to do. There is also a third class of wage-earners that have no interest in the country, have no loyalty for it and but little respect for it except as they can make a living out of it. Then we have in that class the agitator, the false representative of labor, the man who will say anything to secure notoriety regardless of the damage he may do to the government.

Now, with these three classes on each side the thing to do is for the first class on each side to convince the second class on each side, bring them in with them and force the others to behave themselves. Organized labor has made its pledge to support the government. The organizations of capital have made their pledge to support the government. Let us see who keeps his pledge best. That may be in the nature of a challenge, but so far as I am concerned, I hope when the war is over the verdict will be that both kept the pledge.

I have in mind a statement that was made on the platform yesterday in connection with laying down your picks. I would like to see you go back to your homes and make every effort possible to get your members, your families and friends to back up the government in connection with this war-saving plan. The only advice I can give you in connection with the position of organized labor in this war is that we must always keep one thing in mind when we consider the matter, and that is the men at the front. Keep in mind your own members, the members that make it possible for you to display the largest service flag in the world. Keep those things in mind when you are considering a situation that is going to affect the war. Don't make it possible for the members of your own union to be able to put any blame upon your organization or upon the members of organized labor and say that because of some act of theirs they were not properly equipped to enable them to meet the enemy.

President Hayes: I trust the delegates will take heed of what Brother Baine has said and that each of you will buy war savings stamps and when you go home advise your families and friends to do so.

The chair desires to state before debate starts that I believe I express the sentiment of this convention when I say you are anxious to get through with the work of this convention by Saturday evening at the latest. It is the function of the chairman of a convention to try to

interpret the wishes of the delegates, and in view of that fact the chair is going to enforce the five-minute rule as provided for in the rules governing this convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

Delegate Farrington, chairman of the committee, read the report pending, the substitute offered by the committee for Section 2 of Article XIV.

Delegate Anderson: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to this Convention—There is one clause in the committee's report I am opposed to, and that is making a distinction in our membership in taking the obligation. But a few years ago, if I know anything about it, God, for Christ's sake, pardoned my sins and made me free from sin. I don't believe in sacrificing one of the main principles of our union to satisfy the mind of any one who has religious scruples. While the religious organizations are fighting for the freedom of men and women from the bondage of sin and corruption, the United Mine Workers of America are fighting to free the miner and mine laborer from the oppression of those who have oppressed him for years. If it is right for me to be a mine worker it is not right for me, because of religious scruples, to refuse to take the obligation. It will not conflict with the obligation any man owes to his church or his country.

I protest against such a section being included in this constitution. Let us all come into the organization the same way and recognize the fact that we are fighting for freedom, that we are fighting to come out from under the yoke of bondage. A man in eastern Tennessee went to his house one day and said to his wife, "I want something to eat." She had nothing cooked but some sweet potatoes. She told him she had nothing else, and gave him the sweet potatoes. He filled his mouth and began to eat. He soon began to choke and said, "Give me some water." She said there wasn't any in the house, but he kept on saying, "Waier, waier, gimme dishwaier, or anything."

Chairman Farrington: I had a better story than that to tell yesterday, but you wouldn't listen to me. The committee has merely reduced to writing a rule that has been prevalent in our organization ever

since we have had an organization. The report of the committee is recommended as a matter of expediency so that our organization may be able to grow in some of the non-union sections of this country. In the Southern States there is a religious sect, the members of which have objections to taking our obligation. We may say that they must take our obligation, but when we do that we adopt a rule that prevents them from joining the United Mine Workers of America, and, so far as any material effect the committee's report may have on the organization, that effect is immaterial in this particular instance.

I take it that the chief ambition of the United Mine Workers of America is to grow and thrive and bring to the men who mine the coal in America the improvements in working conditions they should have. The committee is only reducing to writing a rule that has been prevalent in the organization ever since we had an organization. John Mitchell, Lewis and former President White all had made rulings while occupying the presidency of this union that were identical with what the committee recommends to the convention for consideration. I don't think there can be any serious objection to the report of the committee. While we may have individual prejudices against the adoption of this suggestion, we want to keep this thing foremost in our minds, that the chief function of the United Mine Workers is to organize the non-union miners of this country, and if we can, by the adoption of a rule of expediency, take into our organization thousands of miners in the Southern States who have religious scruples against taking the obligation, we should arrange our plans so as to make it possible to do so.

Delegate Wilson, Oklahoma: We have these people in our country and as many as 200 did not want to take the obligation. If we had turned them loose they would have ruined every condition we had on our track. I don't believe in taking those people into the organization without the obligation.

Delegate McKnight: I rise at this time to endorse the report of the committee. I believe the committee has shown their loyalty to the country and to the organization. I have been president of a local union for years and have obligated as many as 1,500 miners into the organization. My pledge to each one was perfect freedom as far as religion was concerned. I don't believe those men who are kicking against the report of

the committee know what perfect freedom is. If they did, they would not talk as they do. We promise our candidates for initiation that there is nothing in the obligation that conflicts with their civic and religious duties. Now what are some of the delegates trying to do this morning? Trying to take that perfect freedom from some of those men.

I have had men come to me and say, "We are willing to abide by the laws of the organization; we are willing to pay all dues and assessments, but we don't think it is fair for the organization to take from us something the laws of our country gives us, and that is the freedom to worship God according to our own conscience." One brother said to force them in. He said he had been saved. Twenty-seven years ago God pardoned me my sins, and if I am compelled to take an obligation to do something my conscience does not approve of you are taking from me something that flag up there gives me. I therefore heartily approve the report of the committee and beg you not to try to force any man to take an obligation that conflicts with his civil or religious duties.

A brother back here said he had 200 of these people in his territory and they would be a menace if they were turned off. If I want to serve God in my own way I don't think the government of this country would try to force me to serve Him in some other way. If I am true to God and my fellow man I don't want to take an obligation that I cannot take with a clear conscience.

Delegate Jones (T.), District 12: According to President Farrington, this is a matter of expediency. It seems to me that will only add to the confusion. In the section of the State where I live we have large locals that are hard to control under present conditions. If this amendment is adopted it will add more to the confusion and a lot of members will not get to vote. The adoption of this amendment to the section will have another bad effect. In our country we have a system of having meetings of all the delegates in each county. They meet once a month and discuss conditions in the different mines. If we are trying to adopt some kind of resolution to govern all the mines in our district conventions, after hearing the amendment proposed by the committee yesterday I have come to the conclusion that if this amendment to Section 2 is adopted it will prevent us from meeting. There may be something in

this that will prevent us from meeting. I therefore enter a protest against this. I am absolutely opposed to it.

We have been talking about freedom of speech, democracy and all that sort of stuff, but I believe the adoption of this amendment to Section 2 will prevent the miners of Illinois from meeting or they will be classed as dual organizations. Several statements have been made about our county meetings, and I believe if this report is adopted as recommended by the committee it will work a great hardship on the miners of Illinois. I am firm in that belief. So far as religious scruples are concerned, I am of the opinion of some of the preceding speakers—if a man cannot take the obligation of this organization he isn't good enough to belong to it. If the man takes the oath of allegiance to this United States Government religious scruples are not taken into account. I am absolutely opposed to the amendment of Section 2 as proposed by the committee.

Delegate Zibb, District 12: I want to make an amendment to the motion. I move that we do not concur in the committee's report and that we adopt the old section in the constitution.

President Hayes: That is not an amendment, it is a negative motion. You can accomplish the same result by voting down the committee's report.

Delegate Dobbins (Ed.), District 12: A man does not have to take an oath in court if he has religious scruples against it. So that the convention can vote on this, I move the previous question. (Seconded|)

Delegate Haywood, District 12: I arise to a point of order. The mover of the motion made an argument before making the motion.

President Hayes: The chair did not consider that an argument.

The motion to close debate was carried.

Delegate Baker, District 23: I desire to ask with reference to the collection of initiation fees. In our district we collect on the installment plan. I wish to understand if when a man signs the checkoff for his initiation fee and it is collected in installments of \$2.50, is he considered a member of the organization in good standing before the entire initiation fee is collected?

Chairman Farrington: No.

Delegate McCleish: I want to ask, if this convention concurs in the committee's report, will that abolish all the county associations as dual organizations to this great organization of ours?

Chairman Farrington: The committee's report has nothing whatever to do with county meetings in Illinois. It deals only with men who hold membership in the I. W. W., the Working Class Union or any other dual labor organization.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee on Section 2 of Article XIV was carried by 747 votes in the affirmative to 512 votes in the negative.

President Hayes: All the delegates who desire to be recorded as opposing the committee's report will hand their names to the secretary. I don't think there is a sufficient number of delegates making the request to warrant calling the roll. If there are 300 delegates who desire a roll-call your request will be granted.

The request for a roll-call was not supported by the requisite number of delegates.

The following delegates desired to be recorded as opposing the report of the committee on Section 2:

Delegates Pascoe, Local 893, District 12; Ed Schmiedeke, Local 2686, District 25; A. D. Lavender, Local 1399, District 6; Tom Jones, Local 2657, District 12; J. W. Muse, Local 694, District 12; J. L. Sims, Local 625, District 11; Frank Zibb, Local 644, District 12; P. T. Gorman, Local 3262, District 19; C. S. Gillespie, Local 3369, W. Va.; Peter Lembo, Local 480; Paul Beemer, Local 3136; Alex Allison, Local 383; George W. Reid, Local 1922, District 14; Charles C. Rogers, Local 1748, District 6; John Arscott, Local 1800, District 12; W. H. Pascoe, Local 892, District 12; Arley Staples, Local 232; Ivor Rowlands, Local 232; T. J. Price, W. Va.; Jack Corso, Local 2376, District 12.

Section 3 of Article XIV was readopted.

Chairman Farrington: The committee recommends that Section 4 of Article XIV be amended by striking out "eight dollars" on fourth line and inserting in lieu thereof "fifteen dollars."

27—M. Pro.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Sections 5 and 6 of Article XIV were readopted without changes or amendments.

Resolutions 28, 58, 171, 193, proposed amendments to Section 7. The committee recommended nonconcurrence in these resolutions, and recommended the following as an additional paragraph to the section:

"Applicants for membership must pay the full amount of the initiation fee into the local where application is first made; the full amount to be paid within three months or the first payment shall be forfeited."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Soper, District 12: I understand this will be paid into the local unions where a man makes his application if he pays it always in three months. A brother made application to our local who had paid part of his initiation fee in Iowa. After our checkweighman had checked off the balance of the initiation fee this was referred back to the Iowa local. The Iowa local reported back to our secretary that they could not give him a card. Our secretary wrote back that they would have to give a card or send the man his money. The man paid the balance of his initiation fee to our local. In that way the initiation fee cost him \$15. If a man changes from one district to another he should not lose the part of his initiation fee paid in the district where he first makes application.

Chairman Farrington: I am satisfied that one of the applicants to which the delegate refers happened to come over to Illinois with a receipt showing that he had paid \$5 into one of the Iowa local unions. The local union in Illinois wanted to know whether they should accept the five-dollar receipt in lieu of \$5 on his initiation fee. I told the local union not to accept the receipt, but to either make the applicant get a transfer card or pay the full initiation fee. He took the matter up with the Iowa local union and, of course, could not get a transfer card from Iowa because he had not paid the full amount of his initiation fee. That trouble was precipitated simply because they seem to have a rule in Iowa that is in violation of the requirements of our international constitution.

Section 3, Article XV, of our international constitution reads: "The transfer card must show that the member receiving it has paid all obligations up to and including the month in which it was issued, also at what class of labor he was employed." Of course, the Iowa local union could not issue a transfer card, and the Illinois local union could not admit that man to membership on his receipt, because they wanted the initiation fee. The man was in between the two laws—he could not get his card from Iowa and he could not get membership in Illinois without paying the fee. The committee provides that when a man makes application in any local union that local union will receive the entire amount, and he must pay it within three months. After paying the initiation fee he can receive a transfer card and go about his business. This trouble will be obviated if the report of the committee is adopted.

Delegate Soper: You say all the initiation fee must go into one local? The local in Illinois checked off the balance and would have forwarded it to Iowa, but they would not give him a card. We did not think that was right.

Chairman Farrington: I don't know of any better answer I can make to the question than to say if the report of the committee is adopted there will be no possibility of similar cases occurring in the future. The committee's report is intended to prevent the thing you have cited to the convention this morning.

Delegate Norman, District 15: Did I understand the committee to recommend no change in Section 5?

Chairman Farrington: Yes.

Delegate Norman: In Section 4 we have increased the charter fee. In the event a local is organized by a local organizer, which section will be in effect? It seems to me that ought to be changed.

Chairman Farrington: That section of the constitution has already been adopted and unless the chair rules that I may make an explanation to the delegate I shall not do so because it is out of order.

Delegate Norman: I tried to get the floor to ask an explanation before the section was adopted.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee on Section 7 was carried.

Section 8. The committee recommended no change. Resolution No. 66, proposing to amend the section, was non-concurred in by the committee.

Delegate Smith, District 19: Is there anything in the Constitution that allows boys less than sixteen years of age to work in the mines?

Delegate Bittner: There are no States that the committee knows of that allows boys to work inside the mines, but in nearly every State they allow them to work on the outside where we have jurisdiction over the outside men.

Section 8 was adopted.

Section 9, Article XIV, was adopted without change or amendment.

Chairman Farrington: In connection with that section the committee has a matter we think ought to be brought to your attention. We think it ought to be acted upon by the convention, although we did not deem it advisable to write the section into the Constitution.

Some time ago the International Executive Board recommended to our local unions that where men entered the military service of the nation during this war they should be exempt from the payment of dues and assessments during their period of service. The recommendation, of course, was merely a recommendation. In face of the law of the organization the International Executive Board was without authority to make the recommendation mandatory. The Committee on Constitution believed it should be made mandatory, and we offer this resolution for the consideration of the convention. We do not believe the resolution should be written into the Constitution as a constitutional amendment, yet we do believe the convention ought to take some definite action on the question. Therefore the committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

The International Executive Board having ruled that members of our organization now in the army and navy be exonerated for the period they are engaged in the military services of our country, we recommend that the International Executive Board be given authority to make this rule mandatory.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution.

Delegate Blake, District 12: I would like to ask the chairman of the committee a question. We have a death benefit in District 12 and we also have local benevolent funds. Does this determine that such death benefits shall be paid the dependents of men who die in the army?

Chairman Farrington: Your district executive board has already ruled that if any of our members lose their lives while in military service the indemnity will be paid to their heirs. So far as any death indemnity that is provided for in the various local unions, that is a matter which each individual local union must determine for itself.

Delegate Grills: Our local has ruled that it shall be paid. We have thirty-nine of our members in the army.

Delegate Morgan: I am in favor of the recommendation of the committee, but I think it should specify that it should apply during the time of the war. I should like to have it amended to state that it be in effect until the war is over.

Chairman Farrington: The resolution already provides for that.

Delegate Gish, District 23: Just a few minutes ago we passed an amendment to Section 2 of Article XIV. In that article we exclude from membership in this organization the Boy Scouts. Is that correct?

Chairman Farrington: No, the contrary is true.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

Sections 10 and 11 of Article XIV were readopted.

Section 12: The committee recommended that Section 12 be amended by striking out the words "fifty cents" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "one dollar," the section to read:

"The local dues to be paid by each member shall not be less than one dollar per month, with such assessments as may be levied by the different branches of the organization."

Chairman Farrington: In the following section the committee recommends that the per capita tax paid to the International Union shall be raised 25 cents a month, so that in the future it will be 50 cents per

The motion to adopt the report of the committee on Section 7 was carried.

Section 8. The committee recommended no change. Resolution No. 66, proposing to amend the section, was non-concurred in by the committee.

Delegate Smith, District 19: Is there anything in the Constitution that allows boys less than sixteen years of age to work in the mines?

Delegate Bittner: There are no States that the committee knows of that allows boys to work inside the mines, but in nearly every State they allow them to work on the outside where we have jurisdiction over the outside men.

Section 8 was adopted.

Section 9, Article XIV, was adopted without change or amendment.

Chairman Farrington: In connection with that section the committee has a matter we think ought to be brought to your attention. We think it ought to be acted upon by the convention, although we did not deem it advisable to write the section into the Constitution.

Some time ago the International Executive Board recommended to our local unions that where men entered the military service of the nation during this war they should be exempt from the payment of dues and assessments during their period of service. The recommendation, of course, was merely a recommendation. In face of the law of the organization the International Executive Board was without authority to make the recommendation mandatory. The Committee on Constitution believed it should be made mandatory, and we offer this resolution for the consideration of the convention. We do not believe the resolution should be written into the Constitution as a constitutional amendment, yet we do believe the convention ought to take some definite action on the question. Therefore the committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

The International Executive Board having ruled that members of our organization now in the army and navy be exonerated for the period they are engaged in the military services of our country, we recommend that the International Executive Board be given authority to make this rule mandatory.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution.

Delegate Blake, District 12: I would like to ask the chairman of the committee a question. We have a death benefit in District 12 and we also have local benevolent funds. Does this determine that such death benefits shall be paid the dependents of men who die in the army?

Chairman Farrington: Your district executive board has already ruled that if any of our members lose their lives while in military service the indemnity will be paid to their heirs. So far as any death indemnity that is provided for in the various local unions, that is a matter which each individual local union must determine for itself.

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The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

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"The local dues to be paid by each member shall not be less than one dollar per month, with such assessments as may be levied by the different branches of the organization."

Chairman Farrington: In the following section the committee recommends that the per capita tax paid to the International Union shall be raised 25 cents a month, so that in the future it will be 50 cents per

month. The question naturally follows that if you are only going to raise the national per capita tax 25 cents per month, wherein lies the necessity for raising the dues an additional 50 cents per month? The reason lies in the anthracite region. The officers coming from those districts inform the Constitution Committee that they are not now receiving sufficient revenue to conduct the affairs of their district organization and local unions in the way they should be conducted. They feel if the dues are to be raised they should be raised a sufficient amount not only to pay the additional per capita tax to the International, but to enable them to collect a sufficient amount to conduct the affairs of the district organizations and the local unions in the way they should be conducted. They feel if the dues are to be raised they should be raised a sufficient amount, not only to pay the additional per capita tax to the international, but to enable them to collect a sufficient amount to conduct the affairs of the district organizations and the local unions. That is why the committee recommends raising the dues to a minimum of one dollar instead of fifty cents.

Delegate Mates, District 9: I desire to oppose the report of the committee. I am in favor of allowing a liberal increase that will insure the national organization enough to meet expenses. I believe the committee's report should be changed to allow that the minimum dues shall be 75 cents. That would give the local 15 cents and allow the balance to be divided between the district and local. I think the international can get along on an increase of 15 cents. I am in favor of allowing the international 40 cents, the balance to be divided between the local and district organizations. In the anthracite region where I come from it is a difficult task to collect the 50 cents. We do not enjoy the blessing of the check-off in the anthracite region.

Delegate Hall (L.), District 6: I arise to move an amendment to the committee's report, that we strike out "one dollar" and insert "seventy-five cents." (Seconded.)

My reason for offering the amendment is that I feel a dollar will not meet with the approval of a large majority of the membership of our organization. I feel that we should increase the per capita tax to some extent, but not to the extent recommended by the committee. The chairman of the committee states that in the following section to be considered they have a recommendation to strike out 25 cents and inserting

50 cents. I am in favor of advancing the per capita tax to all the branches of the organization, but not to the extent recommended by the committee. According to the report of Secretary Green, we had an average paid-up membership last year of 367,381, which gave a revenue of \$1,102,143 for the year. That was collected from the 25 cents. At the 50-cent rate that is recommended by the committee the amount will be doubled. I am satisfied to have the minimum dues 75 cents, allow 10 cents additional to the international and divide the balance between the local unions for their expenses and the expenses of the districts. An advance of 10 cents to the international, on the average paid-up membership we had last year, will amount to \$440,857.20 increased revenue.

According to Secretary Green's report, the membership increased during the twelve months of last year, from January 1, 1917, to November 1, 66,143. We are increasing the membership, and naturally the revenue will increase. Another reason I think 10 cents additional to the international will meet the requirements is that the auditor's report shows during the last year they have done remarkably well in paying off the loans to the various districts. According to the secretary's report, the international owed \$877,860 to the districts. They have paid \$661,882. That was done with the 25 cents per capita tax. Now why make it 50 cents?

I realize that the international has been to a great expense in the last year. The charters in Districts 15, 19, 17 and 29 were suspended, but according to the reports read on the floor of this convention the membership has increased in those districts now to such an extent that they will be self-sustaining and will take away the extra burden that has been placed upon the international in the last year. If the districts I mentioned are going to be self-sustaining and take that burden off the international organization it is another reason why 10 cents would be enough to carry on the business of the international. In District 6 we allow 10 cents to the district, 10 cents to the sub-districts and 20 cents to the local unions.

Chairman Farrington: As far as the committee is concerned, we have no objections to offer to the amendment of Delegate Hall. The committee was merely trying to meet a difficulty in the three anthracite districts that could be met by action in this convention better than if it

had to be met by the district organizations themselves. You must not lose sight of the fact that our international constitution provides only the minimum dues that shall be paid. If any of the district organizations find it necessary to raise their dues they can do so. As far as the committee is concerned, we need have no further argument on the amendment offered by Delegate Hall; we are willing that it shall be adopted by the convention. Many of our local unions are now paying more than one dollar a month, but as far as the international constitution is concerned that is left to the districts and local unions for their own determination. The constitution provides only for the minimum and not the maximum amount of dues that shall be paid into the organization.

Delegate Henderson: You don't know what this will do to the anthracite coal regions. We have to spend all our time now trying to get the members we have to pay 50 cents. In the last district convention we had resolutions asking for the closed shop and the check-off. The men of the anthracite coal region are begging for the check-off and cannot get it. What is the reason? Because I don't think our officers want it. There is only one thing to keep the anthracite district together and that is to get the check-off for us. If we get that we can pay as much as any other district in the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Kennedy, District 7: The delegate who just spoke is not from my district, but I want to take this means of informing him and the entire delegation that the officers of the anthracite and the international officials have fought as hard as any other set of officers in this country to get the check-off and thus far have failed to secure it. One of the reasons we have been unable to secure it is the fact that when we negotiated the contracts we were able to represent only about one-half of the anthracite membership. The operators said: "Get your own men to recognize the union before you try to force somebody else to recognize it."

The substitute offered by Delegate Hall provides for 75 cents dues. Whether the delegate who preceded me knows it or not, the anthracite delegation met in this hall day before yesterday and went on record providing that if the dues were raised they would go back into the districts and do their best to make the men pay the increase. If the brothers from that region, instead of criticising, would come to the front and fight to compel the men in the anthracite region to pay their dues

we would be much better off. In the district I come from we have a closed shop, not on account of the check-off but on account of the fact that our men are fighting every day in the month to keep that membership up to 100 per cent. If the dues are raised here we intend to go back and continue that fight. When the next section of the constitution is to be discussed, we propose to suggest a remedy that will cure the evils complained of in the anthracite so far as insufficient funds are concerned. Until we reach that section I have nothing further to say, except that the officers and the active men in the anthracite region are not only doing their best but are doing their damndest to make the organization there a complete success. In our district they have achieved that and are going to continue on and on until eventually we will have complete official recognition of the check-off.

The amendment offered by Delegate Hall was adopted and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Chairman Farrington: The committee concurs in the resolution No. 134, and recommends that Section 13 of Article XIV be amended by striking out "twenty-five cents" in the third line and inserting in lieu thereof "fifty cents." The section will then read:

"Every local union shall pay direct to the International Secretary-Treasurer a per capita tax of fifty cents per month per member and such additional assessments as may be levied by an International convention, referendum vote of the members or in accordance with Section 25 of Article IX, payment of per capita tax to be based upon the amount of dues collected each month by the local union."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Dempsey, District 1: I move to amend by striking out "fifty cents" and inserting "forty cents."

A delegate moved to amend the amendment by striking out "forty cents" and inserting "thirty-five" cents," but no second to the amendment was heard by the chair.

Chairman Farrington: I feel there are those in this convention officially connected with the international administration who are better

prepared to speak in defense of the committee's report than the chairman of the Constitution Committee could possibly do. The committee has recommended, however, that the international per capita tax be increased to 50 cents per month, because we believe a lesser amount than that is not sufficient to successfully conduct the affairs of the international union. I think we need only review the past history of the organization in order to convince ourselves of the truth of that statement.

Any one who knows anything about the financial affairs of the international union knows that that branch of our organization has lived a hand-to-mouth existence for a number of years. As a matter of fact, the international union now owes the organization I represent \$100,000. They have owed it to us for several years, despite the fact that they have been doing everything in their power to meet their obligation to District 12. The only reason they have not been able to meet the obligation is because the revenue coming into the international is not sufficient to allow them to do so. I call your attention to this, not as an indictment against the officers of the international union, but merely to show you that the revenue going into that branch of the organization must be increased if our international union is to be placed on a high, dignified, efficient basis of operation.

The international union at one time owed the district organization I represent \$350,000. There were other district organizations to which the international union was proportionately obligated. As a matter of fact, there was scarcely a district organization under our jurisdiction to which the international did not owe more or less money. It is true the amount owed the Illinois miners' union was far in excess of the amount owed any other district organization; but, considered from a per capita tax basis, the obligation of District 12 was no greater than that of many of the other districts. We cannot conduct the affairs of the United Mine Workers' organization successfully on a shoestring. If we are going to get results for the membership the membership must contribute to the organization an amount sufficient to enable the international to accomplish those results; and it is an indictment against the organization to know that the revenue coming into the international union is so small as to keep it almost constantly under financial obligations to the district organizations that do have money in their treasuries.

I think the accomplishments secured for the membership of this organization during the recent past have been sufficient to warrant the Committee on Constitution recommending to the convention that you contribute to the organization that brought about those accomplishments a sufficient amount of revenue to enable the officers to accomplish additional results, by placing them in a position where they can carry on the affairs of the organization in the efficient manner they should be carried on.

You perhaps know now, and if you don't you will before this convention adjourns, that this delegation is going to be called upon to devise some plan that will enable the international union to raise \$800,000 to defend it against recent federal court decisions that have been rendered against us. Gentlemen, we cannot do all these things on a shoestring. If the United Mine Workers of America is going to continue to prosper and bring results to the membership we must contribute to the organization a sufficient amount to enable it to do so. There are districts in this organization that have large treasuries and those districts are constantly being drawn upon by the international union to conduct the affairs of that branch of our organization, simply because the revenue coming into the international is not sufficient to enable them to carry on the work of the organization. As one member of an organization where we have a large treasury, where the membership is willing to contribute generously to the support of the organization, I say I am tired of giving constantly to the international to enable that branch to carry on its work. I don't think it is fair to the members in the districts where they do have large treasuries to be constantly drawing on them simply because the members as a whole are not paying into the international a sufficient amount to enable the officers to carry on its work.

In Illinois we have about \$1,800,000 in our treasury, and I think I can say that before this convention adjourns the Illinois miners will be called upon to contribute a large part of the \$800,000 that must be raised in this convention. You ought to give this matter serious consideration. Don't lose sight of the fact that we must have money to carry on the work of the organization, and if the international hasn't the money the districts that have it will be called upon to pay the bill. The committee's report proposes that this burden of expense, instead of being carried by

the district organizations having large treasuries, shall be distributed over all the membership of this organization.

There is another thing we must not lose sight of, and that is that the expense of conducting the affairs of the international union has increased recently just the same as has the cost of everything else, and where it took a thousand dollars a year ago it perhaps now costs \$1,500 to accomplish the same result. Now let us be generous about this thing, boys; let us not take a position that we are going to deny to an organization a sufficient amount of money to carry on its affairs, particularly in the light of the accomplishment of that organization within recent months. I hope we will discontinue this practice of hollering "Question" and "Sit down" and things of that kind and that we will get down in our seats and give this matter some sober consideration. I am satisfied if you do that the report of the committee will be adopted.

Secretary Green: I feel it my duty as the financial officer of this organization to say just a few words upon the proposition you are about to act on. First, I want to say that if you expect this international union to discharge its functions, to meet the necessities of each occasion as it arises and respond to the demands that are made upon it you must furnish the international union the money to do it. Let me remind you that the financial obligations of this organization are constantly increasing. The dues to the American Federation of Labor have been increased on the membership in our union so that we will have to pay during the coming year out of the international treasury thousands of dollars more in per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor than we did last year. Secondly, the increase in office supplies, stationery and salaries to be paid to officers and field workers will amount to thousands of dollars. All of these increases must be met. This morning you voted that we must pay out of the little money we now have as transportation to you over \$40,000, and that will take pretty nearly all the money I have to pay you.

Why, gentlemen, are you going to stop and reason a moment? Are you going to be niggardly and stingy with us all the time and expect us to meet our obligations? Eighty thousand men, women and children in District 19 were suddenly thrown upon our hands without support. How are we going to feed and clothe them without money? Do you know what it costs to feed and clothe 80,000 people? Have you any ex-

ception of the amount necessary? How do you expect us to meet occasions like that when they arise if you are going to withhold from us the money?

If this international union has to go out into the non-union fields of Alabama, the coke region of Pennsylvania, the Irwin Field, the unorganized districts of West Virginia and every remote section of the American continent and take on thousands of people in these campaigns to feed and clothe, how do you expect we can do it if you don't give us the money? It is the international union that must assume these responsibilities, not the district organizations. When we organized 20,000 men in District 19 and brought them into the union it was the international organization that had to put up the money to do it. We had to bear the cost, we had to clothe and feed the men, women and little children. It wasn't the district organizations that were building up their treasuries, and yet the district organizations that were accumulating money were as much benefited by bringing those 20,000 men in as any district in the organization.

Let me tell you a few other things. We are still in debt. I have been sweating blood during the last year or two trying to make both ends meet. We owe Kansas \$75,000; we owe other districts large sums of money. In spite of all our efforts, we have not been able to discharge these obligations. There is still due District 12, the district President Farrington speaks for, almost \$200,000 for money that district loaned to Ohio, and the international union is expected to pay that \$200,000. When the strike was on in Eastern Ohio, when 15,000 men were out for fourteen months, it was this international that had to go out and get the money to help carry on that fight in a well organized district. And we went to the other districts and borrowed and begged and pleaded for money. Why, the three international officers went to a bank in this city when we did not have a dollar in the treasury and borrowed \$25,000 and gave their own notes for it. And then when Illinois would not lend the international union any more money, we said: "For God's sake. lend it to Ohio! Give it to them direct and we will stand good for it." And so they did. Rather than give it to the international they gave \$200,000 to Ohio. That obligation is not yet discharged and we have to pay it.

Sections 39, 40, 41 and 42 were readopted.

Article XV. The first seventeen sections were readopted, the committee recommending no change and no resolutions affecting these sections having been submitted.

Section 18. Resolution No. 142 proposing an amendment to this section was nonconcurrent in. The committee recommended that the section be changed by striking out the words "Western Federation of Miners" and inserting in lieu thereof "International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers."

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Lavender: We had some trouble with the question of transfer cards coming from affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor. Local unions have refused to accept them. I would like to see the section amended so that cards of bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L. will be accepted. I refer especially to the Potters and Moulders. We have cards come from those organizations.

Chairman Farrington: None of the organizations mentioned by the delegate accept cards of the United Mine Workers. The committee does not feel that we should take transfer cards from organizations that will not take ours.

The committee recommended that Section 19 of Article XV be stricken out, the chairman explaining that there is no such organization now as mentioned in it and the section is therefore superfluous.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Article XVI, Article XVII and Article XVIII were readopted without change or amendment.

The committee recommended the following substitute for Article XIX:

"That the publication and management of our official journal be left with the International Executive Board, which body shall have full

power to decide all questions concerning publication, business management and policies thereof."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Farrington: This concludes our report.

(Signed) FRANK FARRINGTON, Chairman,
ADAM WILKINSON, Secretary,
WILLIAM HARRISON,
JAMES MORGAN,
JAMES FORGIE,
G. H. EDMUNDS,
VAN BITTNER,
WILLIAM MITCH,
ROBERT GIBBONS,

Committee.

Chairman Farrington: I move the adoption of the constitution as amended by the convention. (Seconded.)

Secretary Savage: The other day the committee amended the Constitution stating that a member joining our organization should pay dues for the month he joined. It has been the practice of the International organization to exonerate local unions for the month they were organized in. It has not been the practice of our district for some time to do that, and there has been a great deal of conflict on account of the International taking one position and the district the other. Is it the understanding of the committee that a local must pay dues for the month it is organized in?

Chairman Farrington: The committee did not recommend that a man must pay dues for the month in which he joins the organization. We recommended that he must pay dues for the month in which he starts work. The International Constitution now provides that local unions must pay per capita tax on all members from which they collect dues. If you have been following the practice you state, in the judgment of the chairman of the Constitutional Committee you have not been complying with the requirements of the International Constitution.

The motion to adopt the constitution as amended was carried.

LIST OF RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

Following are the resolutions submitted to the Committee on Constitution that were not read by them during the time their report was being made:

RESOLUTION NO. 25.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The present method of electing officers is unsatisfactory to our membership on account that it allows men to be elected by a minority, thereby in many instances allowing someone to become elected that is not the choice of the majority of the membership, and in doing so are not given the support and co-operation of the rank and file that he should have necessary in order to have success; therefore, be it

Resolved, That that part of our Constitution be amended to provide that the man or men so elected must receive a majority of all votes cast and in case that on the first ballot no one has received a majority vote the two highest men will be voted on, and the one receiving the highest vote will be declared elected; and, be it further

Resolved, That in case it becomes necessary for the District President to appoint any assistants or to fill any vacancies, he must appoint the man receiving the second highest vote on the second ballot.

WM. CRAIG, President.

THEO. DESERF, Recording Secretary.

LUCIAN DART, Financial Secretary.

Local Union No. 43.

Similar resolutions were submitted by: .

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 992, Zeigler, Ill.

Local Union No. 1840, Peoria, Ill.

Local Union No. 860, St. David, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

RESOLUTION NO. 27.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That our Constitution be changed in regards to calling of Special Conventions, to read as follows: "Where Local Unions representing five per cent. of the membership ask for a Special Convention, it shall be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote."

WM. CRAIG, President.

THEO. DESERF, Recording Secretary.

LUCIAN DART, Financial Secretary.

Local Union No. 43.

Similar resolutions were submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 992, Zeigler, Ill.

Local Union No. 860, St. David, Ill.

Local Union No. 1800, Peoria, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

RESOLUTION NO. 28.

Eldorado, Ill., December 7, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That when a member leaves the jurisdiction of the U. M. W. of A. and goes bossing, that before he can become a member of the U. M. W. of A. again he must pay a reinstatement fee of \$100.00.

TOM CAMERON, Recording Secretary.

ED. KIRK, Financial Secretary.

Local Union No. 88.

Similar resolutions were submitted by:

Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill.

Local Union No. 794, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 860, St. David, Ill.

Local Union No. 2650, Harrisburg, Ill.

RESOLUTION NO. 40.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That it be inserted in our National Constitution empowering the District to handle any member for slanderous attack through the public press against District or National officers.

**C. E. STERLING,
EARL TAGGART,
RALPH SHAD,
Resolution Committee.**

Local Union No. 1149, Gross, Kan.

RESOLUTION NO. 42.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, In our last conference, which was called for the purpose of formulating a new wage scale, the Southwest being ignored, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it be inserted in our National Constitution that any conference called for the purpose of forming any wage or business of importance concerning the organization, without representatives of the Southwest District, be null and void.

**C. E. STERLING,
EARL TAGGART,
RALPH SHAD,**

Local Union No. 1149, Gross, Kan. Resolution Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 51.

Osage City, Kan., November 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolution recommending an amendment to the International Constitution relative to the making of the Interstate Joint Agreement:

Whereas, In making the Joint Agreement between and for the

four competitive fields, namely: Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana; and

Whereas, It has become customary and seems to be an established fact that while making said Joint Agreement for said four competitive fields, that the outlying districts have been and are now deprived of the right or power to have or take any part in making said Joint Agreement; and

Whereas, The invitation extended to the officials of said outlying districts, and their presence there, is of no essential value unless they are interested with all constituted authority to take an active part with voice and vote in the formulating and making of said Joint Agreement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International Constitution be amended so that all District officials be permitted, and empowered with full authority of said International Constitution to take an active part in the making of the said Inter-State Joint Agreement.

Agreed to by unanimous vote of representatives from Locals 544 Scranton, 2377 Fostoria, 1074 Burlingame, 1701 Peterson, 1009 Osage City, at convention held at Osage City, Kan.

H. L. GIBAUD, Chairman.

WM. McMURDO, Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 66.

Blanford, Ind., December 21, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the officers of Local Union No. 3041, located at Blanford, Ind., District No. 11, demand this resolution:

Resolved, That Section 8, Article 14, be taken out and that no boy under 17 years of age pay no initiation fee of \$2.50, provided his father is a member of good standing in the U. M. W. of A.

JOE MARCINKO, President.

ANDREW MARCINKO, Recording Secretary.

THOMAS KEHOE, Financial Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 68.**Buxton, Iowa, December 21, 1917.**

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That Article 14 and Section 7 of the International Constitution be amended to read as follows:

"Unless a dispensation has been granted in accordance with Section 11 of Article 9 the initiation fee for practical miners shall be \$50, inexperienced miners and top and bottom men shall be subject to the laws of the district where application for membership is made, but no applicant shall be eligible for initiation until he has started work at a mine under the jurisdiction of the Local Union where application for membership is made.

J. C. HUNT,**J. G. RODGERS,****THOS. DIGHAN,****Committee on Resolutions.****RESOLUTION NO. 72.****Monarch, Wyo., December 17, 1917.**

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

In Article 14, Section 20, strike out seven words and insert four to read as follows: "The word member as it appears in Section 13 of this article includes all persons from whom dues are collected and have taken the obligation."

A. M. JOHNSON, President.**ELMER McELROY, Financial Secretary.****RESOLUTION NO. 75.****Richmond, Mo., December 27, 1917.**

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The appointive power of the International President in the appointment of International organizers and field workers has been a source of discontent and dissatisfaction among the membership; and

Whereas, There has been instances where International organizers

have spent much of their time at the expense of the International Organization in hampering the district officials in performing their duties; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 5 of Article 9 of the International Constitution be stricken out and the following section inserted in lieu thereof: "He may appoint such office workers as may be necessary to conduct the affairs of his office and a sufficient number of organizers and field workers to conduct the affairs of the International Union, but no International organizer or field worker shall assume his position as a representative of the International Organization or draw any salary from International Union until his appointment has been approved by the International Executive Board and the District Executive Board in which district the appointee holds membership, and that the number of International organizers to be proportioned from each district according to the number of paid-up members to the district and International Organization."

Submitted by Local Union 298, located at Richmond, Mo.

RESOLUTION NO. 78.

Byesville, Ohio, December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We have in the rank and file of our membership brothers who have been active in the trades union movement for years and who, after years of toil and effort to further the progress of the U. M. W. of A., are called on by their fellow toilers to serve them as officials, but they are handicapped by not being able to get a list of names and addresses of secretaries, thus giving the present officials the advantage of all others who may try for the different offices; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 6 of Article 20 in the International Constitution be so amended as to give any member who is a candidate for office a right to get a list of names and addresses of all secretaries in the district of which he is a member.

HARLEY TILTON,
OSCAR BROWN,
C. H. GRABHORN,
Committee.

Approved by a majority of L. U. 208, District 6.

RESOLUTION NO. 94.

Arcadia, Kas., December 26, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We, the members of L. U. 951, District 14, are governed by the agreement of the Central Competitive Field. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Local Union 951, ask the convention to make in the International Constitution a clause whereby our district will be represented at all conferences pertaining to contracts or advances.

E. E. TROGDAN, President.

S. E. CLOUD, Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 101.

Croweburg, Kas., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It is a custom for the International President to appoint traveling auditors for the various districts, subject to the approval of the International Executive Board, said appointees to be agreed upon by the districts and International Union; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the first paragraph of Section 10 of Article 9 of the International Constitution be stricken out and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That each district shall elect their own traveling auditor as they do their other officers."

E. HODGE,

B. F. GISH,

JOE MYERS,

Committee.

Approved by L. U. No. 1896, District No. 14.

RESOLUTION NO. 113.

Bellaire, Ohio, December 24, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believe that the president from each of the districts

over which the United Mine Workers has jurisdiction should constitute the International Executive Board. Therefore be it

Resolved, That Article 7 of the International Constitution be amended to read "The officers of the International Union shall be one president, one vice-president, one secretary-treasurer, three tellers, three auditors, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention and one board member from each of the districts over which the United Mine Workers has jurisdiction, who shall be the president from each of the districts; the last named shall constitute the International Executive Board."

WM. GRAHAM, President L. U. 1077,

WM. KENNEDY, Secretary L. U. 1077,

EDWARD GRAFFY,

TONY SANTAVICCA,

FRED DELCOTTA,

JOHN ZACCANINE,

HARVEY MACKENDER,

Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 119.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Our International Constitution does not provide that International and district election days shall be holidays and as such to be observed by the membership; and

Whereas, The Constitution of District No. 25 provides that district election days shall be holidays and that no work shall be performed upon those days; and

Whereas, There is much valuable time spent in the election of officers; therefore be it

Resolved, That the following be adopted, to be known as Section 30, Article 2:

"Upon all days designated as national or district election days it shall be optional with the Local Unions whether or not the election shall take place during the day or evening.

"Any member of any Local Union deciding to hold the election in the evening will be permitted to work during that day."

**A. W. HOPKINS,
CHAS. HAMLIN,
FRITZ BECKER,
Committee.**

Local Union No. 1611, Leavenworth, Kas:

RESOLUTION NO. 120.

Benton, Ill., December 22, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The National Constitution is not provided with a section in which the district board member has the authority to fine a member for stealing another member's tools, oil and other supplies; therefore be it

Resolved, That a new section be added to Article 20, National Constitution, which shall take the place of Section 13 of Article 20, and Section 13 shall hereinafter be known as Section 14, Article 20. New section and Section 14, Article 20, to read as follows:

Any member found guilty of stealing or taking without his consent any other member's tools, oil or other supplies shall for the first offense be fined \$10 and for the second offense shall be expelled for a period of not less than six months."

Endorsed by Local Union No. 1470, U. M. W. of A., Benton, Ill.

**A. D. SULLINS,
A. L. HATCHETT,
LEWIS R. JONES,
Resolutions Committee.**

RESOLUTION NO. 122.

Benton, Ill., December 22, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, In the past it has been the policy of the organization to authorize the President of the U. M. W. of A. to make appointment to

fill the position of organizer, but believing that this policy is detrimental to the best interests of the organization; therefore be it

Resolved, That Section 5 of Article 9 of the National Constitution be stricken out and the following inserted in lieu thereof: "That the national organizers be elected by a referendum vote of the membership in each district and will be under the direction of the National President"; and be it further

Resolved, That a committee be selected by the national convention to draft a resolution governing the number of organizers to be elected from each district, said report to be made at the successive constitutional and biennial convention.

Endorsed by Local Union No. 1470, U. M. W. of A.

A. D. SULLINS,
A. L. HATCHETT,
LEWIS R. JONES,
Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 126.

Staunton, Ill., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That Section 1 of Article 12 of the International Constitution be amended so as to provide that the International tellers shall open and count all nominations. Also that the number of nominations received by each nominee be noted upon the notification sent him.

FRANK W. SCHAEFER, President.

FRANK PASKE, Recording Secretary.

A. C. SCHNEIDER, Financial Secretary.

Local Union No. 755.

RESOLUTION NO. 130.

Rock Springs, Wyo., January 3, 1918.

The following resolution was adopted by L. U. 2309 at its last regular meeting, December 28, 1917, and ordered forwarded to the convention:

Whereas, The appointment of traveling auditors does not appear to

... .. and
... .. District Traveling Editors.

LEMENT GILLIARD, Pres.
A. V. ELIAS, Secretary

RESOLUTION NO. 131.

Rock Springs, Wyo., January 3.

... .. Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive
... .. of the U. M. W. of A.:

... .. resolution was adopted by L. U. 2309 at its
... .. November 18, 1917, and ordered forwarded to t

... .. believe and know that state and city central
... .. to the trade union movement and should
... .. every way possible; and we believe that
... .. American Federation of Labor can bring
... .. assistance to state and city central bodies.

... .. Twenty-sixth Constitutional and This
... .. United Mine Workers of America, in con
... .. Article 14 to be revised to rea

RESOLUTION NO. 133.

Jellico, Tenn., December 4, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It has been a legal custom to hold our conventions in the month of January, the most severe winter month of the year; and

Whereas, It is a fact that train service is not at its best in January, and that much unpleasantness is experienced by a great majority of the delegates to the regular conventions; and

Whereas, No good purpose is served by the holding of said regular conventions in January; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Constitution be and is hereby amended by striking out the word "January" on third line of Section 1 of Article 12 and inserting in lieu thereof the word "May."

Respectfully submitted by

GEO. H. EDMUNDS.

Endorsed by Local Union No. 3344, Jellico, Tenn.

WM. HOLBART, President.

O. T. COOPER, Recording Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 134.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It is a fact generally known by all casual observers that we are now passing through unusual, abnormal times. Wages are high and workers are few. Man is the supreme demand of the hour. It is also well known that the world war has caused these unprecedented times, and be it known that when the war is ended there will be a readjustment of things in general. The battlefields and battleships, air craft and submarines will release millions of workers from the game of death, who will return to the various fields of labor. The mills, factories, railroads, farms and mines must absorb their quotas. Gigantic corporations, trusts and unscrupulous employers of labor will, no

round. attempt to replenish their coffers by forcing down the wages of the workers, and no doubt there will be a battle of forces in the industrial world which may be another demonstration of the theory of the "survival of the fittest."

The coal miners of this country will, no doubt, be called upon to display that degree of solidarity and preparedness which will be essential to maintain the high standard of living and working conditions demanded with the principles of our craft; and

Whereas Everyone has surely learned from the titanic struggle of the vast armies of Europe that it behooves every individual, group or body of men to be prepared for emergencies; and

Whereas The funds of the International Union are always sorely taxed in waging organizing campaigns in non-union fields, in conducting defensive and aggressive strikes, in lockouts, in law courts, catastrophes and general expenses, all of which must come from the 25 cents per month per member dues, or by a special assessment.

That in order that we may establish and maintain a reasonable reserve fund in the International treasury, be it

Resolved, That the Constitution be amended so as to make the amount of dues to be paid to the International Union 50 cents per month per member.

Resolved, That 50 per cent. of all such monies collected shall be set aside as a national defense fund, to be used for strike, organizing and defensive purposes.

G. H. EDMUNDS.

RESOLUTION NO. 137.

Eldorado, Ill., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Our membership in some localities seems to lose all respect for the trade union movement by patronizing stores that have been placed on the unfair list by the central body and the Retail Clerks' Union; therefore be it

Resolved, That a clause be inserted in our International Constitution where any members of the U. M. W. of A. are found guilty of patronizing said stores, they shall be fined \$5 for the first offense, \$10 for the second offense and for the third offense they shall be expelled from the U. M. W. of A.

J. J. McGUINN.

RESOLUTION NO. 140.

Ottumwa, Iowa, January 1, 1918.

Whereas, Our organization is growing old and the question of our aged members is a matter which we believe should be dealt with, owing to the fact that a number of our aged members have been deprived of their membership because of some slight error or misunderstanding, and in some cases through the neglect of some inefficient local officer, which has been a great disappointment to some of our most worthy members; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention so amend the Constitution to provide, where members are unable to work in the mine and cannot command a day's wages, that a more effective law be made to guarantee their membership.

M. W. JONES, President and Delegate, Local Union No. 152.

RESOLUTION NO. 142.

Hymera, Ind., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The coal stripping industry has become a factor throughout the coal fields of the United States; and

Whereas, The use of steam shovels is necessary to carry on that part of the coal industry; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Local Union No. 67, International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men, located at Terre Haute, Ind., and composed of members of the United Mine Workers of America, that Article 15, Section 18, of the present Constitution be amended to in-

clude transfer cards of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.

D. O. HIATT, President.

C. H. CAMMACK, Vice-President.

A. W. FARRELL, Secretary-Treasurer.

RESOLUTION NO. 146.

Ardmore, Mo., January 4, 1918.

Whereas, The appointive power of the International President in the appointment of International organizers and field workers has been a source of discontent and dissatisfaction among the membership; and

Whereas, There has been instances where International organizers have spent much of their time at the expense of the International organization in hampering the district officials in performing their duties; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Section 5 of Article 9 of the International Constitution be stricken out and the following section inserted in lieu thereof: "He may appoint such office workers as may be necessary to conduct the affairs of his office and a sufficient number of organizers and field workers to conduct the affairs of the International Union, but no International organizer or field worker shall assume his position as a representative of the International organization or draw any salary from International Union until his appointment has been approved by the International Executive Board and the District Executive Board in which district the appointee holds membership, and that the number of International organizers to be proportioned from each district according to the number of paid up members to the district and International organization.

Submitted by Local Union No. 956, located at Ardmore, Mo.

H. BELCHER, President.

T. A. DAY, Recording Secretary.

J. A. POWERS, Financial Secretary.

RESOLUTION NO. 154.

Lore City, Ohio, January 4, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Time has ripened our experience and given to us a broader view of the many problems confronting our organization; and

Whereas, The time is at hand when the delegates to our International convention must meet the issue fairly and squarely relative to a change in the basis of representation to our conventions; and

Whereas, The financial burden placed upon the rank and file is increasing in sending a delegate from every local having 100 members or more; and

Whereas, We believe that a change in the basis of representation can only spell success, inasmuch as it is essential to the end that better results will accrue in the interest of the rank and file, and with much less expense; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the convention adopt the proposed amendment to Article 12 of our International Constitution as submitted to a referendum vote of the membership under date of February 21, 1914, viz.:

"Sec. 2. Each district shall elect its own delegates to the International convention and shall have one delegate for each one thousand members or majority fraction thereof, and no delegate shall have more than one vote in the convention. The method of electing and paying the delegates shall be left to the respective districts to determine. Districts having less than one thousand members shall be entitled to one delegate.

"Sec. 3. District presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries, members of the International Executive Board and International Organizers shall not be eligible as candidates for election as delegates to the convention, but district presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries and members of the International Executive Board shall be delegates-at-large and have all rights and privileges of the convention, except that they shall not have the right to vote on any question coming before the convention.

"Sec. 4. No member shall be eligible to run as delegate whose Local
28—Pro. M.

Union is in arrears for per capita tax or assessment and which has not in every particular complied with the Constitution of the International Union and of the district and sub-district to which it is attached.

“Sec. 5. No member belonging to a Local Union appearing on the delinquent list shall be eligible as delegate until the Local Union has complied with Section 18, Article 14, and has been in good standing for four months previous to the month in which the convention is held.

“Sec. 6. No person who is not a bona fide member of a Local Union, employed in or around a coal mine, coal washer or coke oven or by the organization, or who has not been a regular attendant of the meetings of his Local Union, shall be eligible to act as delegate. This section shall not apply to district or sub-district officers.

“The term ‘regular attendant’ shall mean a member who attends at least one-half of the meetings of his Local Union for six months just previous to the election of delegate. If transferred members can show they have attended the required number of meetings of the Local Union from which they transfer, this section shall not prevent their running for election.

“Sec. 7. Any member accepting a position other than that of a mine worker shall not be eligible to act as a delegate to the International convention while holding such position, but accepting a position with the United Mine Workers of America or any other affiliated organization shall not be construed as making a member ineligible.

“Sec. 8. The International Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish the district secretary with the required number of credentials in duplicate, and the district secretary-treasurer shall see that they are properly filled out and attested as required on the blanks, and the duplicate shall be retained by the delegate and the original forwarded to the International Secretary-Treasurer, but no credentials shall be accepted by the International Secretary-Treasurer later than fifteen days prior to the date for convening the convention.

“Sec. 9. The Credentials Committee shall not transfer votes to any delegate unless authorized by the proper district secretary to do so.

“Sec. 10. When any delegate’s credential is to be contested, notice of such contest shall be sent to the International Secretary-Treasurer not

later than ten days prior to the date for convening the convention, but any delegate whose credential is contested may be unseated any time during the convention.

"Sec. 11. All resolutions, grievances and constitutional amendments to be considered by the convention shall be sent to the International Secretary-Treasurer not less than ten days prior to the date set for convening the convention, and the International Secretary-Treasurer will sort and distribute them among the chairmen of the various and proper committees.

"Sec. 12. Resolutions bearing on different subjects must not be written on the same paper.

"Sec. 13. International conventions shall not consider internal appeals or grievances unless they have been previously considered by the lower tribunals of the organization.

"Sec. 14. The International Organization shall pay the transportation of delegates who have been elected in accordance herewith to and from the International convention."

JAMES FORGIE,
Secretary L. U. 1486.

RESOLUTION NO. 171.

Duquoin, Ill., December 23, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There are no provisions made in our International Constitution to transfer the part of initiation fee from one district to another; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International Constitution be amended to read that whenever an applicant makes application for membership in any Local Union, who has paid a part payment and quits and starts work in

another locality, that he be given credit of his first payment, regardless to what district he may transfer to.

ROBERT PAXTON,
 SAM BIDDINGTON,
 D. T. FOX, Local Union No. 478,
 PET KAUFMON,
 HENRY GREEN,
 GEORGE REDDICK, Local Union No. 409,
 H. H. CHICKEDANZ,
 FRANK SOPER,
 T. F. YATES, Local Union No. 1458,
 Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTION NO. 193.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, That the increase in coal mining prices are drawing men from other various occupations; and

Whereas, That the mines are beginning to fill up with men that seek to reap the benefits of our struggles in the past years; and

Whereas, That so many new applicants are even going to the face to mine coal when in reality they are not even entitled to work as a bottom laborer; and

Whereas, That when the war eventually ends there will be so many of the mines close down and others will probably work only half time; and

Whereas, That there will be so many mine workers at that time that some of the old members that have built our organization up to its present standard will be cast aside and the new members retained; and

Whereas, That the substantial wage increase that we have received will be such a drawing card that the initiation fee of our organization should be increased to \$50 and more if necessary; and

Whereas, By so doing will eventually save some of our old members that have made this organization what it is with the sweat of their brow,

their hard-earned money and in some instances their life's blood, we earnestly petition the Third Biennial Convention to give these resolutions their due consideration and approval.

T. J. EMANY, L. U. 1356.

FELIX SANDY.

WILLIAM MAYER.

ARCHIE PHILLIPS, L. U. 948.

JOHN SWISHER.

CHARLES BISHOP, L. U. 41.

F. O. McNEER.

JOHN SHAFFER, L. U. 1103.

FRANK THOMAS.

E. EVANS.

THOMAS PITCHFORD, L. U. 5038.

AUGUST HUDOCK.

JOHN JACOBS.

CHARLES WONDERLAND, L. U. 2676.

ANDREW STEVENS, L. U. 1944.

J. M. ADAMSON.

E. C. FARWELL.

C. M. KOONTZ, L. U. 3222.

RESOLUTION NO. 197.

Roanoke, Ill., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The United Mine Workers Journal is not paying for itself; and

Whereas, The policy of paying agents a fifty-cent commission on each subscription is, in our belief, responsible to a great extent for the yearly deficit of the Journal; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International Constitution be amended to provide that recording secretaries of all local unions be empowered to act as agents for the Journal; and be it further

Resolved, That recording secretaries be allowed a commission of 25 cents on each subscription.

Respectfully submitted,

ANTHONY PICCONY, President.

L. M. DOLLET, Rec. Sec'y.

ARTHUR FAUCON, Fin. Sec'y.

RESOLUTION NO. 199.

Herrin, Ill., January 5, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That Section 10 in Article 9 be amended as follows:

"The President shall appoint, subject to the approval of the International Executive Board," be struck out and the following inserted: "There shall be one traveling auditor elected by the majority of the rank and file of the district where such is to be elected."

WARREN McNEILL, Fin. Sec'y.

J. B. BAKER.

RESOLUTION NO. 200.

Herrin, Ill., January 5, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the officers and members of Local Union No. 1491, offer the following resolution for your consideration:

Resolved, That Section 5, Article 9, be amended as follows: The words, "he may appoint such organizers," be struck out and the following inserted: "There shall be one organizer elected by the rank and file of the majority vote of the district where such organizer is to be elected. He is only to work when such organizer's service is needed. If any more are needed the President shall have the right to appoint from time to time."

J. B. BAKER.

WARREN McNEILL, Fin. Sec'y.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day.

TENTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., Friday, January 25, President Hayes in the chair.

Printed copies of the report of the Committee on Miners' Home and Old Age Pensions were distributed to the delegates. Consideration of the report was made a special order of business for 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, January 26. The delegates were asked to read the recommendations of the committee carefully and to be ready to discuss and act upon the report Saturday morning.

Vice-President Lewis presided during the reading of the report.

President Hayes in the chair.

Delegate Kennedy, District 7: I wish to make a motion, but will preface it with a short statement. A blind member of the Western Federation of Miners, who lost his sight fighting its battles, is here. He must depend upon the assistance of the working class for a living. He has a credential from President Moyer of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union. I move that he be given an opportunity to take up a collection in the convention.

Secretary Green: We have a number of requests from our members who are ill and crippled to take up collections in the convention. If all would be allowed I presume there would be a continual stream, but we have in each instance referred these cases—and they are worthy—to the Committee on Appeals and Grievances so that in an orderly way they can make a report to this convention. There is now pending with the Committee on Appeals and Grievances a number of requests from blind, crippled and disabled miners that they be privileged to either take up collections in the convention or have a donation made from the international treasury to help them. We have tried to handle these cases in a judicious manner so that each will be treated fairly and squarely. I feel if an injured or unfortunate brother, whether from our own or from a sister organization, is to be given any special privileges all should be given the same privilege.

Delegate Leroy Williams of Ohio received word from his family yesterday that his home had been burned with all its contents. The delega-

tion from District 6 met yesterday and each of them donated \$1 to help this brother rehabilitate his home. Some of the brothers from Ohio would like to give the delegates here an opportunity to contribute to Delegate Williams' assistance, and a request has been made that his friends be permitted to take a collection among the delegates.

Delegate Dempsey, District 1: There seems to be considerable dissatisfaction on the part of a number of delegates in this convention in regard to the adoption of the report of the Committee on Constitution this morning in reference to an increase in the per capita tax. When that was done a great many of them were laboring under a misunderstanding, and I think it would be unwise for this convention to adjourn with that impression left in the minds of a considerable number of delegates. If the per capita tax is to be increased to 50 cents to the International Union we ought to have that done with the full knowledge and consent of the convention and a thorough understanding.

In order that this convention might have a thorough understanding and dispose of this matter in an intelligent way and in a way that will be perfectly satisfactory to everyone, I move that the motion by which the report of the committee increasing the per capita tax to the International was adopted, be reconsidered.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Kennedy, District 7.

President Hayes: The chair wants to state that he agrees with Delegate Dempsey's conclusion. There is no desire on the part of the chair to railroad anything. I told Delegate Dempsey a while ago that if he felt everyone did not understand the question that was disposed of this morning he ought to make the motion. The chair was under the impression, and is still under the impression, that the convention is in accord with the report of the committee; but in order that the delegates, and especially the anthracite delegates, will not leave the convention feeling something has been railroaded through the convention, I asked Delegate Dempsey to make the motion.

Secretary Green: I would be sorry to think that anyone here feels he has not been given a chance to debate these important questions. If the increase in the per capita tax is to be granted in this convention I want it to be done with the express will of a majority of the

delegates. If the delegates feel that the action taken was wrong and you want to reconsider it, it will be perfectly agreeable to me. I submitted to you the facts in the situation and gave you all the information I could. I don't want to argue now to try to influence you. The subject is with you and if you want to reconsider and readjust it and place the per capita tax at a lower rate, it will be perfectly agreeable to me.

The motion to reconsider was lost.

Vice-President Lewis in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES.

Delegate Stewart, Chairman, and Delegate Dempsey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Appeals and Grievances, after having given careful consideration to the various resolutions referred to us, respectfully submit the following report:

RESOLUTION NO. 141.

Maryd, Pa., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The undersigned delegate of Local Union No. 2270, located in District No. 9, of Maryd, Pa., hereby appeals to the delegates of the convention to compel the International officers to enforce the action of the October Board meeting in the Maryd controversy, which reads in part, viz.:

"That the charters of the Tuscarora and Brockton local unions of the U. M. W. of A., located in District No. 9, be revoked until such time as they will agree to abide by the laws and rulings of the U. M. W. of A., and until such time as they will send a committee to notify the proper company officials that the black list now in effect against (twenty-three) members of the U. M. W. of A. is withdrawn, and that those men may be re-employed without any interference from any member of the above local unions."

The above action was adopted by the National Executive Board in October, and since that time nothing has been done to give to us the justice guaranteed by the International constitution of the U. M. W. of A.

We therefore appeal to the supreme body for justice, which we are denied, since we were discharged in October, 1916, and four families evicted in February, 1917.

Signed on behalf of the aggrieved and Local Union No. 2270, Maryd, Pa.

JAMES CANNON, Delegate,
ANDREW BODDICK, President,
JAMES CANNON, Secretary.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 141:

You will note, as set forth in the resolution, that the International Executive Board, at its October meeting, decided that the charters of the two local unions in question be revoked until such time as they agreed to abide by the laws and rulings of the United Mine Workers of America and that because the action of the Board has not as yet been carried into effect the appellants request this convention to take such action as will bring about the enforcement of the decision of the Board and the revocation of the charters of the local unions involved therein. Your committee has had before them all of the parties in interest, including the International President, who informed the committee that he had refrained from carrying into effect the decision of the Board because he hoped and still hopes to bring about a settlement of the controversy without the necessity of revoking the charters; therefore, in view of the statement of the President, your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the International President with instructions that in the event of his being unable to effect a mutual settlement within a reasonable time, the decision of the Board be carried into effect without unnecessary delay.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Ferry, District 7, offered the following as an amendment to the report of the committee:

That the two locals decided against, namely, the Brockton and Tuscarora locals, be given until February 15, 1918, to make arrangements to carry out the decision of the Board, and as evidence of their compliance with this decision they shall notify the coal company in writing that they have no objections to the re-employment of the appellants; that these men who suffered suspension and eviction shall not in the future be persecuted by these two locals in question; that appellants shall not be interfered with, providing they adhere to the laws of the organization, and that a copy of the notice given to the coal company be forwarded to the International President of the U. M. W. of A. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Lewis: Does the chair understand that your amendment to the committee's report will simply place a time limit in which this local union will have to comply with the decision of the International Executive Board and the president and fix conditions under which they will have to comply?

Delegate Ferry, District 7: I am not in the habit of taking up your time. I have been coming here ten years and have not taken up ten seconds of your time. I do this in defense of twenty union men who in the dark days of the anthracite mine workers, after their hard day's work, traveled in all parts of the Schuylkill region to build up the organization. Now their members have taken a position to deprive them of their employment and cast five families into the street in the month of February. I am trying to get justice for those members, which they have been unable to get from the officers of their own district, with one exception, Board Member Nash.

With President Kennedy of District 7 I went to the manager of the coal company and he agreed to put the twenty-three men back to work providing the men would not strike the colliery. He got the superintendent of the colliery there a few days later and tried to get him to agree with us to get the men to allow them to be reinstated in the mine. He was opposed to at least four or five of them, but would be satisfied to let some of them go back. Of course we took the position that none of those men should be thrown out of employment; that whatever was done was due to a fight among the local members themselves.

I will explain what this quarrel arose about. There are three locals

in this case—Tuscarora, Maryd and Brockton. The Brockton local union was organized and had charge of the Moss Glenn Colliery. Tuscarora Local Union had charge of the Belle Colliery. Maryd was organized by Martin Nash and another organizer—I cannot recall his name—when the Maryd Colliery opened. These members, who worked in Maryd and belonged to the Brockton and Tuscarora locals, posted a notice for three days for the election of a mine committee. Maryd Local Union has charge of the colliery under the constitution you readopted today without any amendment. It provides that only one local union shall have jurisdiction over a mine. However, the two outside locals met and elected a mine committee. The Maryd struck the colliery in order to get the recognition they were entitled to under our constitution. Some officers were sent from District 9 to take the matter up. They told the men to go back to work and the matter would be straightened out. They went back the next morning. The superintendent came and discharged twenty-three of them.

Vice-President Lewis: In view of your amendment, I would suggest that you refrain from going into the matter much deeper.

Delegate Ferry: There is no appeal from the decision of this Board, but their appeal to the convention is to have the international officers enforce the decision of the Board and the international constitution.

Those men have been idle since October, 1916, and are idle at the present time. Three days before we came here one of those men who were out of work asked the mine foreman for a job. The mine foreman said he had nothing against the man and would give him work if the other men would not strike the colliery. If those men had done any wrong they should have preferred charges against them and given them a hearing under the laws of our organization. District 9 doesn't accept the constitution of the international organization in colliery locals; they only accept what suits them, and what doesn't suit them they refuse to accept. Only a year ago they voted on that clause of the constitution, which they had no right to do—and this is the result of allowing groups of locals to take charge of individual mines in parts of the anthracite region.

Those twenty-three men are denied work at that colliery. Some of them were evicted from their homes, and it is up to this convention to

say whether those local unions are going to dig up the blacklist that organized labor spent millions of dollars to fight and crush in all parts of the country. When we got strong enough in power to make the employers surrender that dirty weapon we did so, and now we find local unions in the anthracite region digging it up and using it against their fellow members. It is up to this convention to say whether or not you are going to allow it to continue.

Delegate Strambo, District 9: I deem it my duty to not only protect the men who are concerned in this matter, but I am going to plead for the men at home who have not had an opportunity to be heard up to the present time. This is a serious proposition; it means disorganization in the Schuylkill Valley or disruption of the organization there. I had something to do with the affair. I was called upon to take the matter up when the same gentleman now before the convention pleading with you caused a strike of the colliery in violation of the agreement. Last October a year ago the men in that colliery in the Tuscarora and Brockton locals and employes of the Maryd colliery could not bear the pressure of the same gentleman and having strike after strike, paying dues into the organization and their grievances refused and their interests not protected. They continued to work under that kaiser hand for eight or nine years until in October, 1916, when they refused to take the grievances up for the members in good standing in that valley anywhere they said, "We are not going to stand for this any more." They got together as employes of that colliery and selected a committee to serve them and not serve the individual interests of the Cannon faction. They did elect a committee. They saw they were overpowered; they saw the men would not stand for that abuse any more.

Everything was peace and harmony until the convention convened a year afterward in Mount Carmel. One day prior to the opening of the Mount Carmel convention those men came to my home and said if I did not come over to the colliery the next day and adjust the trouble there would be a strike. I asked what was going on and they said when the time arrived they would elect a grievance committee in accordance with the agreement. We succeeded in doing so. When the committee authorized by the employes of that colliery presented their credentials to the officials of the company, stating they had been elected for the specified

time, the Cannon faction posted notices of the election of another mine committee. Perhaps Mr. Ferry doesn't know about that. The superintendent and all the officials of the colliery were at sea when confronted with that situation. They did not know what to do, but asked the committee and employes of the colliery to have some officials brought in there to decide which was the right committee.

I went there instead of going to the convention next morning. After learning the procedure under which committees had formerly been elected at that colliery, I asked what limit of time they had in posting notices of the election of committees. They said they had their notices up for seven days. I asked the new committee how long their notices had been up. They said they had been up for a longer time than the notices of the Cannon faction.

Chairman Stewart: I do not desire to interrupt the brother's speech, but he is not discussing the report of the committee. We could discuss all the questions connected with this case from now until tomorrow night and not be through. I have no objection to Mr. Ferry's amendment specifying the 15th of February, but the argument is not in line with the appeal or with the report of the committee.

Vice-President Lewis: Your point of order is well taken. Delegate Strambo will confine his discussion to the report of the committee.

Delegate Strambo: There is not a man in those two locals charged with anything, neither is any of the local unions charged with anything. Are you going to decide here to convict somebody and force the issue when nobody is charged? Two local unions are picked out and their charters are to be taken away. Many of the members of these two locals do not work in the Maryd colliery, but they are to be made the victims. There is nothing on the book which shows they took action to place a blacklist on anybody. A committee of two men was sent in there by the international organization. Only the Cannon faction was there, but after hearing their story and the explanation of the officials of the district the international committee decided it was an agreement affair. Your International President, then Vice-President, and another member of the Board were there. They decided for themselves it was purely an agreement affair. Talk about Mooney's jury! This committee has that jury skinned a thousand miles.

Talk about Board Member Nash! I want to make this statement to the convention, that if International Board Member Nash was fair to the United Mine Workers and to those men and had kept his hand out of the case they would all have been re-employed long ago. But, like the Canons, Brother Nash ignored the officials of the district and appealed to have a committee sent to the colliery to lift the blacklist—which they knew nothing about at the colliery. All we ask is that the matter be left in the hands of the International President for him to dispose of and give fair play and justice to the men. I am opposed to the resolution offered by Brother Ferry and wish to support the committee's report.

Delegate Ferry: You made a statement that those men should have an opportunity to be heard. Is it true that Board Member Davis and Board Member Nash went to Maryd twice and posted notices to give them a hearing?

Delegate Strambo: I will answer it in this way. Ferry, Nash and Davis went to the colliery beforehand. When they posted notices they were not to hear the case, but to determine whether or not the committee at that colliery was legal. When the men met at the colliery at half-past 3 it was unanimously decided the committee was legal.

Delegate Ferry: This is the notice that was posted for the second time: "July 26, 1917. Notice of Important Meeting. The undersigned committee, representing the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America, hereby notify you of a special meeting of the members of the United Mine Workers of America employed at the Maryd colliery and those stipulated below. This important meeting will be held at the Maryd picnic and baseball grounds at 3:30 p. m., Tuesday, July 21. The purpose of the meeting is to take up, discuss and if expedient, dispose of the matter of appeal of certain members of the United Mine Workers of America made to the International Executive Board, and to take up other matters bearing on the subject. All members of the United Mine Workers of America employed at Maryd colliery and those directly interested are notified officially to be present at this meeting on July 31, 1917, at 3:30 p. m.

(Signed) "NEAL FERRY,
"MARTIN NASH,
"TOM DAVIS,

"Committee for the International Executive Board."

Is that a notice?

Delegate Strambo: I have no doubt that notice was posted. The president of District 9 has a copy of the first notice, and it was for the election of a committee.

Delegate Ferry: I don't want the delegates misled. At the first meeting the notice was posted by Board Member Nash to elect a committee to take this matter up and try to straighten it out. When we went there the twenty-three men who had been cast out of their work were held on the public highway by coal and iron police, the men who were condemned by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair has recognized President Matthews of District 9. I had him yield the floor until Delegate Strambo and Delegate Ferry could elucidate their points. The chair feels the points have been elucidated.

Delegate White (J. P.): I rise to a point of order. The debate on the merits of this case cannot properly come before the house by reason of the action of the committee, which reported to concur in the action of the International Executive Board to revoke those charters and leave it to the discretion of the International President. Both parties have said they are in favor of the report.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair decides the point well taken.

Delegate Matthews, District 9: This is the first time I have desired to take up any of your time, but I believe it is absolutely necessary for me to do so. I want this delegation to understand that this is a contract question. When this trouble arose over a year ago, to be exact, in October, 1916, the matter was referred to me. I took the case up as prescribed in the contract. The complainants positively refused to take my advice, but took the advice of International Board Member Nash. He advised them not to pay any attention to me, but to be guided by his instructions.

The contract in the anthracite region provides that when an employe has a grievance he must take his case up with the foreman, and if he fails to reach a settlement he then takes it up with the grievance committee. In this case the men positively refused to take the case up with the committee. I was informed of that fact and advised them to take

their case up in the way provided by the agreement and give me an opportunity to have a meeting with them. The men that were discharged did their utmost to close down the mine. That is why they were discharged. There are three local unions, the membership of which work in the Maryd colliery. Brockton is a small mining place about one mile from the Maryd; Tuscarora is about one mile from the mine, and these local unions in Brockton and Tuscarora were organized years before the one at the Maryd mine.

The complainants refused to take up the case as prescribed in the agreement. Board Member Nash came before the executive board and made a speech. When they came in there I was acting as president of the district and as member of the Conciliation Board. I decided it was not a case for the district board, that it was one of contract. Board Member Nash instructed the men to be guided by him and he would see to it that the district was responsible and would pay them for all time lost. The grievance was presented to me by Board Member Nash, and the substance was that they had to be re-employed and compensated for all the time lost.

I could see that they would have no case before the Conciliation Board. Trouble arose among the employes of the colliery and serious objection was made to some of these men being re-employed. The membership of the Maryd local controlled the number of men employed in and about the Maryd colliery. They did not know at that time that all the members of the Brockton and Tuscarora locals joined the Maryd local. They positively refused to take up the grievances of the Brockton and Tuscarora local unions and created so much dissatisfaction that the members became rebellious, so much so that they gradually left the Maryd local and were transferred into the Brockton and Tuscarora locals. At that time we had an average membership in the Maryd local of 32 members, against several hundred in the other two local unions.

Delegate Kennedy, District 7: I am going to confine myself strictly to the report of the committee and the amendment as offered by Delegate Ferry, something that has not been done by the speakers that preceded me. The committee went into the details of this case and then reported that the decision of the International Executive Board should be carried out. They instructed President Hayes to either make a settlement or

carry out the decision of the board in the revocation of those charters. Delegate Ferry's amendment provides that a time shall be set for these locals to comply with the decision of the International Executive Board. As one member of the committee I can see no serious objection to fixing February 15 as the time limit. If these locals are not willing to comply with the decision of the board by February 15 their charters ought to be revoked. In the report we have given the power to the president to inform the committee that he had notified the locals that he expected them to comply with the decision of the board unless they would remedy that situation. I presume the board will meet shortly after this convention, and if the president so decides he can give them a hearing. I feel Delegate Ferry's amendment does not seriously conflict with the report of the committee and it is immaterial to me how the matter is disposed of along that line.

Delegate Davis, District 1: The foreman of the colliery agreed to reinstate the twenty-three men, and if Mr. Strambo and Mr. Matthews had co-operated with the committee those men would be working there today. When we went to Maryd we decided to have a meeting at seven in the evening. Somebody changed our notice and put up a notice to hold the meeting at 3:30. The meeting was over before the committee went there.

A point of order was raised that the merits of the case were not before the convention.

Vice-President Lewis: The point is well taken, but Delegate Davis is a member of the Committee from the International Executive Board that handled this case.

Delegate Davis: The agreement between Matthews, the superintendent and the committee was that a committee from the Maryd local would sit on the case and whatever the committee from the Maryd would decide the superintendent would be satisfied to go along with it. If the officers of District 9 had co-operated with the committee these men would be at work today.

Delegate Dempsey, Secretary of the Committee: I want to support the report of this committee. The president of the United Mine Workers of America came before our committee and informed us that he had high hopes of being able to effect an amicable adjustment of this question

without the necessity of revoking the charters of these local unions. The report of the committee directs the president, in accordance with his views on the question, to endeavor to effect an early settlement of the case, and failing to do that to revoke the charters in accordance with the instructions of the board.

As one member of this committee I am not in favor of handicapping your president in the performance of his duty, and I am not willing to fix a time limit that will allow one side or the other to force him to issue an early decision. I think the question can safely be left to President Hayes to exercise his discretion as to the time. I think he will render his decision within a reasonable time. Let us suppose that by the fifteenth of the month the president had the situation negotiated to such an extent that he believed a settlement was entirely possible with a few more days' time; under Delegate Ferry's amendment, if adopted, he would have to revoke the charters notwithstanding that. The amendment will give the president fifteen days in which to negotiate a settlement. I do not think there is any need for haste in this matter and I trust the convention will sustain the committee's report.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Ferry of District 7 was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 143 A.

California, Pa., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the members of Local Union No. 1787, U. M. W. of A., appeal from the decision of the International Executive Board in regard to the expulsion of William Turnblazer, Phillip Amburger and others of Local Union No. 1787 of California, Pa., for stealing credentials of said local union and using them for the special convention of District No. 5.

HARRY DELBARRE, President.

LEONARD SEINAR, Secretary.

The hearing in this case developed the fact that William Turnblazer, Phillip Amburger and others not named in the resolution, were expelled for an alleged offense against the organization and that upon an appeal to the District Executive Board the action of the local union was reversed by the District Board, who rendered the following decision:

"Acting under authority of Section 3 of Article 3 of the District Constitution we recommend that the action of the local union be reversed and the members be reinstated to full membership; we further recommend that Local Union No. 2725 compensate those members for actual loss they may have sustained while defending their case as provided for in Section 5 of Article 5 of our District Constitution."

The local union thereupon took an appeal to the International Executive Board, who appointed a committee to investigate and render a decision upon the appeal. This committee was composed of International Board Members O'Leary of District No. 5 and Watkins of District No. 6 and they rendered the following decision:

"Therefore, we find that Local Union No. 2725 has not complied with the decision of the District Executive Board and according to Section 3 of Article 3 of the International Constitution, complainant's right of appeal shall not be recognized, and we so decide."

Your committee is unable to find any good reason why this decision should be disturbed and recommends that the appeal be disallowed until such time as the appellants comply with the decision of the District Board as provided in Section 3 of Article 3 of the International Constitution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Delbarre: If we comply with the decision of the District Executive Board will we have a right to appeal to the International Board?

Secretary Dempsey: It is the opinion of the committee that it is the duty of the local union to comply with the decision of the District Executive Board and pay these men whatever their expenses were, then take an appeal if they so desire.

Delegate Delbarre: We find that President White appointed a committee. That committee rendered a decision. The next appeal is to the International Board.

Delegate Dempsey: When you have complied with the District Executive Board your right of appeal to the International Board becomes unquestionable.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 202.

Erie, Colo., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The membership of Local Union No. 3109 desires to protest against the arbitrary, unwarranted and unconstitutional action of the Acting President of District 15.

On December 17, 1917, James F. Moran, the Acting President of District 15, by his declaration has caused the charter of Local Union No. 3109 to be revoked, without having complied with Section 2, Article 3, of the International Constitution, and thereby depriving the full membership of Local Union No. 3109 of the rights and protection guaranteed to them by the International Constitution.

OLIVER A. BUTLER, President,
FRANK BALEK, Rec. Sec'y,
Puritan Local Union No. 3109.

Your committee finds that the charter of Local Union No. 3109 was revoked by Acting President James F. Moran, with the full sanction of the International President, for entering into an agreement with a coal company, which did not carry with it recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, in opposition to the declared policy of the organization in District No. 15, and no appeal to the International Board has been taken in accordance with Section 2 and 3 of article 3 of the International Constitution. Your committee is of the opinion that full and substantial justice can and will be done to all parties in interest by

The hearing in this case developed the fact that William Turnblazer, Phillip Amburger and others not named in the resolution, were expelled for an alleged offense against the organization and that upon an appeal to the District Executive Board the action of the local union was reversed by the District Board, who rendered the following decision:

"Acting under authority of Section 3 of Article 3 of the District Constitution we recommend that the action of the local union be reversed and the members be reinstated to full membership; we further recommend that Local Union No. 2725 compensate those members for actual loss they may have sustained while defending their case as provided for in Section 5 of Article 5 of our District Constitution."

The local union thereupon took an appeal to the International Executive Board, who appointed a committee to investigate and render a decision upon the appeal. This committee was composed of International Board Members O'Leary of District No. 5 and Watkins of District No. 6 and they rendered the following decision:

"Therefore, we find that Local Union No. 2725 has not complied with the decision of the District Executive Board and according to Section 3 of Article 3 of the International Constitution, complainant's right of appeal shall not be recognized, and we so decide."

Your committee is unable to find any good reason why this decision should be disturbed and recommends that the appeal be disallowed until such time as the appellants comply with the decision of the District Board as provided in Section 3 of Article 3 of the International Constitution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Delbarre: If we comply with the decision of the District Executive Board will we have a right to appeal to the International Board?

Secretary Dempsey: It is the opinion of the committee that it is the duty of the local union to comply with the decision of the District Executive Board and pay these men whatever their expenses were, then take an appeal if they so desire.

Delegate Delbarre: We find that President White appointed a committee. That committee rendered a decision. The next appeal is to the International Board.

Delegate Dempsey: When you have complied with the District Executive Board your right of appeal to the International Board becomes unquestionable.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 202.

Erie, Colo., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The membership of Local Union No. 3109 desires to protest against the arbitrary, unwarranted and unconstitutional action of the Acting President of District 15.

On December 17, 1917, James F. Moran, the Acting President of District 15, by his declaration has caused the charter of Local Union No. 3109 to be revoked, without having complied with Section 2, Article 3, of the International Constitution, and thereby depriving the full membership of Local Union No. 3109 of the rights and protection guaranteed to them by the International Constitution.

OLIVER A. BUTLER, President,

FRANK BALEK, Rec. Sec'y,

Puritan Local Union No. 3109.

Your committee finds that the charter of Local Union No. 3109 was revoked by Acting President James F. Moran, with the full sanction of the International President, for entering into an agreement with a coal company, which did not carry with it recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, in opposition to the declared policy of the organization in District No. 15, and no appeal to the International Board has been taken in accordance with Section 2 and 3 of article 3 of the International Constitution. Your committee is of the opinion that full and substantial justice can and will be done to all parties in interest by

referring this matter to the International Executive Board, and we so recommend.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lawson, District 15: I desire at this time to move as an amendment to the committee's report the addition of the words "and that the charter be restored to Local 3109 pending the investigation."

Vice-President Lewis: The chair asks the committee if it is their intention to have the matter referred to the International Executive Board for investigation and decision in conformity with the Constitution?

Secretary Dempsey: The opinion of the committee is that no appeal having been taken by the local in question, if the decision of the President should be referred to the Executive Board this appeal now in the hands of the convention would become the appeal of the local union to the International Executive Board against the decision of the President. The appeal will then be to the Executive Board from the President's decision. The President has full right to revoke charters subject to the approval of the Board. There is another section which provides that the convention may take action. (Sec. 3, p. 52.)

Vice-President Lewis: The chair wants to point out that the committee has recommended that the subject matter be referred to the International Executive Board. Delegate Lawson makes a motion that this convention restore the charter of the local union in question, which would render unnecessary the action of the International Executive Board and definitely determine the case. The motion of Delegate Lawson destroys and sets aside the report of the committee and is in substance and effect a negative motion. An affirmative motion amending a committee's report can be made, but a negative motion which destroys the subject matter of a committee's report renders ineffective the functions of the committee, and the chair so decides.

Delegate Lawson: Will the chair permit me to give my reasons why the convention should take action in this matter in this way?

Vice-President Lewis: The chair wants to point out that the convention has the liberty of either concurring or non-concurring in the

report of the committee. Delegate Lawson has the freedom to discuss the subject-matter before the convention, and if the delegates can be convinced the report of the committee is incorrect and they vote it down any motion Delegate Lawson wishes to make in the premises is in order.

Delegate Short, District 10: I would like to draw the attention of the chair to a ruling made that a matter of this kind cannot be handled by the convention until an appeal has been made to the International Executive Board. That ruling was made in the last convention.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair has not the records here, but the ruling of the chair in the premises coincides with your point, by reason of the fact that it places the committee's report squarely before the house, which is in harmony with the constitution and with all precedent.

Delegate Lawson: I only ask for this local union the same privilege extended to the local unions at Maryd. I want an investigation before the charter is taken away. I have no objection to an investigation being made and I am sure the membership at home will be willing to abide by the decision. This matter came up so recently that there has been no meeting of the International Executive Board. Inasmuch as the chairman rules that my amendment is not in order, I have nothing further to say on the question.

Delegate McCullough, District 5: The committee was of the opinion that if this convention had the right to take the question up there were certain phases of it that could not be intelligently handled so far from the seat of the trouble. We therefore referred it to the International Executive Board. In this question is involved a number of men, some of whom no doubt are guilty and should have their cards taken from them. There are others there about whose guilt there is a question, and if they are innocent they should not be penalized. We were of the opinion that we could not separate the goat from the sheep and render to each what was due him. We believed if the International Executive Board would make a thorough investigation into this those who are guilty would be penalized and those who are innocent would be saved. That is why we refer it to the International Executive Board for action.

Delegate Cunion: The question before the house was taken up in the local unions where the charter was revoked, and by a majority vote

decided to adopt the contract submitted to them by the Industrial Commission of Colorado.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 203.

Frederick, Colo., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The membership of Local Union No. 2753 desires to protest against the arbitrary, unwarranted and unconstitutional action of the Acting President of District 15. On December 17, 1917, James F. Moran, the Acting President of District 15, by his declaration has caused the charter of Local Union No. 2753 to be revoked without having complied with Section 2, Article 3, of the International Constitution, and thereby depriving the full membership of Local Union No. 2753 of the rights and protection guaranteed to them by the International Constitution.

JAMES BARCLAY, President,
CHAS. ALAUX, Rec. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 2753.

Your committee finds that the charter of Local Union No. 2753 was revoked by the Acting President of District No. 15, James F. Moran, with the full sanction of the International President, for closing down a mine in violation of agreement; the evidence shows, however, that the local union has been and is now at work, and so far as your committee has been able to ascertain, complying with the terms of contract and the laws of the union. We therefore recommend to the International President that the charter be restored.

Secretary Dempsey: Resolution 204 is printed in the pamphlet that has been distributed. Resolutions 205, 206, 207, are not printed in the pamphlet, but will be read, and one recommendation made for all these resolutions.

RESOLUTION NO. 204.

Willisville, Ill., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We are appealing to the biennial convention for aid to help one of our brothers, Emanuel Ugasto, to support his family, a wife and four small children.

This brother has been sick and unable to work for the last three years with tuberculosis of the spinal column and the doctors say there is no chance for recovery.

Any aid that you may give to this brother will be appreciated by Local Union No. 165, as he is in very bad circumstances.

JOHN TRUCANO,
MORSAN W. RIGHT,
CHAS. BRADLEY.

RESOLUTION NO. 205.

Linton, Ind., August 6, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

This is to certify that Brother James O. Smith is a member in good standing in Local Union No. 2090. He had the misfortune of having one of his limbs amputated; he is in a condition that he is unable to do manual labor; any donation that may be given him will be appreciated by this Local No. 2090.

JOHN COAKLEY, Pres.
JOHN CHESN, Fin. Sec'y.
ED. STUART, Pres. Dist. No. 11.
WM. MITCH, Sec'y Dist. No. 11.

RESOLUTION NO. 206.

Mr. William Green, Pres., Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Sir:—As I am a member of Local Union No. 228, Shirley Hill, No. 3, Dugger, Ind., and have been a cripple for two years, I have had

help from a few locals but never could get enough at a time to take the treatment to do me any good. I have been advised by Ed. Stewart, President of District 11, to write you and see if you could do me any good with our ~~own~~ convention, which meets January 15. Have been on ~~crutches~~ for two years and hoping you will do a brother in need a turn when he is all in and has his last chance to regain his health, by putting me before the convention, I remain, a brother,

HARRY SCHLEY.

RESOLUTION NO. 207.

Bicknell, Ind., January 19, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Annual Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

This is to certify that Brother W. H. Holingsworth is a member of Local No. 352, Bicknell, Ind., and has been a member of the organization since its inception and being seventy-five years of age and unable to perform manual labor for some time; he has a wife who is an invalid, and after serving all these years as a miner, and now we deem him worthy of all the assistance of this great organization that can be given him so that he can, as far as possible, enjoy his last years with his good wife.

We therefore recommend him to this convention for assistance and we wish to thank the brothers in advance for any assistance rendered.

HARVEY NAELE, Member Local 352.

LEE R. ESLINGER, Member Local 352.

JOE EDWARDS, Delegate of Local 352.

WM. MITCH, Secretary of Dist. 11.

These appeals being of like nature for financial assistance by members of our union, who for one cause or another find themselves in needy circumstances, your committee desires to include them all in one report.

We sympathize to the fullest extent with the brothers who have put in these appeals and with all others in like condition, and would be especially pleased if we were in position to give them substantial financial assistance, but inasmuch as our International organization has no fund provided for the relief of any of its members so situated and

because of the fact that every district in our jurisdiction has numerous cases of like character, your committee is of the opinion that no material assistance could be given these brothers, nor to the hundreds of others above referred to, by any action this convention might take, and as we believe that the relief for needy members is purely a local or district matter and that more substantial assistance can be rendered in that way, we recommend that the appeals be referred to the districts in which the brothers hold membership.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 208.

Indianapolis, Ind.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Gentlemen and Patriots:—We respectfully ask your splendid organization to join us in the great American drive "over the top" for Italy's two millions of poverty-stricken souls by making as generous a donation as you possibly can.

Italy is our ally in this world-war now waging against the savage hordes of Germany. Humanity, democracy, the peace of the world, these are the things for which together we strive and, with God's help, will fight to attain. These are America's ideals. They are also Italy's.

Italy has for almost three years borne the heat and burden of the day. Her borders have been overrun by the enemy; her sunny plains have been scarred and torn by desolating shell fire, and the whiteness of her Alpine slopes have been crimsoned by the blood of her sons.

Hundreds of thousands of her soldiers have been slain, wounded or led into captivity; thousands of helpless families, mothers, widows and orphans have been driven from their peaceful homes, pursued by the red wrack and ruin of devastating war.

But Italy still fights grimly on, and at a frightful cost has temporarily stemmed the onrush of overwhelming numbers of the invading enemy.

Let us help Italy as we have her allies.

In view of the acuteness and vastness of the Italian disaster we ask your mighty organization to be as generous as it can. Your contribution will be most gratefully acknowledged on behalf of one of the most appreciative and patient suffering peoples of the globe.

NATIONAL ITALIAN RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

Rev. Sarino Priori, President and Treasurer.

Endorsed by the Indianapolis Chamber and Commerce and National Council of Defense of Indiana.

Your committee feels confident that it expresses the wish of this convention when we say that we appreciate fully the heroic sacrifices of the Italian nation and its peoples in this great world-wide war and that we realize that it is our duty to render assistance and relief in so far as we can to the men, women and children made destitute by the ruthless actions of the Prussian armies in occupied territory. We owe this duty, however, to the people of no single country so occupied, but to all of them, to Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Lithuania and all the others as well as to Italy, and inasmuch as our organization will undoubtedly receive appeals for the relief of the peoples of these countries, we most respectfully recommend that this appeal be referred to the International Executive Board with authority to take such action as they deem best in the matter.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 209.

Indianapolis, Ind., January 18, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Gentlemen and Brothers:—We, the delegates of Districts No. 17 and No. 29, U. M. W. of A., in meeting assembled this day appeal to the delegates of our convention for a little financial aid for Mrs. T. Baldusir, of Raleigh, W. Va. Brother T. Baldusir, the husband of Mrs.

Baldusir, was brutally murdered by a company thug at Raleigh, W. Va., months ago, and leaves a wife and three small children without any support, and Mrs. Baldusir is a cripple and is in delicate condition; two of the children are also very delicate and have to have medical attention. They are thrown on the charity of the public. As she has no relatives, our members at Raleigh are helping her, and a mite given to her by the delegates attending this convention would be a mite well given.

C. F. KEENEY, Pres. Dist. No. 17.

LAWRENCE DWYER, Int. Board Member, Dist. 29.

This is an appeal on behalf of the dependents of a member of our organization who is alleged to have been murdered by a company thug while in the performance of his duties as a member of our great organization. Your committee is not familiar with the circumstances surrounding the occurrence and have had nothing before us except the written appeal. It is the opinion, however, that the dependents of any of our members who have been murdered by company thugs while in the performance of duty as members, should not be permitted to suffer want and privation as a result thereof; we therefore recommend that this appeal be referred to the International Executive Board with instructions to investigate and take such action as they may find warranted.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Respectfully submitted,

ED STEWART, Chairman,
JOHN T. DEMPSEY, Secretary,
JOHN BROPHY,
JOHN MOORE,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
JOHN GAY,
E. S. McCULLOUGH,
JOHN WILKINSON,
W. D. DUNCAN,

Committee on Grievances and Appeals.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS.

Delegate Savage, District 6—Just before adjournment there was a question up with reference to constitution. I think at this time we should have a perfect understanding as to the matter. In District 6, when a local is organized, the members are required to pay dues and assessments for the month in which they were organized. The chairman of the Committee on Constitution stated that if District 6 has done that we violated the International constitution. I understand that in the supplemental report of our Secretary-Treasurer he made clear that the constitution did not fully cover the question. District 6 has exacted dues and assessments from nearly organized locals for the month in which they were organized. There was no section of the constitution that covered the proposition and we felt our districts were losing a good deal of money by exonerating locals for the month in which they were organized. Last year over one hundred locals were organized in District 6. I presume that 90 per cent. of the men in those locals were old members in our organization and members in good standing. If we had exonerated those local unions for the month in which they organized a great number of members would not be paying dues and assessments for that month. I believe when a member pays dues and assessments they should be distributed to the proper branches of our organization. I want to know what we are to do in the future.

Vice-President Lewis: You are raising a constitutional question, and it would perhaps be more in order to take it up and get a ruling on it from the proper authorities after the convention.

Delegate Savage:: I tried to get the floor before the motion was put to adopt the constitution as a whole. The motion was put before there was a chance to make any remarks.

Vice-President Lewis: The chair understands that. You have now made your explanation, and if there is any further ruling on it you will have to get it through the proper channels. The Committee on Constitution has been discharged and there is no authority now to interpret the constitution.

Delegate Savage: The chairman of the Committee on Constitution said we had violated the International constitution by requiring such locals to pay dues and assessments.

Vice-President Lewis: That is simply the opinion of the chairman of the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Smith, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 22.

Peru, Ill., December 24, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It has come to our notice that the American Federation of Labor is a reactionary organization and believe that the cause is that its officers are elected by delegates on the floor of conventions, and as this is undemocratic, and the U. M. W. of A. is a democratic organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That unless the A. F. of L. amends its constitution so as to elect its members by a referendum vote we, as United Mine Workers, withdraw our affiliations with the A. F. of L.

JOHN OWIECKI, President,
CLIFFORD CLARK, Rec. Sec'y,
JOHN KWIATIK, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 649.

The committee recommended nonconcurrence. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION NO. 93.

Des Moines, Iowa, December 28, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There is much talk of the government taking over the railroads, as it is thought they can be run to better advantage to both the worker and the government; be it

Resolved, That this convention ask the government to take over the coal mines, as we believe it would work for the betterment of both miners and government.

TOM MAXWELL, President.
JOHN MARCHANT, Secretary,
Local Union No. 3656,
Committee.

The committee recommended the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 93:

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF COAL MINES.

Time and again District and International conventions of the United Mine Workers of America have gone on record as favoring government ownership of coal mines. Never before, however, has this question received the very serious consideration that it is now receiving in circles outside our own organization. We feel that the position of our membership on this question as expressed in past conventions has not changed, and that the vast majority of the rank and file of the coal miners of America are in favor of government ownership of coal mines. We wish to point out, however, that government ownership of industry or of public utilities without democratic administration of said industries, may result in fastening upon the workers coming under government control the very conditions of autocratic domination that we, the United Mine Workers of America, have been fighting since the creation of our organization.

To emphasize this danger we point to the government owned and controlled post office where the employes are denied the right to organize and a voice in the making of the conditions under which they must work.

Therefore, in view of the foregoing, be it

Resolved, By this convention, that we favor government ownership of coal mines on condition that we be guaranteed democratic administration of the coal mining industry which we understand to mean,

First, the free and unrestricted right to organize.

Second, the right to maintain the function of our economic organiza-

tion, to collectively bargain with the representatives of the government with fair and equal representation in such conferences as will determine the wages and conditions under which we must work.

The report of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 127.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

From Local Union No. 2097, U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The National Government in this present crisis needs all the resources at its command, therefore be it

Resolved, By Local Union No. 2097, That the national convention in session, request our National Government to take over all unused farm land and rent same to farmers, and said rent be paid directly to the National Government.

Whereas, As the newspapers of this country are trying to mold a sentiment to conscript labor; therefore be it

Resolved, That the national convention in session oppose all legislation, national or state, for the conscription of labor.

Local Union No. 2097 recommends to go on record as opposing the same.

CASTON PALEONIS,
RICH WHITESIDE,
R. G. SMITH.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions 145 and 175, dealing with a similar question, are covered in one report by the committee, as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 145.

Novinger, Mo., January 4, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Our nation is suffering from a great shortage of coal on

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to keep the experienced boys at work in the mines, as the mining industry is one of the greatest aids in the war, and it would be detrimental to both the operators and miners to handle unskilled labor; be it further

Resolved, That the national presidents and the presidents of the various districts co-operate with the fuel administrators of the country to take up and try to adjust this matter.

By order of Local Union No. 1226.

(Signed) JAS. PRINCE, President,
CHAS. BATLEY, Rec. Sec'y,
JOHN J. WARWICK, Fin. Sec'y,
Committee.

The committee submits the following as a substitute for these resolutions:

RESOLUTION ON SELECTIVE DRAFT.

The selective draft has removed thousands of our young men from the coal mines of our country, and, as a consequence, in some localities, has accentuated the labor shortage prevailing in certain sections of the coal mining industry. Attention has been directed to the possibility that this labor shortage may become sufficiently acute in the further operation of the selective draft to reduce the production of coal to a degree that would hamper the war program of the government. The world war has developed the fact that coal is the basic indispensable commodity upon which modern civilization is founded, and without which armies could not be equipped and transported.

We, the United Mine Workers of America, therefore take this opportunity to declare our position relative to the further operation of the selective draft and its effect upon the coal mining industry.

First, We, the coal miners of America, stand ready and willing to do our full and equal share in whatever manner we may be called upon to serve in supporting the government of our country in the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion, and, for ourselves, we ask no special privileges.

Second, Only in the event that it should be demonstrated that

the members of our organization can render greater service to the country by remaining in the mines than they would be able to render by being drafted into the military service of the government do we ask that consideration be given to the advisability of making such changes in the application of the selective draft as may be necessary to assure an adequate supply of coal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Harlin: The committee had presented to it a resolution dealing with political action, asking that we endeavor to form a party patterned after the Independent Labor Party in Britain. The committee also had referred to it the question of drafting a resolution setting forth the war policies of the United Mine Workers of America. We felt that the resolution on war policies could very well be substituted with the resolution dealing with political action, because labor must express itself with reference to its aims and the readjustments that are taking place in all the civilized countries of the world. I want to read the resolution prepared by the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

WAR RESOLUTION.

Submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

We, the United Mine Workers of America, in International convention assembled, feel that no statement of words is needed from us to prove that the great army of men that we represent and for whom we speak, are loyal to the government of our country.

The twenty thousand members of our union who are now serving the colors, prepared to give their all upon the field of battle, that the principles to which our country is pledged may endure; and the service that the miners of America are now rendering to the nation. in the underground recesses of the coal mines of our country, speak more eloquently than mere words that we are in service and in fact, standing steadfastly behind the government of our country in this the hour of her need.

It is then with the confidence of men who have established a record of deed that must effectually silence those who for reasons of material

interest would no doubt be glad of the opportunity to question our motives and cast aspersion upon the sincerity of our loyalty, that we issue this statement and recommend the following action.

Forcefully and eloquently President Woodrow Wilson has announced to the peoples of the world that America has enlisted her forces and dedicated her energies in the war against the Imperial German government and her allies for the purpose of making the world safe for democracy. With this great principle we, the United Mine Workers of America, are in full accord, and we deem this to be the fitting occasion to point out that here, within the confines of these United States, a great work yet remains to be done in order that our people may be permitted to enjoy in full measure the blessings of industrial democracy, without which democracy becomes but a meaningless term.

We are passing through the most crucial period of the world's history. A great process of readjustment is taking place in human affairs. In this crisis the American people are rallying with unbounded enthusiasm to the support of the government in the great struggle to free humanity from the blighting and sinister influences of autocratic despotism.

In this hour when the best blood of our nation is being spilled upon the far-off battlefields of northern France we, the miners of America, take courage to speak out for the oppressed people of our own land. In mine, mill, field and factory thousands of American workers in many sections of the country, are denied the right to organize and are suffering and struggling under the iron hand of industrial oppression.

Deprived of the right to organize, they stand helpless before the power of their industrial overlords. In a recent decision against the United Mine Workers of America the Supreme Court has decreed that under conditions that can and may be created by any and all employers of labor, the right to organize and act collectively shall be denied to the employe.

This astounding decision so out of keeping with the progressive thought of the times and the principle of democracy strikes at a great fundamental and inherent human right.

We insist that this right must not be abridged by any governmental

agency, and that American labor be guaranteed the same unrestricted right to organize and deal collectively with the employers of labor, as has been guaranteed to the workers by the governments of our allies in France and Great Britain.

We, therefore, instruct the delegates representing the United Mine Workers of America at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor to prepare a resolution calling for action by that body, wherein the war aims of American labor will be definitely set forth and the government of the United States asked to guarantee to the workers in American industry those fundamental human rights affecting labor that include, among others, the unrestricted right of working men and women to organize and deal collectively with their employers.

And we further go on record as endorsing the action of President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor in calling an international conference of labor to be held at the same time and place as the international peace conference for the purpose of securing consideration and recognition of the aims and ideals of labor in the social and economic readjustment that must inevitably occur at the conclusion of the great war.

Vice-President Lewis: The resolution read by the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions is a substitute for resolutions dealing on this general subject.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Vice-President Lewis: The motion prevails as the unanimous expression of the United Mine Workers of America.

Delegate Short, District 10: I move that the resolution adopted by unanimous vote of the convention bearing upon the attitude of the United Mine Workers concerning the war be printed in pamphlet form and mailed to every local union of the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Wilkinson, Montana, moved to amend that the resolution in regard to government ownership be distributed with the war resolution. The author of the motion accepted the amendment, which was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 104.

Whitsett, Pa., December 16, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The two big capitalist parties are not in sympathy with the working class, and when their candidates are elected to office they invariably use their power to keep the workers in subjection; therefore be it

Resolved, That we indorse the Socialist party as the political expression of the working class.

SAM J. LOWERY, President,
JAS. F. LEE, Recording Secretary,
SAM LOMAS,
JOHN MILLS,
JOS. SPIKLE,
JOS. VOITHOFER,
Resolutions Committee.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION IN REGARD TO INDUSTRIAL
ACCIDENTS.

By W. D. Ryan of the Bureau of Mines and the Committee on Resolutions:

Whereas, Industrial reports during recent months show an alarming increase in industrial accidents, due, no doubt, to the speeding up of industries to meet war time requirements. While we believe that every effort should be put forth by all of our people to meet the war requirements of our government, at the same time every safeguard possible should be provided to reduce industrial accidents to the irreducible minimum; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention instruct the International officers and International Executive Board to take up with the United States Bureau

of Mines the question of formulating plans for the purpose of protecting, as far as possible, the lives and limbs of the workers in the industries of the nation, to the end that industrial accidents be reduced to the absolute minimum.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

At 3 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 a. m., Saturday, January 26.

ELEVENTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 26, 1918.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, January 26, President Hayes in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON HOME FOR AGED MINERS AND OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Delegate Hutchison of the Committee reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Gentlemen and Brothers—At the last International convention quite a number of resolutions were introduced bearing on the subject of a home or pension for aged and disabled members. The Committee on Resolutions reported the following substitute for the whole, which was adopted by the convention, viz.:

Resolved, That the International President be empowered to appoint from our membership a committee of three members who shall be authorized to investigate and report to the next International convention the advisability and possible cost to our International Union of erecting and maintaining a suitable home wherein to care for our aged, infirm and decrepit members.

In accordance with the provisions of the above resolution we, your committee, appointed by President White, beg leave to submit the following report.

After a conference with Vice-President Hayes and Secretary-Treasurer Green, who made many valuable suggestions, your committee decided on sending out a circular letter to ascertain the probable number

of dependents we would be called on to care for. Secretary-Treasurer Green came to our aid by preparing and mailing to each and every local union the following letter:

Indianapolis, Ind., July 19, 1916.

To the Officers and Members of All Local Unions, United Mine Workers of America—Greeting:

We desire to inform you that at the recent International convention several resolutions were introduced pertaining to a home for aged and infirm miners.

The following substitute, submitted by the Resolutions Committee, was adopted in lieu of the several resolutions introduced:

“Resolved, That the International President be empowered to appoint from our membership a committee of three members who shall be authorized to investigate and report to the next International convention the advisability and possible cost to our International Union of erecting and maintaining a suitable home wherein to care for our aged, infirm and decrepit members.”

In accord with the action of the convention the International President appointed the undersigned as members of this committee. We are now collecting statistics on the question of the advisability and practicability of establishing a home for our aged and infirm members.

We, therefore, urgently request each local secretary to answer the following questions:

How many members of your local union are 60 years of age?.....

How many members of your local union are 65 years of age?.....

How many members of your local union are 70 years of age?.....

How many members of your local union, under 60 years of age, are infirm, decrepit and physically unfit to earn a living?.....

We trust that each local secretary will assist us in securing the desired information and will send reply as soon as possible to the Committee on Home for Aged Miners, United Mine Workers of America, 1102-1109 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

(Signed) WILLIAM MITCHELL,
JOHN HUTCHISON,
EVAN EVANS,

Committee.

We then began a tour of investigation of several homes to learn as far as possible the cost of land, cost and arrangement of buildings, number of inmates, cost of maintenance and per capita cost to the membership. Learning through Vice-President Hayes that the barbers' union had just completed a similar investigation and armed with an introduction from Brother Hayes, we called on Mr. Jacob Fischer, Secretary of

the Barbers' Union, who received us with every courtesy and gave us many valuable suggestions as to what homes to visit, routes, etc. He also furnished us an estimate of maintenance of a home suitable to their needs, which was 18 cents to 20 cents per month per capita tax on the membership.

We wish to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. A. L. Zimmerman of Cincinnati, Ohio, auditor and expert accountant for the Pressmen's Union, and a number of fraternal organizations, for his advice and valuable suggestions.

The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America have a home located twelve miles from Rogersville, Tenn., in a beautiful valley of the Appalachian Mountains, that for scenery, climate, fertility of soil and economy both in land and the erection of buildings is unsurpassed, and is presided over by the most generous and hospitable people that it has been our good fortune to meet, and in behalf of the United Mine Workers of America we tender our thanks to President George L. Berry, Secretary-Treasurer Joseph C. Orr and their charming wives, Mrs. Berry and Mrs. Orr, for their courtesy to us as representatives of our organization, and their efforts to make our visit a pleasant as well as a profitable one.

The pressmen have 1,032 acres, valley and mountain land, about one-half of which is in a high state of cultivation and produces all the vegetables and fruit necessary for their table use and all the grain and hay necessary to feed their stock, hogs and poultry which they raise in sufficient quantity to supply the needs of their home and sanitarium. The climatic conditions, fertility of soil, quality and quantity of water, plenty of timber, healthful surroundings and cheapness of lands makes it a most desirable location for a home.

They have three main buildings admirably adapted for their purpose, but impractical for our use. They consist, first, of a sanitarium for the treatment of tuberculosis, which is complete in every detail, and which is very necessary, as their trade develops this dread disease to an alarming extent. Second, a technical trade school for the improvement of their members, which is combined with their national offices, and a convention hall. And, third, a home for superannuated members with accommodations for 250 members—the only main building practical for our purpose.

In addition they have a power house, electric plant, swimming pool, with rooms attached for the use of delegates—all erected at a cost of about \$350,000, saving about 20 per cent. of contract price by reason of using timber and other materials of which they have an abundant supply on their land. They erected a complete milling plant for the sawing and preparing of lumber, a stone crusher and concrete mixer at a cost of about \$20,000, and saved more than that amount in the erection of

one building over and above the lowest bid from contractors. And in connection with this we quote the generous offer made to us through a letter from President George L. Berry. He says:

I beg to herewith submit the basis of co-operation that we will be delighted to render to your organization in the event of their building an institution within a reasonable distance from our institutions at this place. They are as follows:

First: That the intimate practical experience that we have had will be at the disposal of your organization at all times, regardless of whether you may be located accessible to our institutions or not.

Second: I shall be glad to assist you in the preparation of your prospectus, your blueprints, and in general put you in direct touch with all of the requirements that you may need in respect to construction and consummation of your proposed plans.

Third: I will assist you in legislative matters with a view of securing for you the same protection and facilities as regards immunity from taxation, etc., that has been secured in our institutions.

Fourth: We have at this time on hand a saw-mill and complete mill outfit, consisting of all the machinery necessary for the manufacture of timber needed in construction. This machinery approximates in value \$15,000, which I shall turn over to your organization for use without financial returns, the only requirements being that the machinery be kept in first-class order.

Fifth: The rock-crushing machinery, concrete mixers, etc., which approximate in value \$5,000, will likewise be at your disposal under the same conditions as indicated above.

Sixth: We own a seven-mile right-of-way of telephone line. We shall upon equal basis give you the use of this facility without investment on your part.

Seventh: You are aware, of course, that we are operating a trade school at this place, which now represents an investment of \$250,000, \$125,000 of it being in machinery. We would be glad to co-operate with you in the execution of your printing matter at cost, or give you the same condition as to its output as applies to our organization.

Eighth: In the matter of electric power, I am in possession of a plan that will make it possible for water development which we can jointly operate with a great reduction in the cost of same to both parties and which will reduce the cost of power and lights to a minimum, lower than can be had in any section in America.

The foregoing is given free and with a great degree of pleasure and I trust that your organization will believe me in saying that

I will consider it a favor and a very great honor to be of assistance to you at any time and under any condition. I am intensely interested in the work that you are considering, exemplified by the efforts put forth by me in the interest of our own organization, and I assure you that there is nothing within my power that I shall not be willing to do in the furtherance of the great humanitarian work that you have under consideration.

In addition to all that I have said, permit me to say that I consider our institutions to be the greatest asset for organization, for the maintenance of peace with the employers and for the solidification of our workers of any department or innovation so far conceived by the trades union movement of America.

Very sincerely and respectfully yours,

(Signed) GEO. L. BERRY,

President International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

This generous offer, so characteristic of President Berry, should receive from our organization a respectful and responsive appreciation whether we avail ourselves of its benefits or not.

THE ELKS.

At Bedford, Va., the Elks have just completed a new home at a cost of \$500,000, with accommodations for 120 members, that is a marvel of beauty and elegance. They have good water, a fine, healthful climate, good railroad facilities and fertile lands. Your committee was courteously received by the superintendent and given an opportunity of going through the building and grounds. In their book of rules and regulations we find the following extracts that may be of interest:

(1) The home is a home for aged indigent Elks, who can care for their daily necessary wants, and not a hospital or sanitarium for the care of the sick or disabled Elks, or those who are suffering with incurable, infectious or contagious diseases, or from any other causes which have already rendered them unable to care for their daily wants.

(2) An applicant for admission to the home must have been in good standing in the order for a period of two consecutive years immediately prior to filing his application, and must be in indigent circumstances and incapable of earning a livelihood.

(3) The subordinate lodge shall pay for the transportation and all other necessary expenses going to or returning from the home. Should a brother die while a resident of the home the subordinate lodge shall defray all funeral expenses. The subordinate lodge shall pay in quarterly installments one-third of the per capita expense sustained by the home for maintenance of a brother of such lodge.

DANVILLE SOLDIERS HOME.

At the Danville, Ill., branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Colonel M. H. Peters and his able and gentlemanly assistants took charge of us and escorted us through the grounds and buildings, pointing out and explaining in detail the many points of interest and the workings and discipline of the home; and your committee, in behalf of our organization, sincerely thank them for their courtesy and the interest they displayed in our efforts toward caring for our veterans of industry. To Mr. Wm. L. Kelley, chief engineer of the home, your committee is indebted for a detailed statement of the home, accompanied by its blueprint, and his statement is so concise and complete that we make it a part of our report. It is as follows:

This home consists of the membership barracks, fifteen (15) in number, lettered from "A" to "L" inclusive, having a capacity each of one hundred and sixty members, with offices for captain and a sergeant. These all dine at a general mess hall, inside and centrally located. Two tables are set, 750 members at each. Over this general mess hall there is a dormitory for use of the civilian waitresses, thirty in number. All cooking is done here by steam, the roasting by gas.

Within this same building is placed a modern bakery. It is well provided with a basement throughout, where are the vegetable paring and washing tanks, coffee roasters, steam water heaters, etc.

Here are located a machinist and engineer, also three other sets of like mechanics whose duty, with the shops within the buildings close at hand, is to at all times make minor repairs. These report to me at stated times and when the demand is beyond their smaller shops they make emergency reports by phone.

Fourteen sets of quarters are also provided in convenient juxtaposition to the needs of the department in which their work lies. These are nominated by the titles held on the home staff roll.

Quarters for hospital nurses are seen southwest of the general hospital, and to the west will be noted a greenhouse, in which all the cuttings are grown for landscape gardening, as well as tons of flowers are here turned out yearly to brighten the monotony of the sick wards, and to each member is supplied upon his burial a wreath of flowers without cost. This is merely incidental to show how fine a system of procedure things can be brought to without impairing the best of each one's interests. Two men, with a few laborers at planting time, here easily give grand results.

A chapel, in "L" form, makes it practically a home with Catholic and Protestant places of worship, each of which has a reverend, with quarters on the grounds. Church attendance is 20.23 per cent. per annum.

In close proximity to the interurban railroad depot is seen a store, from which many necessities are purveyed to those who desire to add comforts or luxuries not on the ordinary home supplies, gratis. In the same building is a hotel and restaurant, where the members are sure of accommodations for relatives and friends who may call upon business or visit.

A library is kept up to date with books and periodicals of many places.

A quartermaster's storehouse in which are stored and issued all of a multitudinous list of supplies for repairs, household and provisional upkeep.

An opera house, known to the members as a "memorial hall," with a seating capacity of 900, in which are given vaudeville, movies, and when the season is inclement, band concerts are rendered twice each week and on Sundays in the summer time. There are two band stands, one in the grove on the lake shore, and a second in a park south of the library.

The powerhouse is located close to the quartermaster's storehouse. In it are the boilers from which the cooking steam is supplied. The radiators as well are fed from there. Its maintenance per year has been \$35,000.00.

The cost of maintaining the members has been \$198.00 per capita. Repairs to the institution (that is now 18 years old) cost about \$10,000.00 a year.

The laundry, tailor and dry-cleaning establishment clean all of the membership clothing, which is mostly wool and difficult to clean, at a yearly cost of \$3.00 each per member. A schedule of prices is fixed for the cleaning and pressing of articles not uniform, for the benefit of those who, as civilian employees, cannot get like service rendered when needed elsewhere. A post fund is thus attained by an easy and natural method, that assures many comforts to the membership not otherwise possible.

The area of this home embraces 324 acres. Value of the land and improvements are appraised at \$1,440,000.

Any additional information desired will be gladly supplied. If your committee can come to the home and spend a week in investigation of the many items of interest, I know it would be of benefit. They will find me most willing to assist in every way possible to make the time a pleasant one and profitable it must be.

Yours truly,

(Signed) W. L. KELLY,

Station 21, N. H. D. U. S.,

Danville, Ill.

On our way to Colorado Springs your committee took advantage of a stop-over at Des Moines, Iowa, to visit a private sanitarium that was on the market and had at one time been considered by the miners of Iowa in the light of a State Home. We found a large building that with a little alteration and repairs could be made available as a main building for a home, but the grounds, only about 18 acres, had been subdivided into town lots and we considered land in the vicinity too high-priced for our consideration, the lowest estimate being \$1,000 an acre. We understand that the original cost of the building was \$75,000. The tract of land upon which it is situated contains 11 acres and it might be interesting to note that the Iowa miners at one time held an option on it at a purchase price of \$25,000.

The home established by the International Typographical Union is situated at Colorado Springs, Colo. It is about six thousand feet above the sea level. The main building is of white lava stone with red sandstone trimmings. The plan for building provides for extensions and additions as they may be needed without destroying the symmetry and beauty. At the present time it contains 125 rooms and preparations are being made for an addition.

They have a hospital with accommodations for 225 patients and a tent colony for the treatment of tuberculosis, a power house, laundry, barn and minor outbuildings and a cottage for the use of the superintendent.

The cost of the home, including repairs and additions to 1916 is, in round numbers, one and a half million dollars. The members pay a per capita tax of 20 cents per month for maintenance. The residents are allowed 50 cents per week for spending money, and the total cost of maintaining each resident is \$41.31 per month.

The management is vested in a board of seven trustees, of whom the President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer are members ex officio. The superintendent is appointed by the trustees. The home has been in operation since 1892, the printers being one of the first to establish benefit features.

We acknowledge with thanks the courtesies extended to us by Secretary-Treasurer J. W. Hays, Mrs. John C. Daley, matron of the home, and Mr. Arthur W. Crane, our guide while at the home.

SOLDIERS' HOME.

The State of Indiana maintains a home at Lafayette, Ind., for old soldiers and their wives and soldiers' widows. The home is built on the cottage plan in the midst of a beautiful park overlooking the Wabash river and about 180 feet above low-water mark. This system appeals to us for several reasons.

First. The large administration buildings and the number of small cottages containing from two to four rooms are so arranged as to give it a homelike appearance like some beautiful village, with its streets and sidewalks well shaded and filled with a happy and contented people, who are full of praise for their surroundings.

Second. It does not sever family ties, for the reason that an old man may take his wife with him into the home and pass their declining days together.

Third. It cares for the widow, who, perhaps, has suffered more and made more sacrifices than have the men in the maintenance of the honor and dignity of a united country, just as our wives have suffered and sacrificed that we, the men, might build up the splendid organization we now have.

Fourth. The plan of construction, while more homelike, is much cheaper.

DURHAM AGED MINE WORKERS' HOMES ASSOCIATION.

Our committee, through Vice-President Hayes, addressed a letter to the Miners' Association of Durham County, England, who were interested in a home for aged miners and their wives. We received the following reply, which we herewith make a part of our report:

Durham Aged Mine Workers' Homes Association,
18 The Avenue, Durham, England, August 8, 1916.

Sir. With reference to your letter to Mr. T. H. Cann, General Secretary Durham Miners' Association, which has been handed over to me to give particulars to you respecting the work and character of our Aged Mine Workers' Homes Association.

I am delighted to hear of the decision of your association at your last international convention respecting provision for your

aged industrial toilers, and I trust it may prove, as ours has proved, a splendid achievement.

Our Association commenced in 1899 by five persons forming themselves into a committee. The late Dr. John Wilson acted as president. They bought an old colliery village where the mine had been stopped and put the houses in good repair. Ours, as you well know, is a voluntary Association. They appealed for help from the workmen of all sections, who responded splendidly, also the colliery owners, landowners and the general public, who have always been heart and soul with us. The workmen contribute 25 shillings per year per 100 members, which provides house, coal and rates, taxes and repairs, etc.

Our work has progressed magnificently, as in 17 years we have property assessed at 100,000 pounds, as you will see from the enclosed report.

We have thirty-two groups of homes all around the County of Durham, from sixteen to one hundred and fourteen homes.

You will see from this that we have not got them all in one place. We have six hundred and fifty homes in thirty-two places, as we find it best to build homes in the district which the aged people belong to, as it is like a home at home to them, instead of removing them to some other part of the county, which might mean from many of their friends. We have 1,200 persons living in the homes. We have also single men's quarters, and all unmarried men or men who have lost their wives have an opportunity of going into this home. We have a master and a matron to look after them. I am pleased to say it is all kept up by voluntary subscription. The workmen, in many instances, pay more than is required by rule. They pay one penny per week, which brings in a good sum of money. The colliery owners do well for us and everybody seems to be quite willing to do what they can to help our movement. It is impossible for me to express all the benefits that come to an aged veteran of industry.

The aged people are very happy and contented and their homes like little palaces, and I am sure if you had an opportunity of seeing some of them as others have had, you would subscribe to all I have said.

They are free from the worry of having the landlord coming along and threatening that unless they paid their rent they would be turned out. There is nothing of that. They have a home free so long as they live and carry out rules and regulations.

Had you an opportunity of visiting our homes you would say with one of old, that the half has not been told about them.

I sincerely trust that this brief rambling outline may be of some service to you and your colleagues, and if any of you visit this country at any time and you let me know, I shall be only too pleased to show you around our colonies.

I again wish that your efforts may be crowned with abundant success, and in years to come many aged people will have reason to bless the happy day when you commenced your scheme. I have pleasure in enclosing 1914-15 reports, also copy of rules. If there is anything that I can do to help on your scheme, and you just write me, I shall be pleased to give you any particulars you may require. Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,
(Signed) JOHN ADAIR,
General Secretary.

The system, while admirably adapted to their needs, and a living monument to the philanthropy of the Durham miners, could not be successfully adapted to our needs on account of its complicated financial plan and the difference in our geographical position.

If it should be decided to build a home, the first consideration would be the location and the amount of land. There should be at least 2,000 acres, the cultivation of which would materially lessen the cost of maintenance, and also allow for a satisfactory grouping of buildings.

Climatic conditions and healthy surroundings should also be considered. Desirable land in eastern Tennessee can be purchased for from \$12.00 to \$20.00 per acre, with the additional advantage of having enough timber and stone on the place for building purposes, and an exemption from taxes not to be found elsewhere. Fine agricultural lands in a healthy location can be purchased in Virginia for an average price of \$65.00 per acre. In the central northern states prices are higher, ranging from \$100.00 to \$200.00 per acre.

The buildings should be so arranged as to avoid friction among the people who would become residents.

Our people are made up of many nationalities, with different tastes and modes of living, and while all should be under one general management, and main buildings should be erected for the accommodation of all,

ere should also be groups of cottages where those who are congenial could be housed together.

We believe that the necessary buildings could be completed and furnished at a cost of about one million dollars. Taking the estimates of her homes, it would cost about \$40.00 per month for each resident for nothing, food, medical attendance and medical supplies, which might in some be lessened by the products of the land.

The question of a pension, with or without a home, was early called our attention, and as the different organizations with whom we came in contact either had pension systems in active operation or were preparing to adopt pension systems, we deemed it advisable to gather all the data possible on that subject.

The Typographical Union has a membership of 65,000. It has at the present time 1,440 pensioners, who receive \$5.00 per week, payable every four weeks, or thirteen payments per year. It cost the members 1.3 cents per capita per month for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1916. This shows a gradual increase in the per capita tax of 6 cents in six years, the per capita tax in 1909 being 37.3 cents, with a gradual increase from that date to the present time.

A member to be eligible for a pension must be 60 years of age or over; must have been a member in good standing for a period of twenty (20) years, including and antedating the enactment of the pension law, and who finds it impossible to secure sustaining employment at the trade. Members, under this provision of the law, must have been members in good standing at the time the pension law became effective and maintained active membership since that time.

2d. Members who have reached the age of 70 years and who have been in continuous good standing for a period of ten years, and who find it impossible to secure sustaining employment at the trade.

3d. Members who are totally incapacitated for work, who have been continuous active members for 20 years, and whose applications for admission to the home have been disapproved because their afflictions are such as to render them ineligible for entry to that institution.

The Pressmen's Union has adopted a plan for a pension which your

committee believes to be the safest, most desirable and most economical of any that have come under our observation.

Their plan, in brief, is to create a sinking fund by placing a flat rate of 25 cents per month assessment upon its members for five years before the payment of pensions became operative. The sum thus raised placed on interest at 4 per cent. would insure stability and prevent the gradual increase in per capita tax which the Typographical Union has experienced.

District No. 21, U. M. W. of A., has a pension system that has been in active operation since January 1, 1913, which is operated under the following sections of their constitution:

Sec. 2. An Old Age Pension-Fund is hereby created by an assessment of 40 cents per month, per member, which shall automatically be raised and lowered as necessary under the direction of the District Secretary-Treasurer and approved by the District Executive Board, together with all interest received from money deposited in the District Treasury. Said fund to be disbursed as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 3. All members in good standing in District No. 21 for five years preceding January 1, 1913, shall receive \$3.00 per week, per member, payable the first Monday in each month, providing he is 60 years of age and discontinues working in the mines, or has been physically disabled from performing further labor in or around the mines and has no other means of support.

Sec. 4. Any one becoming a member of District 21 on or after January 1, 1913, shall not be eligible to receive any assistance from this fund until he has been a member in good standing in the organization for five years prior to making application for pension.

Sec. 5. All applications for pensions must be made through the local union in which applicant is a member, stating age, length of time applicant is a member of the District organization, financial standing, visible means of support, upon affidavit before notary public, attested to by two competent witnesses, accompanied by a doctor's certificate of physical condition of applicant upon affidavit.

All applications for pensions must be certified to before a notary public by local president and secretary after said application has been approved by local unions.

All applications shall be made in duplicate, one to remain with the local union and one to be filed with the district secretary-treas-

urer, who shall have full charge of the distribution and care of said fund, subject to the orders of the District Executive Board.

Sec. 6. Should it develop that applications have been approved in violation of the provisions of Sections 3, 4 and 5, of this Article, the payment of same shall be immediately discontinued upon the written notice filed with the District Secretary-Treasurer by the local union that said applicant holds membership in, or by the District Executive Board, after hearing has been granted any member filing such information, and investigation made of same.

Sec. 7. Any member leaving this district shall waive his claim in every respect with said fund. This amendment to be in effect on and after January 1, 1913.

Sec. 8. Any local union violating any section of Article 10, in the application for pension shall, upon conviction, reimburse the District Pension Fund for the amount paid out upon said fraudulent application, and any local officer aiding or abetting in the procuring of said application shall, upon conviction, be deposed from office.

Sec. 9. During general suspension the payment of pensions will also be suspended and pensioners placed upon the same footing as all Mine Workers of the district.

We herewith submit a table furnished us by E. F. Ross, Secretary-Treasurer District 21, showing the number of pensioners and amounts paid out for seven consecutive months.

For the past seven months pension payments have amounted to \$29,640.00, as follows:

For the month of February, 1916..	\$ 4,413.00	
For the month of March, 1916..	3,507.00	
For the month of April, 1916..	3,684.00	307 members
For the month of May, 1916..	4,074.00	349 members
For the month of June, 1916..	4,905.00	358 members
For the month of July, 1916..	4,011.00	335 members
For the month of August, 1916..	5,046.00	345 members
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Total.....	\$29,640.00	

They now have 348 members on their pension roll.

From a table prepared by the Commissioner of Labor in his official report for the year 1908, beginning on Page 36, we find that there are eighteen unions that pay benefits for temporary disability and death. Of this number, four pay benefits for temporary disability, permanent disability and death, three pay benefits for temporary disability, perma-

The Printing Pressmen's Union is creating a fund that will become operative in five years.

The Barbers' Union is considering the advisability of a pension system, in view of the strong and growing sentiment of a pension system as the best and most humane method. The fact that the homes established by other labor unions, a noble work caring for many unfortunate members, fail to meet the requirements of the membership and they were forced to a system of pensions to meet the necessities of the larger number. For many reasons, the home was not available.

We believe it would not be advisable to establish a pension system at this time, but we do believe that some measure should be adopted to partially relieve the growing wants of our aged and infirm. Many States have adopted compensation laws upon the basis of union labor, and, while beneficial in many ways, they prevent old men from getting employment when their time is once severed and it is our duty to afford some compensation for the evil we have necessarily brought upon them in our effort to help the many.

The responsibility of caring for the veterans of times of peace have been the mainspring in the work of the press, and in times of war have always been ready to sac-

ous gases, dust, poor ventilation, the handling of poisonous articles, and many other things that are sapping the health and strength of our workmen.

We also urge the necessity of an adequate pension law for aged workers, men and women, many of whom are refused employment by reason of their age.

In order to show our good faith in the feasibility of the plan and the many benefits to be derived therefrom, and to assist our helpless brothers until such laws can be secured, we recommend the adoption by the United Mine Workers of America of a plan to pension its aged and helpless members. We recognize what a big undertaking this is, and we realize that every precaution should be taken to secure stability, protection from fraud and impostors, a fair, impartial and fearless administration of the trust, unhampered by fear or favor, and an honest and economical policy in the investment of the funds and the payment of claims.

We have compared the safe-guards adopted by other organizations, and have endeavored to select the best that are actually necessary to make the plan a success.

In the first place, to secure stability, and eventually cheapen the cost to the membership, it is necessary to have a large sinking fund that, if left untouched, would in time make the system nearly, if not actually, self-supporting, and in cases of emergency would meet temporary requirements. We, therefore, recommend the following plan for creating and maintaining a pension system:

(1) An old age and disability pension fund is hereby created by an assessment of 40 cents per month per member, which shall automatically be raised and lowered as necessary under the direction of the board of trustees hereinafter provided for, but in no case shall the assessment exceed 50 cents per month per member.

(2) Said assessment shall be in full force and operation on and after April 1, 1918.

(3) A sinking fund shall be created by the accumulation of said assessment for a period of three years from and after April 1, 1918.

(4) That on and after April 1, 1921, all members in good standing who have reached the age of sixty-five years and who have been a continuous member in good standing for a period of ten years immediately preceding his application for pension and has paid his regular monthly assessment to the pension fund for at least three years, whose earning capacity has been reduced to less than twenty-five dollars per month and who has no visible means of support other than his labor, shall be eligible to receive a pension of twenty dollars per month, payable monthly.

(5) That on and after April 1, 1921, any member who has been a continuous member in good standing for ten years immediately preceding his application for pension and who has paid his regular monthly assessment to the pension fund for at least three years and who is totally incapacitated for work by reason of accident or sickness of a permanent character, who has no visible means of support other than his labor and who has been denied aid from compensation laws or has tried and failed to recover reasonable damages for injuries sustained shall, upon satisfactory proof, be allowed a pension of twenty dollars per month, payable monthly; the trustees to have the right to appoint a physician or physicians to make an examination if they deem it necessary.

All applications for pension and written evidence in support thereof must be made on blanks furnished for that purpose and must be sworn to before a competent officer when required.

The application when complete shall be presented to the local union of which applicant is a member and if approved by them shall be signed by the president and secretary of the local with the local seal attached and forwarded to the International Secretary-Treasurer, who shall present the same to the board of trustees and if approved by them the name of applicant shall be placed upon the pension list and payments be made from date of application.

Any applicant making false statements in order to obtain a pension shall forfeit all right to benefits from the pension fund.

Any local union that knowingly approves any application containing any false statement, or that by reasonable inquiry might have known

of any false statements in any application approved by it, shall reimburse the pension fund for any and all money paid to applicant by reason of such false statements.

Two per cent. of the revenues derived from the pension fund, or as much thereof as is necessary, shall be set aside to pay the expense of administration, and any unexpended balance shall be paid back to the fund, but in no case shall the expense exceed the 2 per cent. allowance.

Said trustees shall have the power and authority to adopt rules and regulations to protect the funds and insure the faithful performance of every duty connected with the administration thereof, but all such rules must be submitted to the next succeeding International convention for ratification, modification or rejection.

The management and control of the pension funds and the power of adjusting claims shall be vested in a board of trustees composed as follows: The International President, the International Vice-President, the International Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be members ex officio, and four members from the membership-at-large who shall be appointed by the President and who shall serve until removed for just and sufficient cause or by death or resignation.

The International President, or in his absence, the International Vice-President, shall preside over the meetings and deliberations of the board and perform such other duties as usually devolve upon that office.

The International Secretary-Treasurer shall act as financial secretary and treasurer of the board. He shall collect all money due the pension fund and disburse the same as directed by the board of trustees.

The board shall select one of its members to act as recording secretary, whose duty shall be to keep a record of the meetings of the board, also a record of all claims filed for pension, and the final disposition of the same, and perform such other duties as may be required by the board.

All money collected for the first three years, except for current expense of administration, shall constitute a sinking fund and shall be deposited in banks of first-class financial reputation, or invested in

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This is a very large per cent. as compared with other organizations, and your committee recommends the adoption of sixty-five as the minimum age limit for the payment of pensions. For instance, take the case of sixty-five, if the same per cent. holds good on the entire membership of our organization, which it is reasonable to assume, we would have approximately the following:

At 65 years of age.....	5,000
At 70 years of age.....	2,500
Incapacitated below 65 years.....	3,900
<hr/>	
Total	11,400

Not all of these, however, would be eligible for a pension, as many of our old men are still earning fair wages and many of the disabled ones are cared for by compensation laws of various States. But it is fair to assume that we would have about 7,000 pensioners to care for.

In the absence of definite information on the subject the foregoing estimate of the probable number of pensioners is made by a comparison of the number of pensioners on the books of the International Typographical Union, whose experience of eight years affords a reasonably safe guide. They have a membership of 65,000, with 1,440 members on the pension list, or a fraction more than twenty-two pensioners to each 1,000 members.

For years many who were prominent in the councils of the labor movement maintained that it would be detrimental to the growth and power of the union to establish benefit features, mainly on account of the increased cost, to the membership. But the experience of eighty-four unions that have adopted benefit features have proved it to be a source of strength, holding and binding the membership together in a bond of human sympathy and winning the admiration and respect of even those who are opposed to union organizations. It has demonstrated that it makes men more loyal and more prompt in the payment of dues. It has proved that the increase in the payment of dues is an actual saving over the gifts to charity so indiscriminately given in the past and has removed the recipient from the position of an object of charity to a self-respecting class, taking their benefit because it is something they pay for and are entitled to, and public sentiment will eventually compel

the government to recognize the debt it owes the veterans of industry and will force it to either contribute to the fund or assume entirely the responsibility of caring for its worthy laborers when they are no longer able to care for themselves.

The United Mine Workers are usually in the vanguard of any movement to advance the interests of union labor, but have been slow to recognize the importance of caring for its old and dependent members. This is partly due to the old men's pride and independence, but in a larger measure to the number of serious questions that confronted it and which necessarily took precedence over other subjects. The factional fights within its ranks, the petty intrigues of designing men, the costly strikes it has had to contend with, the effort to remove the obstacles from the path of organization in fields where, under color of law and under the protection of courts of (in) justice, men of our craft were forbidden the right to organize or even confer with members of our union who at the risk of life and liberty were attempting to free them from bondage. But now, thanks to the splendid allegiance and cohesive qualities of the membership and the persistent efforts of the officers all along the line, these obstacles have either been removed or so far overcome that the outlook for the future is bright, indeed.

With a contract in existence that settled in our favor disputed questions of many years' standing, with the organization practically free from strikes and trouble, with the barriers broken down in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Colorado, and the organization growing by leaps and bounds, we may well afford to turn our attention to the question of providing a little comfort and help for our old and dependent members, and may our united efforts evolve a plan that will successfully solve the problem and add a little touch of human kindness, brotherly love and charity to the long list of achievements of the United Mine Workers of America.

In conclusion we submit the written opinion of a few men whose recognized ability, experience, well-known love for union principles and interest in any movement to advance the labor cause will, in our judgment, carry conviction, or at least command a respectful consideration from all our members.

Mount Vernon, N. Y., November 1, 1916.

Messrs. William Mitchell, John Hutchison and Evan Evans, Committee of Investigation, re Miners' Home, United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.

Brothers—Responding to your request for an expression of my views in regard to the relative advantages of establishing a community home or providing a system of pensions for aged and disabled mine workers, I write to say that all the experience with which I am familiar would indicate that a pension system has many advantages over the establishment of community homes.

It is true that trade union experience in the United States with respect to this subject is limited to two or three international organizations. The best experience has been had by the International Typographical Union; I say the best experience for the reason that the experience of this organization has been extended over a greater number of years than that of any other and because this organization has tested the relative advantages of both systems of caring for aged and disabled members. Indeed, at the present time both systems are in operation; that is to say, the International Typographical Union established many years ago at Colorado Springs a great home to which were admitted members who either through age or disability were unable to earn a living at the trade. Subsequently the organization inaugurated a system of pensions. The result has been, I am reliably informed, that the pension system has not only proved less expensive to the organization, but has been infinitely more satisfactory and helpful to the beneficiaries.

My judgment is that a member of our union who has grown old and is no longer able to work would much prefer to remain at home and receive a pension of an amount sufficient to provide him with the necessities and reasonable comforts of life than to be transferred to a community home, no difference how attractive and healthful such a community home might be.

In view of the above I most earnestly urge your committee to recommend to the members of our organization the establishment of a pension system and the rejection of the idea of establishing a community home. I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOHN MITCHELL.

Department of Labor, Office of Secretary,
Washington, D. C., November 25, 1916.

Messrs. Wm. Mitchell, John Hutchison and Evan Evans, 1102-1108 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.:

Gentlemen—Your letter of October 30 has just been brought to my attention. I have no data in my possession relative to the cost of

establishing a home for the aged and infirm members of the Mine Workers, but my observation in connection with the homes established by the Typographical Union and the Printing Pressmen's Union have led me to the same conclusion that you seem to have arrived at. The initial cost of establishing such a home must be considerable and the maintenance great. To my mind the great disadvantage of it is that it takes the aged and infirm from their home surroundings and what may be lifetime associations before they can avail themselves of the benefits which the home provides. There is no doubt that the home is a very good thing for those who would not have to break home ties or long associations, but I believe that it would be advisable to add a sufficient amount to what it would cost for building and maintaining a home to enable the organization to pay an old age pension, which would enable the members to maintain themselves in the homes where their associations are.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. B. WILSON.

Washington, D. C., November 3, 1916.

William Mitchell, John Hutchison and Evan Evans, Committee.

Gentlemen—Since you favored me with a call some time ago, I have been informed that you have acquired information embracing statistics on various systems under which pensioning of aged or disabled members may be carried on. I shall therefore state in brief that I favor the pension plan in preference to the establishment of a home, or homes, for one would not meet the requirements of so large an organization as the United Mine Workers.

I was partial at one time to the establishment of a Home for old and disabled miners, but on giving some thought to the operations of the National Soldiers Home, located here in the District of Columbia, I have changed my views in that regard. That change came about as a result of inquiry made by me among the inmates of the Soldiers Home. One day I met an inmate of the Home and during our conversation he informed me that a feeling of discontent pervaded the whole place, that but few were satisfied. I remarked that I had heard quite a few of the inmates were crazy and he confirmed the statement. I asked how many men were in the Home. He said, "Eight hundred and seventy-eight." My next question was, "How many of the inmates are crazy?" His answer, solemnly stated, was, "Eight hundred and seventy-eight." When I expressed surprise, he explained: "Of course that statement of mine is an exaggeration. I don't mean to infer that every man in the Home is insane in the popular acceptance of that term, but they are all crazy for a sight of their old homes, for the sound of loved ones' voices, for the companionship of old home friends. Our lives are lonesome to a degree. We were all strangers to each other until a short

time ago and being thrown suddenly together we cannot assimilate or form new friendships that are anything like the old ones. Some of us have wives or children back home and it is heartbreaking to be so far away from and out of sight and sound of them."

He made other statements that appealed to me as arguments against the home idea. If regular soldiers, accustomed to being away from home, find such a good Home as the National Soldiers Home unsuited to their wants and wishes, how much more distasteful would such a place be to miners who are the most domestic of men.

A national home for miners would take them away from home at the very time of life when they should be at home. A cup of water, a crust of bread, a shake down of straw under a roof in the bosom of one's family is preferable to better things in a national home and among strangers.

A national home for miners would tend to break up homes and separate families. It would call for a greater outlay and afford fewer comforts than the pension plan. With the pension plan, the old women would have an opportunity to handle the cash and as one who was brought up among miners, I know that in the miner's home the wife is the financial agent and mainstay of the institution.

I have no vote on the matter, but if I had I'd stuff the ballot box in favor of the pension plan.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) T. V. POWDERLY.

Washington, D. C., November 1, 1916.

Messrs. Wm. Mitchell, Evan Evans and John Hutchison, care Mr. Wm. Green, Secretary United Mine Workers of America, 1106 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sirs and Brothers—When you came to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor to consult with me as to the establishment of an old-age pension system for the United Mine Workers of America, you requested me to put my opinion in writing for your convenience.

The general purpose—that the organization ought to take care of its aged and indigent members, and to make some provision for their welfare and protection—is a most worthy one. It is in accord with the general fraternal concept that underlies the whole organized labor movement. It has much in common with the more sensitive social conscience that has led to general provisions for those in want.

There has been a movement of increasing strength toward provisions, by the general government, for the aged, as well as for those in need. General appreciation of social duty toward aged wage earners who have

establishing a home for the aged and infirm members of the Mine Workers, but my observation in connection with the homes established by the Typographical Union and the Printing Pressmen's Union have led me to the same conclusion that you seem to have arrived at. The initial cost of establishing such a home must be considerable and the maintenance great. To my mind the great disadvantage of it is that it takes the aged and infirm from their home surroundings and what may be lifetime associations before they can avail themselves of the benefits which the home provides. There is no doubt that the home is a very good thing for those who would not have to break home ties or long associations, but I believe that it would be advisable to add a sufficient amount to what it would cost for building and maintaining a home to enable the organization to pay an old age pension, which would enable the members to maintain themselves in the homes where their associations are.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. B. WILSON.

Washington, D. C., November 3, 1916.

William Mitchell, John Hutchison and Evan Evans, Committee.

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There has been a movement of increasing strength toward provisions, by the general government, for the aged, as well as for those in need. General appreciation of social duty toward aged wage earners who have

given a lifetime to work in industry or commerce, has taken the form of advocacy of social insurance under the control and direction of the government and governmental agencies.

Many of the proposals for social insurance are of a compulsory nature. Wage earners now find themselves confronted by this alternative: either labor organizations must make more comprehensive and more adequate provision for trade union benefits, or else they will have forced upon them compulsory social insurance under the control and the direction of governmental agencies. Compulsory social insurance will inevitably result in supervision by the government of the normal activities of trade unions and in the establishment of limitations of the protective features of trade unions, and in the delegation to governmental agents all matters that vitally affect the interests, the rights, the welfare and the freedom of wage-earners.

Since I have realized the significance of the effort that is being made to force compulsory social insurance upon wage earners, I am exceedingly gratified to find that the United Mine Workers of America have authorized the appointing of a committee for consideration of either the establishment of a home for indigent members, or the creation of an old-age pension.

All of our experiences with institutions for the benefit of individuals have convinced me that the institutional method is not the best one. The institution, even as a method for poor relief, has failed to produce the desired results. Whatever assistance is rendered to needy members of society, ought to be given to them in their homes wherever that is possible. No institution can be managed without a certain degree of formal discipline, which means absence of the home spirit and the deadly effect of institutional atmosphere. The same has proved true in the experiences of the labor movement.

Two of our international unions in the United States have established homes for members of their organizations. One, the International Typographical Union, and the other the National Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. The homes they have built and maintain are excellent and are a monument to the willingness of the workers to do the right thing by their fellow workers. But even with the most liberal and generous treatment accorded to the inmates of these institutional homes, there is an absence of the home feeling—on the contrary, there is a feeling that they are not at home. Men who have reached an old age, are separated from their relatives, their homes, and their associates of their earlier days; just at the time when they need these personal relationships most keenly they are deprived of them and placed among strangers, and it is not easy for them in their old age to make new friends and form new relationships.

In addition, the institution can provide for only a limited number

of the workers of the organization, and experience has shown that the expense of the institution is enormously out of proportion to the benefits conferred.

About twenty-five years ago the convention of the Cigar Makers' International Union adopted a resolution similar to the one under which your committee is now operating. After a thorough investigation of the whole question, the proposal to establish a home for the members was dropped. The Cigar Makers' organization profited through experience of the printers.

It is my judgment, therefore, that your committee ought to give its serious consideration to the establishment of an old-age pension system. I collected considerable data showing what the labor organizations of this country have done along this line, and filed it with my remarks before the House Committee on Labor, when that committee had under discussion consideration of the joint resolution to authorize a commission to make an investigation of compulsory social insurance, and to report a plan for compulsory social insurance and the mitigation of unemployment in the United States. I am sending you a copy of that hearing.

There are two things to which I wish particularly to direct your attention. First, that it is necessary to accumulate a sinking fund sufficient to guarantee the stability of the old-age pension system, and unfailing payment of benefits. Since the United Mine Workers have a large membership, ranging between three and four hundred thousand miners, in my opinion, it would be necessary to accumulate a pension fund of not less than three million dollars before any benefits are paid. This, of course, would mean that after the system had been adopted, pension dues to the pension fund would be paid for several years by all members of the organization before any miners could benefit from the system. The pension fund must be regarded as a distinct fund, not to be drawn upon for strike benefits or any other of the activities promoted by the union. This is necessary in order to guarantee the payment of the benefits promised by the organization. No labor movement can afford to make promises which it does not fulfill; a promise of the trade union is an obligation. The dues which the miners pay to the pension fund gives them a property right which they cannot be denied; therefore, every safeguard must be established to assure unfailing payment of pension benefits.

The second matter to which I wish to call particular attention is that the amount to be paid as pension shall not be placed too high at first. It is better to pay a small amount in the beginning and to assure regularity of payment, and then to raise the amount gradually as circumstances may warrant, than to attempt more than can be accom-

plished. Of course some advice can be secured from actuaries and representatives of insurance companies, which may give you some assistance in establishing rates, amount of sinking fund and so forth. However, the trade union benefit is on an entirely different basis from the insurance companies, as practically all of them are organized for profits. The expense of administering a trade union old-age pension is wholly different from the administration expenses of regular insurance companies.

I am sending you a copy of the Proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which contains a report of social insurance, including data furnished by various organizations showing the expense of these various benefits. This information may be helpful to you in considering your own problems. Of course the pensions paid will increase gradually after the first few years. The miners of this country are usually healthy, hardy men, who live to a comparative old age.

Whatever type of old-age pension you may adopt ought to be made applicable to all of the members of your organization, all sharing alike in the expense of the benefits as well as in the benefits accruing under it. This is a very worthy proposal you have under consideration, and I should be glad to assure you of my desire and willingness to be helpful in every way possible.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM MITCHELL,
EVAN EVANS,
JOHN HUTCHISON,
Committee.

Delegate Evans, District 12, moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Miners' Home and Old Age Pensions. (Seconded.)

Delegate Rodgers, Local 766, District 12: I do not want it understood that I am not in favor of an old age pension and in favor of doing something for the workers when they are not able to take care of themselves, but I don't think we can settle the matter here to the satisfaction of the rank and file. I therefore move that this matter be referred to a referendum vote. (Seconded.)

Delegate Haywood (A.), District 12: I oppose the amendment of the previous speaker. I do not think this proposition should be referred

to the rank and file; it is a matter that belongs entirely in the hands of the federal government. It would be ridiculous to refer this to our membership. I believe plenty of people realize the fact that the United Mine Workers of America could not afford to tax our membership to pay old age pensions. I am positive that you would pay as much investigating claims as you would pay for the old age pensions.

Different countries in Europe have adopted old age pensions and I think it will not be long until the United States government will adopt the plan. I do not see why we should take upon ourselves the burden of caring for the aged workers; that is a burden that should be imposed upon the industry and upon society in general. Society should provide for the workers in their old age. If we are going to tax ourselves to support the old members we might as well tax ourselves to take care of the widows and children of the miners who are killed. We have different fraternal orders that provide homes for their aged members. While I do not favor a home for our aged members, that is the best voluntary plan yet devised for taking care of the old. If you raise the per capita tax too high men will use that as an argument for not coming into the organization. It will take all the militancy out of the workers. We should insist upon our government taking care of these soldiers of industry.

Delegate Rogers, Local 633, District 12: As I stand here today my mind goes back to the old days when we had such discussion on this floor. I have stood in years gone by for this organization and helped build it. I don't know how we should proceed to get the old age pension, or what method we should adopt, but any steps that are taken by the organization will be appreciated by me and by the local I represent.

Delegate Fishwick, District 12: I move as a substitute for everything before the house that the entire matter be referred to the International Executive Board. (Seconded.)

Delegate Flyzik, District 10: I wish at this time to commend the committee for the excellent report they have submitted to this convention on this very important matter. I favor an old age pension, but the economic movement, not only of America, but of the world, has proclaimed that it is the duty of every industry to take care of its incapacitated workmen. That being true, I think we should extend our agita-

tion into the legislative halls of our country and try to get a law enacted to provide for pensioning the aged and incapacitated, just as we have in the various State laws to provide for the injured and crippled workmen.

The committee has prepared what I term a masterpiece on this particular subject, but it is a new question to the rank and file. Personally, I would favor referring the entire matter to the local unions for them to review and consider for a year or two, with the advice that the delegates coming to the next biennial convention be instructed to vote for some concrete plan. One recommendation provides for a levy of 40 cents. If that goes through it means that the members at home will have to pay an additional 40 cents a month to create the fund. We know what that means—it means that those districts where they have no check-off will have very much trouble raising the money. As a result of that we will find that every year or two you will be compelled to exempt those men from this financial burden or responsibility. I believe before we adopt this we should refer it back to the membership; let them study it over and see if they cannot agree on some concrete plan two years hence when we reconvene in International convention. I therefore favor the motion to refer the whole matter to the various local unions for a period of two years.

Ex-President White: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I think we can agree that something should be done either through our economic organization or through legislation in our country that will give the weary toilers of the coal mines something more than the almshouse in the declining years of their lives. If it is fundamentally right and sound that the nation should support those men who have given their all to uphold the country in the hour of danger, I think it is equally right to take the same care of those who have been the cornerstone of the government.

We can all compliment the committee on the splendid report they have made on this subject. This report is the result of resolutions that have sprung, not from the official heads of your organization, but from the rank and file of the various local unions. An examination of the records of the organization will show that there were a number of resolutions bearing on the establishment of a home for aged mine workers submitted at various times. Some proposed a cottage plan, similar to

the institution maintained in Durham, England; another plan suggested was similar to that of the Typographical Union, which maintains a home in Colorado Springs. All these things invite our most careful and serious consideration. I was talking to a number of delegates in the convention concerning the report, and I arise this morning for fear the report would not meet the proper reception. I would not like to see hasty action taken and this report chloroformed and put to sleep forever. Whether we adopt the pension to be paid by our own organization or by the government, the principle is sound.

I take it the great obstacle to the adoption of the report in this convention is the financial responsibility. I think if we were prepared to say that we could assess ourselves and agree that it should be the function of this organization to take care of these weary sons of toil, then the plan suggested has all the workable features to put it into effect, and I want to commend the committee for bringing to us such a comprehensive report and plan for working it out in our organization. I think the motion to refer to the International Executive Board is not the proper motion. This report has cost some money and it has agitated the minds of our members in the local unions a great deal.

Ten or fifteen years ago, when I was president of the Iowa miners, I worked season in and season out for the establishment of a home where the deserving members of our organization who were worn out by the dull monotony of grinding toil could find rest when sometimes ungrateful children had turned their backs on these venerable people. I felt that this organization should be helpful and provide some suitable place for their old age. The almshouse was no place for these proud spirits who with their voice and their efforts contributed so much to the upbuilding of this organization, and I felt that my efforts, if they were helpful in the establishment of a home of that kind, would be one contribution I had made to the organization. I was young then and enthusiastic about the matter. I thought that was the proper plan, but the Iowa miners defeated it by 507 votes. I am glad now it was defeated, because the best thought of those who had investigated has decided that the centralized home is not the best plan. If a home is established it should be on the cottage plan.

The committee has investigated this matter and has brought to you a recommendation favoring a pension. Yesterday we adopted a most

magnificent report as to the aims and purposes of the United Mine Workers of America in this great, world-wide war. That report gives hope and comfort to every true friend of liberty. Our organization takes its place in the sun, side by side with the other great institutions of the country in upholding the government. But we said more than that—we said that when this world conflagration shall end, when the sword shall be taken from the hand of the oppressor and we gather round the council table, on account of its great sacrifices labor must be heard. We ask that labor shall be recognized for the part it has played in this great world war. It is to be hoped that in the readjustment spoken of full recognition will be given the aims and purposes labor has in mind, and I am confident that the pension plan will be one of the things considered.

I am opposed to referring this report to the International Executive Board. The Board cannot do anything. The committee has exhausted the field of research and has brought to you a complete report. Let the report go into the proceedings of your convention; let it find its way to the local unions, and when we come to our next biennial convention we will have a clearer idea of the matter. We can then decide whether it would be wise for this great economic organization to assume such a large financial responsibility, or whether we shall seek to secure through legislation the enactment of the plan provided for in the committee's report. A great many here do not realize the cost of these institutions. I am going to give you an idea of what it is costing to run your organization.

I understand the committee's report provides for 40 cents a month, and never to exceed 50 cents. This fund is to be created some years in advance of the going into effect of the report. In other words, it provides for the establishment of a fund of sufficient size to establish the home before the plan goes into effect. That would create an enormous fund if the assessment were levied on approximately 400,000 members; but, as it has been pointed out, a great many of our people cannot see the wisdom of assessing themselves for a fund of this kind. I want to give the delegation an idea of what it is costing our members to maintain the organization on its present basis. You can then decide the amount that will be necessary to assume this additional responsibility.

I have here a complete report of what it cost to maintain our or-

ganization from 1899 to 1917. I find that the average cost for maintaining our organization ranges from 64½ cents per member per year to \$3.60 per member per year, exclusive of aid. That is the actual operating cost of your organization.' The average cost per member to maintain the aid we have expended on strikes and for other purposes ranges from 19½ cents per member per year to \$10.71½ per member per year; the combined cost of these two important features that absorb the whole of your financial scheme ranges from \$1.47 per member per year to \$11.87 per member per year. I am pointing this out to give you in figures an idea of what you will be assuming if you adopt a pension plan.

I am sure I can subscribe, so far as I am personally concerned, to the principles of the committee's report, but I feel the men in this convention are not prepared to assume the responsibility of determining this; and rather than defeat the good work that has been done for our membership and in order that it may reach the members and be considered by them we will defer action in the matter. I would like to see it go to the rank and file for study and consideration, then take it up at some future convention for action. If this great war should terminate the form of legislation we are discussing might be taken up by the government, and the men who are in the industrial army today might receive more recognition in the future than in the past. I am heartily in accord with the fundamental principles of the report and I desire to again compliment the committee upon it. I hope it will become a permanent part of our proceedings and that it will be given to the local unions so that we will be in a position to discuss it in the proper way in our next biennial convention.

By vote of the convention the motion to refer to the International Executive Board was laid upon the table.

Delegate Simonds, Local 658, District 12: While I favor the spirit of the recommendation to refer, still I do not believe the local unions will ever take definite action on the report. There are things in these that none of us like. For instance, there is no provision made for the widow of a member, neither is there any provision made for the minor children. If a man is injured in the mines and he brings a case under the compensation law he will not be entitled to anything under the proposed pension plan. Again, a member may die outside of the mines and no provision will be made for him in that case. Personally, I have two or

three homes I can go to, and none of us, I believe, cares so much for the pension for ourselves as for the widows and minor children. I believe in the spirit of the report, but I do not believe it goes far enough.

Delegate Harper, District 12: I agree with the motion and hope it will be passed. However, I would not care to see what the last speaker suggested adopted. If we were to take up this question as Uncle Sam took up the pension question after the Civil war and include all the widows and orphans it would kill the entire intent and purpose of what this committee has worked for. I am willing to assist in creating this fund, and I am sure if each delegate here takes this home to his local union and explains it the local unions will take it up and act upon it. The locals ought to act upon it. I have mined coal for more than fifty years, but I am not speaking on this question for a selfish purpose. I have no desire to be pensioned by anybody, and I hope I never will, but there are some poor old men who may be cast out by their children who would be glad to have a big organization like this behind them when they are unable to work.

I am not in favor of a plan that will take the old men away from their everyday associations, isolate them in a home and cause them to die a great deal sooner than they would if they were left among their friends. I want something that will enable these old men to enjoy the last years in comfort.

Delegate Evan Evans, District 12: It is perfectly satisfactory to the committee to have this referred to the rank and file. I am speaking for the committee when I say the rank and file ought to decide this question. The recommendation of the committee is that if a pension system is created by the rank and file it will take in the young men as well as the old men; that is, if the young men become disabled and are not able to perform their ordinary work. I am glad the delegates seem to want to send this back to the rank and file. We do not want it smothered because we spent a great deal of time and money in making the investigation. As far as the committee is concerned, we are perfectly satisfied to have this referred to the rank and file, the Secretary-Treasurer of our organization to furnish each and every organization with a copy of the committee's report so that it can be thoroughly considered before the members decide whether they want to create a pension fund or not.

Delegate Harlin, District 10: On a question of this magnitude we ought to at least have sufficient patience to investigate and find out how deep the water is before we plunge into it. Unless the motion to refer to a referendum is changed and amended, it seems to me the rank and file would either vote for this report in toto or reject it—there will be no latitude allowed to amend it to meet changing conditions. I believe the idea expressed by former President White and Delegate Evans ought to be carried out in this convention this morning. The members at home ought to be given an opportunity to give their expression upon this question of old age pensions, inasmuch as it carries an assessment of 40 cents per member per month; and then following that expression I believe the committee and the officers of the International Union ought to co-operate with each other and bring in a report of the action of the rank and file before the next convention of the organization, so that definite action can be taken twenty months from now when we meet in biennial convention. I think that is the sensible thing for this convention to do. This is a tremendous question and I am very much impressed with its magnitude.

I suggest that an amendment be made to the motion that will carry out the ideas expressed by ex-President White. We can afford to take a little time on a question of this character. If you refer it just as it is you will have all kinds of discussion in the various local unions. Some local unions will want to amend it, some will be dissatisfied with one section of it and others with other sections. The committee ought to be able to get the expression of the rank and file so that definite action can be taken in the next convention.

I want to pay a compliment to this committee. They have rendered splendid service and have made a wonderfully comprehensive report. I think the committee will agree with the suggestion that has been made. We ought to be careful and see what we do in this convention is practical and will conserve the best interests of the organization. I have taken this opportunity to express my opinion, because I believe the pending motion is not sufficient to meet the situation.

President Hayes: Did you make an amendment or suggest an amendment?

Delegate Harlin: I was making a speech. I did not think it proper to make an amendment at the end of a speech.

President Hayes: An amendment is in order.

Delegate Harlin: Then I move as an amendment that the following language be added to the motion: That when an expression is received from the rank and file on this matter the committee and the officers of the International Union prepare to submit the entire question for final decision by the next International convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Hall, District 6: I rise to support the amendment offered by the last speaker. I feel that referring the report to a referendum vote at the present time is not the way to settle this important question. While I am a firm believer in the referendum, while I think the rank and file should have an opportunity to voice their sentiments on many more questions than they have had in the past, I am opposed to submitting this to a final referendum vote at this time. There are a number of States that are trying to secure by legislation the old age pension. If this subject-matter is referred to the rank and file for a referendum vote without giving them some education along this line it may be possible that the 40 cents that will be included in the report will be responsible for defeating the entire proposition.

If this organization casts a majority vote against the old age pension system that fact will become known to the different legislative bodies when the question of securing an old age pension is brought before them. If the mine workers defeat the proposition by a referendum vote it would injure the cause of old age pension, especially where an attempt is being made to secure it by legislation. The opponents of the old age pension by legislation would point to this act of our organization, should we defeat it, and say the workers do not want old age pensions.

Secretary Green: I want to impose on your patience just a moment while I say a word on the matter now pending. I want to agree with those who have told you that this question is of too great importance to be disposed of in a light or trivial manner. It is a question that ought to be given the best consideration and thought of the membership of our organization. I am sure I voice the sentiments of every man

within the sound of my voice, old or young, when I say that we owe to the old men an obligation and a duty we ought to discharge. If we can make their declining years a little happier, if we can surround them with some comfort when they are going down the shady slope of life, we ought to do it. This organization is not founded upon practicability alone. If you remove the sentimentality and the fraternal tie that binds us you will destroy the organization.

Men must be educated, men must think and men must study before their minds are prepared to put any advanced, progressive or decisive measure into effect. Give our membership a little time to think and study; give them an opportunity to comprehend what this means; give them a little time to arrive at a definite conclusion. For that reason I think the amendment of Delegate Harlin is the proper one at this time. I can send to every local union a copy of the splendid report made by this committee. Each delegate can take home a copy of the report and explain it to his local union. When the secretary of the local union gets the report I will send him he can also explain it. Distribute it as widely as you can; let the members think and study before they reach a conclusion. Then after they have studied and thought and read the report they will be in a position to act.

I know if this proposition is submitted for a definite decision now as to whether or not it shall be adopted or rejected, the chances are that because of the cost, the 40 cents per month per member proposed, our membership would vote it down. But if they have a little time to think and study and educate themselves, if they fully comprehend what it means, they may arrive at a conclusion that out of their earnings they can contribute something to give to our old men a pension in their declining years.

I have positive views on this matter. I am one of those who believe the working people should not be called upon to bear alone the burden of taking care of the soldiers in the industrial army in their declining years; I am one of those who believe that society at large and industry as well owe to these men compensation in their declining years, and I am one of those who believe that in any scheme of pensions for old and disabled workers the government of our nation should reach out and tax industry and society at large for a part of the money in order to

pay it to them when their working days are over to see the day—and that not far distant—when social legislation known as the Workmen's Compensation have written into the statutes of either the State or Federal laws that will provide a pension for them when they are no longer able to work. In that way the workers will not be left alone, but industry will contribute its share, society its share and the working people their share as well. When the time comes, let us do what we can to help.

There is in the heart of every old man a feeling for his declining years his great union, the only economic organization he can look for help and protection, will care for him. Let us lay the foundation for such a splendid superannuation fund that will give every member of our union an everlasting gratitude of every member of our union. Let us study and analyze this splendid report and then let the delegates come back to the next convention to say something more than you are prepared to say now. This is my proposition.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Harlin was rejected. The motion offered by Delegate Flyzik as amended was adopted.

REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION

Secretary Green read the following report:

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates:

The first session of the Thirty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at the Auditorium, Buffalo, N. Y., 10 o'clock a. m., November 1, 1924. The convention was in session twelve days, concluding

Hon. Charles S. Whitman, governor of New York, and Mr. M. Heald, representing the mayor of the city of New York, extended a cordial welcome to the officers and delegates in New York and the city of Buffalo. Mr. Stuart

Buffalo Central Labor Council, acted as temporary chairman. Mr. Carlton E. Chase, president of the New York Manufacturers' Association, and Mr. Archer A. Landon, president of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, addressed the convention. President Gompers, in behalf of the delegates, responded, and in well chosen words expressed the thanks of the delegates for the cordial welcome extended.

In response to an invitation extended by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the President of the United States journeyed from Washington to Buffalo to address the convention. His address on that memorable occasion is of such importance, so simple and so inspiring that we are incorporating it in full in this report. It is as follows:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS.

Mr. President, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, Ladies and Gentlemen: I esteem it a great privilege and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public councils. When your Executive Committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation because it seems to me that this, above all other times in our history, is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the nation. I thought that it was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel, the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind. I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is

not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom.

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label “Made in Germany” was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other nation who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had “a place in the sun.”

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the government has not laid its hands, to direct it, and when necessity arose, control it; and you have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the government of Germany. You will find that they

were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves, they could get a subsidy from the government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German government itself.

But that did not satisfy the German government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the future a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway. The Berlin-to-Bagdad railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany is thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace talks about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine. Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not talking about the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan states, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad—the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided, for I feel bound to put this proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German government continue to control it. I believe that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

You know how many intimations came to us from one of the Central Powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief Central Power, and you know that it means that the people in that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands they will in effect themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill-informed as to suppose, and some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America or anywhere else that supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Colonel House, to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I didn't send him on a peace mission yet. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom of our own or anybody else's, we will see that the power of this country and the productivity of this country is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way I do not mean that they

shall be prevented by the power of the government, but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America what we believe her to be—the greatest hope and energy of the world—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished.

While we are fighting for freedom, we must see among other things that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your President, Mr. Gompers; and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy, if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted. And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same; and I believe that I am speaking from my own experience not only, but from the experience of others, when I say that you are reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists. I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I haven't had a chance, but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to him-

self. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of a past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a little bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was not present. One of his friends said, "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you know So and So." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't h-h-hate a m-m-man I know." There is a great deal of human nature, of very pleasant human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate a man you know. I may admit, parenthetically, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics I would love to be with them.

So it is all along the line, in serious matters and things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow-citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands, and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purpose as much as any man, but I respect the ancient processes of justice, and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are.

So I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestations of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause. Why, gentlemen, look what it means. We claim to be the greatest democratic people in

the world, and democracy means, first of all, that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to co-operate in any formation or development of law and institutions, and some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare it with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations in this manifestation of the unwillingness to co-operate, and that the fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must not only take common counsel, but that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all of the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on ought not to go on. There are various processes of the dilution of labor and the unnecessary substitution of labor and the bidding in distant markets and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor which ought not to go on; I mean now on the part of employers, and we must interject into this some instrumentality of co-operation by which the fair thing will be done all 'round. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have and upon every occasion where it is necessary, have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

So, my fellow-citizens, the reason I came from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. There are so many people in Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about. I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real thing, and say to them, "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being with me is not to think about me personally at all but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

The report of the Committee on Credentials showed that 440 delegates were present, representing 100 national and international unions, 27 State branches, 87 central bodies, 49 local trade and federal labor

unions and 6 fraternal delegates, with a voting strength of 23,310. The United Mine Workers of America was represented by 8 delegates representing 3,520 votes.

The report of Secretary Morrison showed that during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1917, 559 charters were issued to international, central, local trade unions and federal labor unions. These charters were distributed as follows: 4 were issued to international unions, 70 to central labor unions, 376 to local trade unions and 109 to federal labor unions.

The secretary's report showed that the receipts for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1917, were \$501,408.24 and the expenditures were \$402,440.40; cash balance on hand September 30, 1917, \$98,967.84; \$7,833.20 of this amount was in the general fund and \$91,134.64 in the defense fund for local and federal labor unions. The average paid-up and reported membership for the year was 2,371,434, an average increase of 298,732 members over the preceding year. This is the largest membership reported for any year since the organization of the American Federation of Labor. Because of increasing expenses of the American Federation of Labor, the per capita tax was raised from three-fourths of a cent per member per month to seven-eighths of a cent. This amounts to one-eighth of a cent increase per member.

The report of the Executive Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor covered the activities of the organization during the past year. This report ought to be read by every member of organized labor and it is a matter of sincere regret that the report in full cannot be incorporated in this report.

A matter of special interest to the membership of the United Mine Workers was the adoption by the convention of the declaration entitled "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War," which was adopted by delegates from national and international organizations in meeting with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., on March 12, 1917. There were present at this meeting 148 representatives of 79 affiliated organizations, 5 unaffiliated organizations and 5 departments of the American Federation of Labor. The declaration is as follows:

We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished.

Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the nation's problems afford an opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; and necessarily applies to the relations between employers and employes, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our Republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the institutions of democracy. There is in organized

society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, whole-hearted co-operation of wage-earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hindrances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitations made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, Labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost.

In previous times Labor had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of "national safety."

The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the governments upon the co-operation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods.

As the representatives of the wage-earners we assert that conditions of work and pay in government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

A nation can not make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend.

The cornerstone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.

The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford its greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective co-operation in spirit and in action.

During the long period in which it has been establishing itself, the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage-earners.

Whether planning for peace or war the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must cooperate with wage-earners.

Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property.

We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product.

Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war and they also recognize that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country—a heritage that is to be maintained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor move-

ment has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice.

Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion.

The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions of the State from civic activities and from creating military agencies out of touch with masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made between military service for the nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commercial service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war.

It is fundamental, therefore, that the government co-operate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards.

The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality

when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor shall have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies of national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.

Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals

of human rights, freedom and liberty, economic, social and political justice.

Under this caption several subjects interesting and of vital importance to our movement and to our country are set forth with accuracy and clearness, and are worthy of the fullest perusal and keenest thought. We urge all delegates and all others to carefully read all that is said on this subject. It particularly refers to the change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom; the declaration of basic principles and policies of the provisional government of Russia and the appointment of a commission by President Wilson to visit Russia on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the government of the United States.

We note with keen interest the appointment of James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, upon this important commission. We appreciate the action of President Wilson and felicitate the American people upon the wisdom of his selection. Upon this important mission full recognition was given to the trade union movement, to the workers—the masses—and it required one who possessed an intimate basic knowledge of the rise and development of the labor movement of our country, its achievements, its hopes and its aspirations, all of which are possessed to a remarkable degree by our esteemed fellow trade-unionist, Brother Duncan. We moreover congratulate Brother Duncan upon his selection and for the eminently successful manner in which he discharged the obligations resting upon him.

We declare that had there been a trade union movement in Russia it would have had a stabilizing force and a far-reaching beneficent effect in the crisis now resting so heavily upon the Russian people. The Russian people have lived for centuries in one of the most brutalized autocracies that has ever disgraced the pages of history; they were denied the right of self-government, the right to congregate for any economic or political purposes, the right to attain an education, and because of these limitations there existed a lack of experience that would have been of priceless value now in stabilizing and maintaining their new-found freedom.

The trade union movement, had it existed in Russia, would have developed discipline and a central power not of an autocratic nature, but

a power rather to execute and carry into effect the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people.

We note with the greatest satisfaction the cable messages of fraternity and good will sent to the people and the provisional government of the new Russian democracy by President Gompers and by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon the question of conferences held and proposed by the International Federation of Trade Unions and other associations, we shall have more to say under a separate caption. Suffice it at present to say we concur and recommend for endorsement the action of our officers and the Executive Council in connection with these important conferences.

The convention unanimously adopted the report of the committee.

Peace Terms.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 62), your committee reports as follows:

There can be no true co-operation from an international standpoint except where the elected and responsible representatives of the workers participate under an agreement which recognizes and safeguards the rights of each nation to fix and declare its own destiny, and yet broad enough, big enough and intelligent enough to submerge selfishness and non-essentials to the common good of the workers of all nations.

Peace terms should presage a condition tending to a lasting peace grounded upon conditions that are just, fair and honorable to the peoples of all countries.

We agree with the Executive Council that "The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives," and further, that "This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government," and moreover, "There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievements of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the

plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action."

The Executive Council offers the following declaration as a basis upon which peace should be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.

3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles, which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.

2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Your committee concurs in the foregoing with a clear understanding that it is submitted as a basis upon which peace terms may be negotiated.

In addition to the peace terms which the Executive Council recommended in its report, the following proposal should be incorporated: The governments of the various nations shall exchange labor representatives, according to them the same authority and honor that is given to any other diplomat. Governments have long been accustomed to exchange commercial, industrial and financial representatives, and we submit that this concept ought to be widened to include not only the above-named interests but also those who furnish the human labor energies essential to co-ordination for production.

One of the paramount facts which clearly stands out, above all others, in this unprecedented world war is that labor is a basic force in producing the materials of civilization and is co-equal with all other essential elements in national life.

It is not only fitting that labor should be given this merited recognition, but no other single policy would contribute more effectually to the democratization of relations between nations, thereby strengthening forces and conditions that make for permanent peace based upon essential human justice.

If a labor conference is held prior to the war's close or prior to a time in which the belligerent nations are to participate in a peace conference, labor would be forced to declare specific terms presaging the conditions upon which peace should rest; this implies an inadvisable attitude not only for labor but, moreover, for our country as well. Neither American labor nor the American government should now state the final binding terms of peace. Both, however, can be instrumental and exercise a potential force at the proper and opportune time.

This is a world war in which seventeen nations are allied against the central powers. Our government did not start this war. We should not, in the light of present events, call a peace conference or arbitrarily name inflexible peace terms. Such a responsibility rests upon our government and is a prerogative and responsibility it should first assume and exercise.

We concur in the action of the Executive Council in refusing to be led into a premature peace conference, whether emanating from Germany or originating with her sympathizers here or elsewhere, and congratulate it upon its sagacious judgment in refusing to participate or becoming involved in any schemes of this character.

Conditions are changing from day to day and that which appeals to our judgment today as proper fundamental peace terms may be changed over night.

Genuine democracy, the great issue now in war, had no lodgment in the minds and hearts of those who started this war; neither was it an appreciable issue until made so by our entrance into the war. Other sound principles may develop, which we should like later to make one of the basic principles upon which peace should be declared.

When a peace conference is held it should be at a time and place when and where the workers of the vanquished as well as those of the triumphant countries may participate upon an equality, in order that the best interests of labor and of the trade union movement may be fully promoted.

When victory is achieved none will be quicker to extend the fraternal hand of trade union fellowship to the organized workers in all countries now at war, or will do so more heartily than will the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with this subject we call special attention to the November issue of the American Federationist, which contains much interesting and instructive correspondence.

The San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor in adopting a part of the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, instructed the Executive Council to call a labor peace conference of all nations at the time and place the peace conference is held by the belligerent nations, and authorized the Executive Council to send two delegates, one of whom should be the President of the American Federation of Labor. This action was reaffirmed at the Baltimore convention in 1916.

Your committee recommends that that action be again reaffirmed with the addition that at least five delegates, one of whom shall be the

President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to participate in this conference.

The convention adopted the report of the Committee on Co-operation appointed by President Gompers in accordance with Resolution No. 86, adopted by the Baltimore convention, November, 1916. By the adoption of this report the American Federation of Labor endorsed without reservation or limitation the Rochdale plan of co-operation.

The action of the convention in concurring in the report of the committee indicates the favorable attitude of labor toward the co-operative movement. Herein follows the report of the committee. It is both instructive and interesting, and for that reason we have incorporated it in full in our report to the convention:

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.

Buffalo, N. Y., November 17, 1917.

To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

Reversing the usual order of reports, the committee submits at the outset its recommendations. They are as follows:

1. That a qualified trade unionist co-operator be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to serve one year as lecturer and adviser on the practical work of Rochdale co-operation.

2. That this appointee shall have office room in the American Federation of Labor building in Washington, which shall be the center of information by correspondence and otherwise on the subject.

3. That he shall visit localities in which co-operative societies are in process of formation or have already been formed, and give practical information to the officers and members of such societies, making out routes of travel for this purpose so as to conserve his time and perform the work at a minimum of expense.

4. That it shall be understood that central labor unions and local trade unions as such shall not form co-operative societies, but shall appoint committees from their membership to act in co-operation with other citizens who are in sympathy with the trade union movement in assisting in the upbuilding of a general co-operative movement.

5. That every local trade union under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar (\$1.00) in order to establish successfully the Federation bureau for promoting and advancing the cause of true co-operation in the United States and Canada.

Your committee believes the submission of this practical program to be of more value to the trade unionists of the country than an extensive survey of the co-operative movements of the world or any exhaustive dissertation on the principles of co-operation which might be made the subject matter of a report, except to say that we have found that protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations are alike without power to influence employers to pay the rate of wages they should pay; provide safe and healthful conditions of employment, or establish the relationship that should obtain between the employers and the workers or the reasonable hours that should constitute a day's work.

The only way we have been able to assure these conditions has been through the establishment of the trade union movement, a powerful organization of workers to enforce labor's just demands.

This is just as true of the merchants and business men as it is of other employers. Protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations will not enable us to obtain permanently the best articles which we use in every day life for just prices.

There is nothing that will accomplish this purpose except organization, and the co-operative movement is the organization that is designed to protect the workers in their relations with the merchants and the business men in the same sense that the trade union movement protects them from the employers. The two movements are twin remedies.

If we had a thorough co-operative movement throughout America, comprising in its membership the workers thereof, there would be less need for official governmental food control agencies.

And without that kind of organization established permanently to deal with this question there is no guarantee to the workers that the cost of living for them and their families will be permanently placed on the basis that should obtain, and it is for that reason that we believe that the American Federation of Labor should assist in establishing, build-

ing up and strengthening in every way possible a legitimate organization of bona fide workers in our country and Canada as part of the great world's co-operative movement; so that after the trade union movement has secured for the workers the wages that they are entitled to for the labor they perform, they may be assured in spending those wages that they will get for them their full value.

We hold that it is just as essential that a workingman should get ten dollars' worth of actual value for his wages when he spends them as it is that he should get the ten dollars that he is entitled to for the labor that he performs.

We would also recommend that the United States government be requested by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take up the question of the co-operative movement in connection with its activities relative to the high cost of living, with a view to utilizing as far as possible the existing co-operative organizations for immediate purposes and encouraging the creation of additional co-operative organizations where they are needed and conditions are suitable.

There has been assembled in the offices of the American Federation of Labor a considerable body of literature on the subject, among which are the standard works, reports from various countries, and lists of recent publications.

Your committee has excluded from its consideration all forms of associated work which do not fall within the strict limits of the Rochdale co-operative system.

The simple principles of this system are:

1. A democratic organization.
2. One vote for each member with equality in share ownership.
3. Cash returns quarterly to members of the difference between the total amount they have paid for their purchases and the lesser total cost of these purchases to the co-operative society, including among the costs depreciation and a reasonable amount for a reserve fund to meet emergencies and extend the business.
4. Rejection of the principle of profits.

5. Current interest on loan capital.
6. Sales where possible preferably to members only.
7. Distributive co-operation to precede productive.
8. A sufficient number of retail stores to be established to assure a market before a wholesale department is created.
9. Observance of methods recommended by the International Co-operative Alliance.

All the members of your committee have made the subject of co-operation the study of many years, have had personal experience in conducting or investigating co-operative societies and are acquainted with co-operation as a great world movement. In their judgment the co-operative principle and the trade union principle give rise to no hurtful interference with each other, but are mutually helpful, and each is in a degree beyond measure a factor in the economic, social, political and educational development of the wage-working masses.

(Signed) G. W. PERKINS,
Chairman.

J. H. WALKER,
W. D. MAHON,
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J. W. SULLIVAN.

Regarding the decision of the federal court at Ft. Smith, Ark., in the case of the Coronado Coal Company vs. the United Mine Workers of America wherein a jury rendered a verdict for \$200,000 damages against the United Mine Workers for alleged violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the convention took action by adopting the following motion:

"That the Executive Council be instructed to investigate all the facts in connection with this case and that they render the United Mine Workers of America such assistance as may be within their power in carrying this case to the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary."

James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, submitted the following report of the activities of that department during the past year.

MINING DEPARTMENT.

The year that has elapsed since the adjournment of the Baltimore convention has been the most critical period in the history of the American labor movement, and it speaks well for the structure and policy of the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated national and international unions that the rights, interests and conditions of the workers have been so well conserved, and at the same time our movement been in the position of rendering such splendid service in the great struggle for the maintenance of such democracy as has been established on earth against the greatest machinery of autocracy and militarism the world has ever seen.

Owing to the fact that the A. F. of L. and its representative spokesmen of all affiliated unions took the highly intelligent position they did when it was realized that we must inevitably be drawn into this holocaust, and the fact that I was honored by being appointed on the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, and also that I accepted membership on the National Coal Committee, I have not been able to go out into the mining regions as much as I would have liked to have done, but, whether in the field or in Washington, I have labored to the best of my ability and opportunity that the rights of Labor be conserved, its standards be maintained, and the maximum of service rendered to our great country.

The affiliated unions of the Mining Department have made splendid progress during this most critical time, and their official representatives have been taxed to the limit of their physical and mental powers in meeting the ever-changing conditions, one abnormal situation after another, and have reason to congratulate themselves by the splendid results of their labors.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has, largely because of its importance in connection with the production of copper, been continually meeting one crisis after another, and has, while fighting with all its might to see that democracy should not be lost for the humblest citizen of our Republic in this world fight for the maintenance and further opportunities for democracy, exhibited a broad and highly patriotic vision of the problems by which it has been confronted, and has bent every energy to the end that the production of

copper and other metals should be kept at the maximum. They have a splendid and highly intelligent membership, who see their economic salvation measured by their spreading the gospel of democratic unionism and establishing intelligent joint relations throughout the hard rock mining fields of North America. They also are cursed in many districts by more than their share of freaks, fanatics and disruptionists, who seem to think that their mission in life is to prevent the growth or progress of unionism. These misguided men are greater enemies to progress than even the union hating employer, and are often the vehicle by which he can over-ride unionism. The officials of the I. U. of M. M. and S. W. have worked untiringly in the face of these obstacles and have been successful in negotiating joint agreements in the union fields and being a steadying influence in the non-union fields. Metalliferous districts are becoming as truly competitive as are coal districts, and there is a growing tendency on the part of mining and smelting concerns to establish equitable joint relations, who never gave union recognition a serious thought heretofore. Solidarity on the part of the workers will open the door to district joint agreements where they have never existed. We can not too strongly condemn acts of violence, deportations and forcible suppression of the workers in exercising or demanding their constitutional rights, such as have been practiced by certain employers, but repeat that many of these unlawful occurrences would never happen if the workers would put an end to their own differences not involving fundamental principles and unite on the economic field in the bona fide labor movement.

The United Mine Workers have also had to bring all their energy and power to bear on the unusual situation created by our entrance into the arena of war, and with splendid results. They have organized more than five hundred local unions during the past year. On April 16, 1917, they secured a general advance in wages amounting to 25 per cent., and on October 6, 1917, they secured another wage advance amounting to \$1.40 per day for day men, 10 per cent. a ton for miners, and 15 per cent. on yardage and dead work. They also secured a contract during October of this year for eighteen thousand newly organized Mine Workers in Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. They have exerted every influence to keep the production of coal to the maximum and have given their

time and efforts freely to the government in the crisis we are passing through.

Lack of time and opportunity will not permit me to render a comprehensive report regarding the activities and achievements of the other international unions affiliated with the Department at this time on account of my recent return from attending the Trade Union Congress and Inter-Allied Conference in Britain, which activities will be embodied in my annual report to the Buffalo Convention of the Mining Department.

With the limited time at my command during the past year I have assisted in negotiating a joint agreement between the Iron Miners and Operators in New Jersey, visited some of the larger camps of Arizona, attended the Maryland and District of Columbia Federation of Labor Convention in Cumberland, Md., during the month of April, at which convention of the Mine Workers of Maryland were fully represented for the first time in their history, and toured the gold and silver camps at Ontario where a critical situation existed during last June. I have worked with the committee on Labor and the Coal Committee up to my departure to Great Britain, and was helpful on several occasions in bringing about settlements or avoiding industrial disturbances by getting in touch with the representatives of the Council of National Defense and the mining concerns affected.

It is my sincere belief that by the intelligent and co-operative position taken by organized labor in connection with our governmental and international crisis, the bars of prejudice have been broken down regarding organized labor and adequate joint relations between employers and employes in a larger proportion than has ever been recorded, and a new conception of industrial justice manifested in places where it had heretofore been unknown, and Labor's declaration in Peace or in War, of March 12th, marks an epoch in the march of the workers towards democracy, and will in the days to come be regarded as one of the greatest and most significant of our historic declarations.

It is well nigh impossible to incorporate in a report of this kind, the action of the convention on the numerous questions which come before it. The report of the Executive Council, the special reports on special subjects which were considered and acted upon and all of the addresses delivered to the convention, which would be educational and

of human rights, freedom and liberty, economic, social and political justice.

Under this caption several subjects interesting and of vital importance to our movement and to our country are set forth with accuracy and clearness, and are worthy of the fullest perusal and keenest thought. We urge all delegates and all others to carefully read all that is said on this subject. It particularly refers to the change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom; the declaration of basic principles and policies of the provisional government of Russia and the appointment of a commission by President Wilson to visit Russia on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the government of the United States.

We note with keen interest the appointment of James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, upon this important commission. We appreciate the action of President Wilson and felicitate the American people upon the wisdom of his selection. Upon this important mission full recognition was given to the trade union movement, to the workers—the masses—and it required one who possessed an intimate basic knowledge of the rise and development of the labor movement of our country, its achievements, its hopes and its aspirations, all of which are possessed to a remarkable degree by our esteemed fellow trade-unionist, Brother Duncan. We moreover congratulate Brother Duncan upon his selection and for the eminently successful manner in which he discharged the obligations resting upon him.

We declare that had there been a trade union movement in Russia it would have had a stabilizing force and a far-reaching beneficent effect in the crisis now resting so heavily upon the Russian people. The Russian people have lived for centuries in one of the most brutalized autocracies that has ever disgraced the pages of history; they were denied the right of self-government, the right to congregate for any economic or political purposes, the right to attain an education, and because of these limitations there existed a lack of experience that would have been of priceless value now in stabilizing and maintaining their new-found freedom.

The trade union movement, had it existed in Russia, would have developed discipline and a central power not of an autocratic nature, but

a power rather to execute and carry into effect the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people.

We note with the greatest satisfaction the cable messages of fraternity and good will sent to the people and the provisional government of the new Russian democracy by President Gompers and by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon the question of conferences held and proposed by the International Federation of Trade Unions and other associations, we shall have more to say under a separate caption. Suffice it at present to say we concur and recommend for endorsement the action of our officers and the Executive Council in connection with these important conferences.

The convention unanimously adopted the report of the committee.

Peace Terms.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 62), your committee reports as follows:

There can be no true co-operation from an international standpoint except where the elected and responsible representatives of the workers participate under an agreement which recognizes and safeguards the rights of each nation to fix and declare its own destiny, and yet broad enough, big enough and intelligent enough to submerge selfishness and non-essentials to the common good of the workers of all nations.

Peace terms should presage a condition tending to a lasting peace grounded upon conditions that are just, fair and honorable to the peoples of all countries.

We agree with the Executive Council that "The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives," and further, that "This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government," and moreover, "There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievements of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the

plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action."

The Executive Council offers the following declaration as a basis upon which peace should be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

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5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles, which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.

2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Your committee concurs in the foregoing with a clear understanding that it is submitted as a basis upon which peace terms may be negotiated.

In addition to the peace terms which the Executive Council recommended in its report, the following proposal should be incorporated: The governments of the various nations shall exchange labor representatives, according to them the same authority and honor that is given to any other diplomat. Governments have long been accustomed to exchange commercial, industrial and financial representatives, and we submit that this concept ought to be widened to include not only the above-named interests but also those who furnish the human labor energies essential to co-ordination for production.

One of the paramount facts which clearly stands out, above all others, in this unprecedented world war is that labor is a basic force in producing the materials of civilization and is co-equal with all other essential elements in national life.

It is not only fitting that labor should be given this merited recognition, but no other single policy would contribute more effectually to the democratization of relations between nations, thereby strengthening forces and conditions that make for permanent peace based upon essential human justice.

If a labor conference is held prior to the war's close or prior to a time in which the belligerent nations are to participate in a peace conference, labor would be forced to declare specific terms presaging the conditions upon which peace should rest; this implies an inadvisable attitude not only for labor but, moreover, for our country as well. Neither American labor nor the American government should now state the final binding terms of peace. Both, however, can be instrumental and exercise a potential force at the proper and opportune time.

This is a world war in which seventeen nations are allied against the central powers. Our government did not start this war. We should not, in the light of present events, call a peace conference or arbitrarily name inflexible peace terms. Such a responsibility rests upon our government and is a prerogative and responsibility it should first assume and exercise.

We concur in the action of the Executive Council in refusing to be led into a premature peace conference, whether emanating from Germany or originating with her sympathizers here or elsewhere, and congratulate it upon its sagacious judgment in refusing to participate or becoming involved in any schemes of this character.

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When a peace conference is held it should be at a time and place when and where the workers of the vanquished as well as those of the triumphant countries may participate upon an equality, in order that the best interests of labor and of the trade union movement may be fully promoted.

When victory is achieved none will be quicker to extend the fraternal hand of trade union fellowship to the organized workers in all countries now at war, or will do so more heartily than will the American Federation of Labor.

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Your committee recommends that that action be again reaffirmed with the addition that at least five delegates, one of whom shall be the

President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to participate in this conference.

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The action of the convention in concurring in the report of the committee indicates the favorable attitude of labor toward the co-operative movement. Herein follows the report of the committee. It is both instructive and interesting, and for that reason we have incorporated it in full in our report to the convention:

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.

Buffalo, N. Y., November 17, 1917.

To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

Reversing the usual order of reports, the committee submits at the outset its recommendations. They are as follows:

1. That a qualified trade unionist co-operator be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to serve one year as lecturer and adviser on the practical work of Rochdale co-operation.

2. That this appointee shall have office room in the American Federation of Labor building in Washington, which shall be the center of information by correspondence and otherwise on the subject.

3. That he shall visit localities in which co-operative societies are in process of formation or have already been formed, and give practical information to the officers and members of such societies, making out routes of travel for this purpose so as to conserve his time and perform the work at a minimum of expense.

4. That it shall be understood that central labor unions and local trade unions as such shall not form co-operative societies, but shall appoint committees from their membership to act in co-operation with other citizens who are in sympathy with the trade union movement in assisting in the upbuilding of a general co-operative movement.

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Regarding the decision of the federal court at Ft. Smith, Ark., in the case of the Coronado Coal Company vs. the United Mine Workers of America wherein a jury rendered a verdict for \$200,000 damages against the United Mine Workers for alleged violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the convention took action by adopting the following motion:

"That the Executive Council be instructed to investigate all the facts in connection with this case and that they render the United Mine Workers of America such assistance as may be within their power in carrying this case to the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary."

James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, submitted the following report of the activities of that department during the past year.

MINING DEPARTMENT.

The year that has elapsed since the adjournment of the Baltimore convention has been the most critical period in the history of the American labor movement, and it speaks well for the structure and policy of the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated national and international unions that the rights, interests and conditions of the workers have been so well conserved, and at the same time our movement been in the position of rendering such splendid service in the great struggle for the maintenance of such democracy as has been established on earth against the greatest machinery of autocracy and militarism the world has ever seen.

Owing to the fact that the A. F. of L. and its representative spokesmen of all affiliated unions took the highly intelligent position they did when it was realized that we must inevitably be drawn into this holocaust, and the fact that I was honored by being appointed on the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, and also that I accepted membership on the National Coal Committee, I have not been able to go out into the mining regions as much as I would have liked to have done, but, whether in the field or in Washington, I have labored to the best of my ability and opportunity that the rights of Labor be conserved, its standards be maintained, and the maximum of service rendered to our great country.

The affiliated unions of the Mining Department have made splendid progress during this most critical time, and their official representatives have been taxed to the limit of their physical and mental powers in meeting the ever-changing conditions, one abnormal situation after another, and have reason to congratulate themselves by the splendid results of their labors.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has, largely because of its importance in connection with the production of copper, been continually meeting one crisis after another, and has, while fighting with all its might to see that democracy should not be lost for the humblest citizen of our Republic in this world fight for the maintenance and further opportunities for democracy, exhibited a broad and highly patriotic vision of the problems by which it has been confronted, and has bent every energy to the end that the production of

copper and other metals should be kept at the maximum. They have a splendid and highly intelligent membership, who see their economic salvation measured by their spreading the gospel of democratic unionism and establishing intelligent joint relations throughout the hard rock mining fields of North America. They also are cursed in many districts by more than their share of freaks, fanatics and disruptionists, who seem to think that their mission in life is to prevent the growth or progress of unionism. These misguided men are greater enemies to progress than even the union hating employer, and are often the vehicle by which he can over-ride unionism. The officials of the I. U. of M. M. and S. W. have worked untiringly in the face of these obstacles and have been successful in negotiating joint agreements in the union fields and being a steadying influence in the non-union fields. Metalliferous districts are becoming as truly competitive as are coal districts, and there is a growing tendency on the part of mining and smelting concerns to establish equitable joint relations, who never gave union recognition a serious thought heretofore. Solidarity on the part of the workers will open the door to district joint agreements where they have never existed. We can not too strongly condemn acts of violence, deportations and forcible suppression of the workers in exercising or demanding their constitutional rights, such as have been practiced by certain employers, but repeat that many of these unlawful occurrences would never happen if the workers would put an end to their own differences not involving fundamental principles and unite on the economic field in the bona fide labor movement.

The United Mine Workers have also had to bring all their energy and power to bear on the unusual situation created by our entrance into the arena of war, and with splendid results. They have organized more than five hundred local unions during the past year. On April 16, 1917, they secured a general advance in wages amounting to 25 per cent., and on October 6, 1917, they secured another wage advance amounting to \$1.40 per day for day men, 10 per cent. a ton for miners, and 15 per cent. on yardage and dead work. They also secured a contract during October of this year for eighteen thousand newly organized Mine Workers in Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. They have exerted every influence to keep the production of coal to the maximum and have given their

time and efforts freely to the government in the crisis we are passing through.

Lack of time and opportunity will not permit me to render a comprehensive report regarding the activities and achievements of the other international unions affiliated with the Department at this time on account of my recent return from attending the Trade Union Congress and Inter-Allied Conference in Britain, which activities will be embodied in my annual report to the Buffalo Convention of the Mining Department.

With the limited time at my command during the past year I have assisted in negotiating a joint agreement between the Iron Miners and Operators in New Jersey, visited some of the larger camps of Arizona, attended the Maryland and District of Columbia Federation of Labor Convention in Cumberland, Md., during the month of April, at which convention of the Mine Workers of Maryland were fully represented for the first time in their history, and toured the gold and silver camps at Ontario where a critical situation existed during last June. I have worked with the committee on Labor and the Coal Committee up to my departure to Great Britain, and was helpful on several occasions in bringing about settlements or avoiding industrial disturbances by getting in touch with the representatives of the Council of National Defense and the mining concerns affected.

It is my sincere belief that by the intelligent and co-operative position taken by organized labor in connection with our governmental and international crisis, the bars of prejudice have been broken down regarding organized labor and adequate joint relations between employers and employes in a larger proportion than has ever been recorded, and a new conception of industrial justice manifested in places where it had heretofore been unknown, and Labor's declaration in Peace or in War, of March 12th, marks an epoch in the march of the workers towards democracy, and will in the days to come be regarded as one of the greatest and most significant of our historic declarations.

It is well nigh impossible to incorporate in a report of this kind, the action of the convention on the numerous questions which come before it. The report of the Executive Council, the special reports on special subjects which were considered and acted upon and all of the addresses delivered to the convention, which would be educational and

helpful if read by all of the members of our organization. Such a report, however, would be altogether too voluminous, hence the reason why we cannot include a full report of the proceedings of the convention, in a report of this kind. We have dwelt upon such matters as appeared to be of special interest.

The two fraternal delegates representing the British Trades Union Congress were John Hill and Arthur Hayday. Brother Wm. Lodge was the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The following officers were elected:

President, Samuel Gompers, cigarmaker.

First Vice-President, James Duncan, granite cutter.

Second Vice-President, James O'Connell, machinist.

Third Vice-President, Jos. F. Valentine, iron molder.

Fourth Vice-President, John R. Alpine, plumber.

Fifth Vice-President, H. B. Perham, railroad telegrapher.

Sixth Vice-President, Frank Duffy, carpenter.

Seventh Vice-President, Wm. Green, coal miner.

Eighth Vice-President, Wm. D. Mahon, street railwayman.

Secretary, Frank Morrison, printer.

Treasurer, Daniel J. Tobin, teamster.

Brother Jos. A. Franklin of the Boilermakers and Brother Wm. J. Bowen of the Bricklayers were elected as fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. Brother Stuart Hayward of the Buffalo Central Labor Council was elected fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The date of holding the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor was changed from November to June. It was decided to hold the next convention in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN P. WHITE,
FRANK J. HAYES,
JOHN MITCHELL,
WM. GREEN,
JOHN H. WALKER,
FRANK FARRINGTON,
JOHN MOORE,
JOHN L. LEWIS.

The report of the delegates was made part of the records of the convention.

Delegate Franckey, District 12: I rise at this time for the purpose of discussing a matter that vitally affects various sections of the coal industry of this country. If it were not for the action taken by the convention that deprived me of the floor when the report of the President was under consideration I would not at this time take up the time of the convention. Considerable has been said about the recent increases in wages obtained in the conferences in New York and Washington, but nothing has been said as to how these increases will apply throughout the country and in what manner the earnings of the miners of the country will be equalized.

Speaking first of the increase granted in the New York conference, which was 10 cents per ton to the miners and 60 cents a day to the day men, the miners of Illinois were not satisfied with the manner in which it was applied. Some locals went on strike as a protest against the way the increase was applied. Notwithstanding the fact that these strikes were in violation of the contract, another joint conference was held in Washington. At the conference in Washington the miners secured another increase of \$1.40 for the day men, 10 cents a ton for the miners and 15 per cent. on yardage and dead work.

A point of order was raised that Delegate Franckey was discussing a matter that has been disposed of by the ratification of the Washington Agreement.

Delegate Franckey: I may be out of order, but I feel that I am coming to a question that is properly before the convention. Resolutions referring to this matter that should have been referred to the Committee on Resolutions were printed under the head of "Miscellaneous."

President Hayes: Delegate Franckey will please be seated. The point of order is well taken. Questions of scale have been disposed of and cannot now be discussed by this convention. The entire subject has been disposed of by the ratification of the Washington Agreement.

Mother Jones was granted the privilege of the floor to submit the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, That we express our deep appreciation for the untiring

efforts of Fremont Older, Editor of the San Francisco Bulletin, in behalf of social justice for the working people of our country.

Mother Jones made a brief statement of the manner in which Mr. Older had championed the cause of labor and the pecuniary loss he had suffered because of the stand he took on the Mooney case.

The resolution was adopted.

Mother Jones made a brief statement of the manner in which the late Senator Kern of Indiana had championed the cause of the miners during the West Virginia strikes, when a large number of them were imprisoned by the military authorities, and submitted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION ON DEATH OF SENATOR KERN.

Resolved, That we express to the widow of the late Senator Kern our appreciation for the valuable assistance he rendered the Mine Workers of America, especially during the West Virginia strikes, and express our sincere sympathy for her in her great loss.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Mother Jones: I have a resolution I want the convention to endorse. We are not always dealt with squarely by the courts. As a general rule they are strictly capitalistic, appointed for the interest of the exploiters and not the interest of the workers. When a court does do justice to workers, as happened to be the case in Arizona, I think they ought to be commended. As you know, there was a contest in the election of Governor Hunt. I felt he was elected, and when the information came to me that he was defeated I felt there had been some crooked work done.

The corporate interests of 99 John Street, New York, control all the copper interests of Arizona and New Mexico, or nearly all. They have reached their claws down into Mexico. There was a strike in Morenci, and the governor went down and ordered the sheriff to deputize forty miners to serve as deputy sheriffs. He also sent a company of militia to the border and ordered them to allow no scabs and gunmen to come in. The strike went on for some time. There was very little money in the treasury, but the governor sent out an appeal through the state to help

support the strikers, and for that reason the high class burglars of 99 John Street, New York, turned down the governor through their understrappers and courts. Now the governor has won out; justice has won over corruption and rottenness, and every citizen of the nation should pay his respects to that court.

Mother Jones submitted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION COMMENDING ARIZONA SUPREME COURT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The corporation interests and other exploiters of the people of the State of Arizona by trickery, bribery and other forms of corruption debauched the last election in that State for the purpose of defeating the Hon. J. P. Hunt, a proven friend of the people, and organized labor who was a candidate for Governor, and

Whereas, The State Supreme Court of that State has decided that the Hon. J. P. Hunt was duly elected Governor and that he must be given the right to assume the duties of that position; and

Whereas, In view of the many biased and dishonest decisions that have been rendered against the people's interest and in violation of the Constitution and laws of our country and the different States by many courts in recent years, this decision stands out as an oasis in the desert, a credit to the men who made it and an inspiration to those who believe in honest, clean and competent courts; therefore be it,

Resolved, That this convention extends its congratulations to Hon. J. P. Hunt, Governor of the State of Arizona, on his re-election to that high position to which he is so eminently fitted; and be it further

Resolved, That the same be extended to the people of the State of Arizona on their good judgment in selecting Hon. J. P. Hunt for their governor; and be it further

Resolved, That we express our appreciation for the high standard of justice and fair play set by the Supreme Court of Arizona in rendering this decision, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of the Arizona Supreme Court, to Governor Hunt and given to the press.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Green: I was asked for information the other day by Delegate Foster, of Ohio. I promised to give him the information he sought. I have looked up our records and find that at a meeting of the International Executive Board held during the year 1917 the Board learned that during the anthracite and bituminous wage conferences held in New York, between February 29 and the middle of May, 1916, President White was in New York almost continuously. Not only was the anthracite wage conference negotiated in New York but also the bituminous wage contract. During that time President White incurred incidental expenses that were not included in his bill submitted to me each month. Many of the items of expense were for services rendered by men who went to various places to secure information that was valuable and in the interests of the mine workers. These expenses totaled quite an item and the Board felt that President White should be reimbursed for these expenses. By motion of the International Executive Board he was paid \$500 to cover these incidental expenses. That is the answer to the inquiry of Delegate Foster.

In reply to a question asked by Delegate Jones, of District 12, I find from an examination of our records that there are 88 organizers and field workers employed.

Regarding the item in my report on page 12, wherein it appears that President White was paid \$6,083.32, I desire to make the following explanation: During the seven years that he served this International organization as its president the Executive Board each year voted him a vacation, just as former presidents have been voted vacations. On account of the pressing work he at no time took the vacation that had been voted him by the International Executive Board. When he retired as your President, following a custom of the past your Executive Board voted him six months salary, which amounted to \$2,000. That is included in this \$6,000 about which inquiry has been made. At no time was his salary more than \$4,000.

I have been handed a resolution by some delegates from Indiana. They ask unanimous consent for its consideration at this time. It was prepared by them and they thought they had sent it in time to

be included with the other resolutions. It was not received in time to be printed.

No objection being offered, Secretary Green read the following resolution:

RESOLUTION DEALING WITH SOLDIERS' WAGES.

Whereas, In our present struggle for world-wide democracy the working people of our country have made great sacrifices and our young men are being called from the mines to answer the country's call on very short notice, and

Whereas, It has come to our notice that many operators have in the past exacted from the earnings of the young men being called to lay down their working tools and take their places in the service of our government 10 per cent. of the wages due them for labor at the time of being called for duty; therefore be it

Resolved, By the delegates to this convention that we go on record condemning such action on the part of the employers of labor as unpatriotic; that all who have been taken away from their jobs and were forced to submit to such reduction in their wages in order to secure a settlement, be reimbursed for the amounts so deducted, and that all mine workers who may be called in the future shall receive a settlement in full without deducting any per cent of their wages; and, be it further

Resolved, That the matter of employers deducting 10 per cent. of the wages of laborers, members of the national army, be referred to the various state councils of defense immediately by our national officials.

STANLEY COOK, President,
J. L. SIMS, Delegate,
L. U. 625, Linton, Indiana.

The resolution was adopted as read.

Unanimous consent was obtained on the introduction of the following resolution submitted by representatives of the Iowa District:

INTERSTATE CONFERENCE AND OUTLYING DISTRICTS.

To the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, We believe that the operators and miners of the outlying districts where bituminous coal is mined should be represented in joint conferences when basic wage agreements are being made so that the representatives of each district may have a voice and vote in determining what wages and conditions shall be agreed upon for their respective districts; therefore be it

Resolved, That the International Executive Board and the representatives of the four states known as the Interstate Movement, viz.: Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, be instructed by this convention to take steps and make further and greater effort to enlarge the Interstate Joint Conference by the admittance of such districts as they are able to agree upon; and, be it further

Resolved, That when the Interstate Conferences are to be held it shall be the duty of the international secretary-treasurer to notify the resident officers of each district when and where the conference is to be held so that they may so journey to the city where the said conference is being held if they wish to do so, and the representatives of the outlying districts shall be permitted to sit in conference with the representatives of the miners of the Interstate Conference when they are meeting for the purpose of negotiating wage scales and have a right to voice their sentiments on questions that may affect their districts; and, be it further

Resolved, That no agreement be made governing the outlying districts unless the representatives of said districts are given a voice and vote on same.

Respectfully submitted,

J. C. LEWIS, President District 13.

JOHN GAY, Secretary-Treasurer District 13.

SAM BALLANTYNE, International Board Member District 13.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution.

President Hayes: The chair desires to state that this resolution

reflects our views and will clear up any misunderstanding that may have arisen the other day that we were trying to bar the outside districts from having a part in the interstate negotiations.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS' CONVENTION.

Indianapolis, Ind., January 26, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention United Mine Workers of America, in Convention Here Assembled:

Your fraternal delegates to the Western Federation of Miners' convention, which convened in Great Falls, Mont., July 17 and adjourned July 29, 1916, beg leave to submit the following report:

President Moyer in his report to the convention took occasion to mention joint contracts, and was high in the praise for the manner in which our organization makes contracts with the operators. It was also the sentiment of the delegates that our method of making contracts is the proper method. We are glad to report that in several parts of the United States the Western Federation of Miners are working under joint contracts, which, in a good many cases, carries with it the check-off.

Amalgamation.

For several years past it has been the sentiment of both the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America that both organizations should be amalgamated. Two years ago, acting under instructions of the convention, President White appointed a committee of three, viz., Frank Farrington, Adam Wilkinson and Robert H. Harlin, to meet a committee of three from the Western Federation of Miners, viz., Dean W. Selfridge, Joseph Gorman and J. B. Rankin. The committee which represented the United Mine Workers of America on this question made their report some time ago in the columns of the United Mine Workers' Journal, which you are all familiar with. President White also mentioned the matter in his last report. We herewith quote the report of the committee which represented the Western Fed-

eration of Miners on this question to their international board, and President Moyer, in turn, submitting the report to the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS' AMALGAMATION.

Butte, Mont., July 29, 1915.

To the Officers and Members of the Western Federation of Miners:

We, your committee, elected by the last convention of the Western Federation of Miners to meet a similar committee from the United Mine Workers of America (appointed by the U. M. W. of A. Executive Board) for the purpose of discussing the feasibility of amalgamating the two organizations, and, if possible, to work out a plan of amalgamation, the same, if accomplished, to be submitted to a referendum vote of the two organizations for ratification or rejection, report as follows:

The president of the United Mine Workers of America, Brother John P. White, was notified of the election of the committee by the Western Federation of Miners, and it was left to the chairman of the committee from the United Mine Workers of America to suggest the date and place of meeting. Their chairman, Frank Farrington, notified Dean W. Selfridge, chairman of the W. F. of M. committee, that October 7, 1914, would be a suitable date and Butte, Mont., a suitable place. The meeting was postponed to October 12, 1914, and on that date the joint committee meeting took place in Carpenters' Hall, Butte, Mont.

The committee remained in session all day and met again the following day, when all phases of the amalgamation as it affected both organizations and as viewed by the members of both committees were gone into. At the end of the second day the W. F. of M. committee was informed by the U. M. W. of A. committee that before dealing further with the matter, they must have fuller information than was then in our hands concerning the status of the Western Federation of Miners, and also that they desired further consultation with their executive board on the matter. The meeting was therefore adjourned to be called together at some future date to dispose of the matter. Chairman Farrington gave notice of the second meeting for July 27, 1915, in Butte, Mont., and on that date the joint committee again met, all members being present in Engineers' Hall, Butte, Mont.

The chairman of the W. F. of M. committee, Dean W. Selfridge, placed a report of the assets and liabilities of the Western Federation of Miners in the hands of the committee of the United Mine Workers of America, and it was decided to adjourn until the following day to give the U. M. W. of A. committee time to peruse the papers submitted.

On July 28 the committee met for final action. After full consideration of the matter it became evident that an amalgamation cannot be effected at the present time. The U. M. W. of A. committee stated that while desirous of seeing an amalgamation consummated, hold that no direct benefits can be derived thereby at this time; that the duty of their organization lies first with the coal miners; that half of the coal miners are still unorganized and until organized are a menace to their organization; that if the Western Federation of Miners became part of the United Mine Workers of America the metal miners' locals must enforce the same jurisdiction and methods of industrial arrangements as prevail in the coal miners' organization, and, in short, that until the metal miners build up their own organization it would be almost out of the question to expect the United Mine Workers of America to assume the added responsibility that must devolve upon them. They also held that even in the event of amalgamation the metal miners' organization must necessarily retain its identity as a district within the United Mine Workers of America, that instead of lessening the cost as far as per capita is concerned, it would increase it, as a certain per capita must go to the international of the United Mine Workers of America, and as each district maintains an executive board, president, secretary, treasurer, etc., the Western Federation of Miners as a metal district organization therefore would have to maintain as many officers as at present, and in addition pay a per capita tax to the headquarters of the United Mine Workers of America. Those reasons are all valid and powerful and the justice of the United Mine Workers of America attitude on the question of amalgamation must be apparent to all.

The membership of the Western Federation of Miners and the metal miners in general must realize their duties and responsibilities. Until they build up an organization in proportion to the men employed in the mining industry, they cannot look for some outside organization in a different industry to assume the responsibility of doing so. The U. M.

W. of A. committee state truly that their organization has and will give their moral and financial support to the Western Federation of Miners as far as it is in their power, outside, of course, the obligations to their own membership, which naturally come first. They stated further that they will recommend to their executive board to grant the services of some of their organizers to assist in the metalliferous camps to increase the membership of the Western Federation of Miners.

After the joint committee adopted the resolution they adjourned sine die. The committee of the Western Federation of Miners then met and prepared the report now submitted. We herewith present all correspondence on this subject and recommend that they be kept with and as a part of this report for future reference.

Respectfully submitted,

DEAN W. SELFRIDGE, Chairman,
JOS. GORMAN, Secretary,
J. B. RANKIN, Committee.

It will be noted that both committees agree that the time is not opportune for amalgamation. It is our opinion that both committees used good judgment on this question in not recommending amalgamation, as there is yet plenty of organizing work to be done by both unions which should be done first.

TRANSFER CARDS.

Considerable complaint has been made from some districts of the United Mine Workers of America regarding the method by which members are transferred from the Western Federation of Miners to the United Mine Workers of America local unions, as their cards did not show how long they had been members, what initiation fee had been paid, how long they had worked around the mine, etc., as our cards show. Acting under instructions of the International Executive Board, we took this matter up, and we are glad to report that the Western Federation of Miners' convention acted favorably on this question.

The following is a resolution adopted on this question:

We, your Committee on Constitution, wish to submit the following resolution for your consideration, and recommend it become Section 8

of Article XII. Transfer cards shall be issued to members going to work in the jurisdiction of another international organization. Said transfer cards shall contain member's name and description, how admitted, amount paid as initiation fee, how long a member, occupation and length of time so occupied. Said card to be designed by the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners.

Signed by

E. G. HUNTLEY,
R. L. PARKER,
ALFRED BORDSEN,
ALEX McKAY,
WM. LAKE LAND.

The above resolution was carried unanimously and later submitted to a referendum vote of the members and carried and is now in effect.

CHANGE OF NAME.

On account of the Western Federation of Miners extending their territory, under their charter from the American Federation of Labor, which includes all the metalliferous mines, mills and smelters of the United States and Canada, the convention decided to change the name of their organization from the Western Federation of Miners to a more appropriate name—that of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

ELECTION.

The last election of the Western Federation of Miners was carried out to a great extent like some of our past elections, with much circularizing, charges and counter-charges by those who were holding office and those who were candidates for office. During the first few days of the convention it looked as though it would be impossible to bring both factions together. We are glad to report that after several attempts by President Lord of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, he was successful in bringing both factions together. The following was a resolution adopted on this question, which we believe by the sentiment expressed by both factions, will be of much benefit to the membership of their organization. This resolution follows:

Great Falls, Mont., July 27, 1916.

Resolutions adopted at a conference presided over by James Lord president of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, composed of delegates from Arizona unions and the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners:

Whereas, In the campaign for election of officials of the federation, the character of individuals was assailed and their motives impugned through the medium of circular letters and articles appearing in various publications engendering bitterness and creating dissension, and

Whereas, All realize that in such an atmosphere statements are heralded to the world that would not be made at ordinary times and factional lines drawn that retard progress, and

Whereas, All realize that such policy is not in accord with the fundamental principles of unionism, that the progress of the labor movement is infinitely greater than the interests of any individual, that in order to unite the unorganized the spirit of unity and fraternity must animate those appealing for united action; therefore be it

Resolved, By those participating in this conference that we deplore the unfortunate occurrences of the past, we pledge ourselves to bury every unkind word, to mutually forget and forgive the cruel aspersions cast upon members of our organization in official position and those seeking places, and we further pledge ourselves to unite hands and energies in a common effort to enlist every man in the metal mining industry under the banner of our organization.

CHAS. H. MOYER,
C. E. MAHONEY.
ERNEST MILLS,
YANCO TERZICH,
WM. DAVIDSON,
J. C. LOWNEY.
GUY E. MILLER,
Executive Board.

ED. J. GRANT,
GEO. D. SMITH,
CHAS. DETRICK,
H. S. McCLUSKEY,
ROBT. A. CAMPBELL,
H. V. BENE,
GEO. POWELL,
Arizona Delegates.
JAMES LORD,
Chairman.

William J. Sneed, of Herrin, Ill., national organizer, who has had

charge of the Rosiclare strike for the Western Federation of Miners, was present and addressed the convention. He was well received by the delegates. We were all treated very cordially by all the officers and delegates attending the convention. We were invited to speak on any question that came before the convention. We addressed the convention, explaining our contract relations with coal operators and other matters regarding the United Mine Workers of America. At the closing of the convention the following resolution was adopted:

Great Falls, Mont., July 29.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-second Consecutive and Second Biennial Convention of the Western Federation of Miners:

Brothers: Whereas, This convention has been honored by the presence of W. J. Sneed and Fraternal Delegates Donaldson and Dobbins of the United Mine Workers of America, and

Whereas, We have profited by their advice and counsel and that their presence here demonstrates to us the deep fraternal feeling that exists between the two organizations; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and delegates in convention assembled, do extend to W. J. Sneed and Fraternal Delegates Donaldson and Dobbins of the United Mine Workers of America fraternal thanks and that they convey to their organization our fraternal greetings and that the Western Federation of Miners are with them in their efforts to advance the cause of the working class.

Respectfully submitted,

E. G. LOCKE,
WM. DAVIDSON,
GUY E. MILLER.

The convention was presided over by the old war horse and hero of labor, Chas. H. Moyer, in a fair and impartial manner, every delegate receiving the same consideration. Election returns showed the following successful candidates.

President, Chas. H. Moyer.

Vice-President, J. B. Rankin.

Secretary-Treasurer, Ernest Mills.

Board Members, Wm. Davidson, Guy E. Miller, Alfred Beardson, Wm. Burns.

In closing, we wish to think the delegates of our last international convention who gave us the opportunity to represent our organization in that convention. We also want to thank all the officers and delegates of the Western Federation of Miners' convention through their delegates to this convention, for their courteous treatment while attending the convention. The next convention of the Western Federation of Miners will be held in Denver, Colo., in July, 1918.

Respectfully submitted,

ED. DOBBINS, District No. 12,

WM. DONALDSON, District No. 2,

Fraternal Delegates W. F. of M. Convention.

The report was made part of the records of the convention.

Delegate Howat, District 14, asked the privilege of the floor on a question of personal privilege.

Delegate White (J. P.), District 13: I do not wish to oppose Delegate Howat getting the floor, although under the parliamentary procedure he claimed the privilege that is now granted him he has not been entitled to the floor. I want him now to state wherein I violated the rules of discussion the other day.

President Hayes: The other day Delegate Howat was promised the floor by the chair under the order of Miscellaneous Business for the purpose of answering statements he claimed reflected upon him. Delegate Howat will reply to the personal reflections he claims and not discuss the general question.

Delegate Howat: I don't see why you are so technical with me here all at once. You were not so technical with former President White when he spoke.

President Hayes: I am adhering strictly to parliamentary law.

Delegate Howat: I regret that it becomes necessary for me to appear before this delegation to defend myself again against the unjust

attack made upon me a few days ago by former President White, in which he reflected upon my honesty and integrity as a man. His statements were heralded throughout the country by newspapers, leaving the impression that I committed some crime, and trying to poison the minds of the people and lead them to believe I had done something wrong or committed some dishonest act. Former President White has been talking about and vilifying me for the past four years.

Delegate White: I arise to a point of order. What may have happened between President Howat and myself in the past was not the subject of the debate on the floor of this convention the other day. I certainly did not make any cowardly or unjust attack upon Alex Howat. I object to any extraneous matter that was not contained in the resolution under discussion. The scope of my address to the convention can only be the basis of the privilege granted to President Howat now.

President Hayes: Delegate Howat will discuss the question of personal privilege.

Delegate Howat: I want to tell the coal miners here the truth, that is all. In discussing what occurred between former President White and myself during the past four years I don't want to tell anything but the truth. I want to say to the miners here today that I am not going to ask any favors from any man; all I want from the miners is a square deal and an opportunity to be heard. I want to show the delegates that the attack made on my honor and integrity a few days ago by former President White was absolutely unjust and uncalled for. He told you, in order to try to justify himself, that I had used his name time and again in the remarks I had made during the discussion on the automatic penalty clause. All I said about him was that when I returned from Washington I saw in a Kansas newspaper that former President White had condemned me—no, I did not use that statement; he did condemn me in the statement to the press, but I did not use that in my statement—I said that when I returned from Washington I saw in a Kansas paper that President White was quoted as saying that the automatic penalty clause was fair and right and should be accepted. I said we thought it was unfair and unbecoming on the part of President White to make a statement of that kind, in view of the fact that we had not as yet reached our agreement with the coal operators of the Southwest, and it was not

right to make statements that would hamper us in our negotiations. President White used that as a pretext to get up here and condemn and vilify me and try to lead the coal miners and the people of the country to believe that I had committed a dishonest act. The history of my life has been revealed to the world in a way that few men's histories have been revealed, in my lawsuit against the coal operators in Kansas City about eighteen months ago.

President Hayes: The question of the lawsuit in Kansas City can not be discussed under a question of personal privilege. If you go into this question President White will want to consume a great deal of time in replying and we will be here all day. The chair has no alternative but to adhere to the rule for personal privilege.

Delegate Howat: So far as I am concerned I want to give him all the time he wants to attack me, and I will give him all he wants.

President Hayes: The delegation is getting is getting might tired of this affair.

Delegate Howat: In the lawsuit in Kansas City eighteen months ago I was put on the witness stand and for three consecutive days subjected to the cross-examination of one of the shrewdest lawyers west of the Mississippi river. After that I was declared not guilty.

President Hayes: Delegate Howat, we are not considering the lawsuit in Kansas City. You arise to reply to charges you claim were made by former President White. Let us see whether this delegation sustains the ruling of the chair on the question of personal privilege.

A rising vote was taken on the question, inasmuch as Delegate Howat objected to the ruling of President Hayes.

President Hayes: In the opinion of the chair the convention has sustained my ruling. We have nothing to cover up, and if we want to go into this matter we will go into it right and will be here all day; but on a question of personal privilege you cannot go into these extraneous matters.

Delegate Howat: I expected a point of order to be called on me. I was entitled to the floor three or four days ago, but I thought I would be held here until the miners were ready to go home. I am not afraid to

have every word of the truth come out here. What I want is a square deal, and all I want in connection with this matter is to be allowed the floor after my good friend President White has spoken. When he takes the floor and tells half the truth I want to be allowed to tell the other half before you holler to sit down or go home and adjourn the convention.

While I am not permitted now to speak on some of the things I would like to bring out in order to show the injustice President White has done me for the past four years, I challenge and defy him or any other man to show one dishonest act of my life. That is worth something to me—it ought to be worth something to any man. All a poor man has in this world is his name and his reputation. John P. White has been condemning and vilifying me so long in this country it has got to be a practice with him; he believes he has a right to do it, but any time any man gets up and says anything about former President White he is called a demagogue.

In the remarks of John P. White a few days ago, in referring to me, he said that I almost bordered on the demagogue; he spoke of four-flushers, grandstanders, etc. In my dealings with John P. White in the past four years, he has shown, to my satisfaction at least, that he is one of the greatest grandstanders that ever held official position in this organization.

President Hayes: Delegate Howat, you have abused the privilege of the chair, and you know you have. You are not speaking to a question of personal privilege at all. You will confine yourself to what was said about you in the debate the other day.

A delegate: I move that neither of them be heard. We want to go home.

Delegate Howat: There are some of you people that don't want to hear the truth.

President Hayes: That is a misstatement, and you know it. This delegation does want to hear the truth. Why did you not arise the other day and ask to be recognized while this debate was being carried on?

Delegate Howat: I tried to get the floor three times and the chairman of this convention never looked near me.

President Hayes: He has reliable information that Delegate Howat never tried to get recognition.

Delegate Howat: I arose to my feet.

President Hayes: You never said, "Mr. Chairman."

Delegate Howat: I yelled "Mr. Chairman" until I was black in the face.

President Hayes: I do not want you to leave the impression that the chair is trying to take advantage of you, but there are certain laws governing every deliberative assembly, and if some delegates do not know that they ought to read-up on it and find out.

Delegate Howat: Since I am limited to this particular point I will try to show the delegates what crime I have supposed to have committed in the eyes of John P. White. Here is the agreement that was made in Washington. Let us see what it says: "This agreement is subject to and will become effective only on condition that the selling price of coal shall be advanced by the United States government to cover the increased cost in the different districts affected, and will take effect on the first day of the pay period following the order advancing such increased prices."

Now, let us see what I said:

"Pittsburgh, Kansas, October 29, 1917.

"John P. White, care Fuel Administrator, Washington, D. C.:

"According to press reports 45 cents per ton is added to selling price of coal for entire country. I am absolutely positive this will not absorb the increase in District 14 on account of the cost of deadwork. I hope you will see that enough is added to this to absorb the full amount of the increase that we will receive. Operators also claim and insist that they will be unable to pay full amount of Washington increase in wages unless a sufficient amount is added to the selling price of coal. If this question is not settled before the first day of November it will probably result in our mines being closed on that day.

"Kindly wire me if you will recommend to Mr. Garfield an increase in the selling price of coal in this district along the lines I have suggested."

You will note I say "on the selling price of coal in this district along the lines I have suggested." What lines did I suggest?

"I hope you will see that enough is added to this to absorb the full amount of the increase we will receive."

Isn't that what the Washington Agreement calls for? The general commissioner of the Coal Operators' Association, in speaking to me over the long distance telephone, said he had also seen that 45 cents was to be added to the selling price of coal. He informed me that he was afraid the operators would not pay the full amount because the 45 cents a ton would not cover the increase in many of the mines in that district, and especially in the Osage county field. I was convinced then, and am yet, that there were many of the mines in Kansas in the low coal field where 45 cents would not cover the increase. That is true of the low coal in the Osage county field. Rather than have the mines tied up on the first of November I sent former President White the telegram he read here the other day. I had my mind made up that if the operators refused to pay the full amount of the increase on the first of November I was going to tie up the mines in that district until they did pay. That is the reason the telegram was sent. There was absolutely no secret about it, because I stated to John P. White himself—and you can judge from what he said about me the other day whether he is a friend or not—that I would recommend an advance in the selling price to absorb the full amount of the increase.

If the Fuel Administrator had notified me that he would add enough to that amount to absorb the increase the general commissioner of the Operators' Association assured me they would be willing to go to Washington with their books, as other operators had done, and show that the 45 cents would not cover the full amount of the increase in many of the mines in our district. If the Fuel Administrator had agreed to that the coal operators would have been compelled to go to Washington with their books and show to the satisfaction of the Fuel Administrator that 45 cents a ton would not absorb the full amount of the increase in our district. If they had done that they would have had enough added to cover the increase. If they had been unable to convince the Fuel Administrator that they were entitled to any more, I presume he would have refused to increase the 45 cents. I am quite sure the miners here will agree that

in the large veins in Illinois it would not take one-half the amount to absorb the full amount of the increase that it would in our small vein of coal in Kansas. If it takes 45 cents in Illinois it would take about 80 cents in Kansas. I don't think it took 45 cents in any of the mines in Illinois, and in many of them 20 cents would fill the bill very nicely—and they got 45 cents.

There was no ulterior motive in sending the telegram; it wasn't because of any consideration I had for the coal operators. The miners of the Southwest know that I have been attacked and vilified by the operators from one year's end to the other in the press; but still we are expected to comply with our agreement. All I offer to do in this telegram is to ask that they get the full amount of the increase to absorb the increase to the miners. I am not disposed to let any personal feeling I have towards the coal operators in the Southwest interfere with me in my dealings with the miners and operators.

Now about compelling the operators to pay this increase out of their own pockets. The fact that I sent this telegram requesting that they get enough to absorb the increase in our wages has nothing whatever to do with any personal feeling between the operators and myself; it was with the sole object in view to have enough added so that it would not be necessary for me to call the miners of District 14 out on the first day of November. Notwithstanding the fact that the officials of the miners' organization agreed that we would have no increase in wages unless enough was added to the increase in the selling price to absorb the advance to the miners, that does not say that the coal operators might not be making \$1.50 or \$2.00 a ton on every ton of coal they were producing, even though the miners did agree that they would receive enough in the selling price of coal to absorb the other increase they were going to pay the coal miners.

Now, I will try to show why I took the position that the operators should be compelled to pay this increase out of their own pockets. This telegram was sent on the 29th of October, 1917. At that time we had reached an agreement with the operators in Kansas City, with the penalty clause eliminated. We reached that agreement on the 23d day of October. On the 29th I sent the telegram to former President White. Up to that time no word of any kind had come to the officials of the

Southwest that we had to agree to a penalty clause satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator of this country. A day or so later we received a telegram asking us to come to Washington, that the penalty clause was not satisfactory to the Fuel Administrator. The officials of the three Southwest Districts proceeded to Washington. When we reached Washington and had our conference with Dr. Garfield the coal operators repudiated the contract they had made with us ten days previous, and there in the presence of Dr. Garfield said we should not have any increase in wages unless we would tear up the contract they had made with us, to which they had attached their signatures, and they sent word out to the public press that they were satisfied with the penalty clause; that they had an agreement with us they believed would hold that was equally fair to both sides. I say it was equally fair to both sides, because they could not take a fine out of the miners' wages until the miners had an opportunity to speak in their own behalf. It was then the operators said we would not have an increase in wages until we tore up the agreement we had fought so hard to obtain only a few days previously. They said that must be torn up and another negotiated that would include the automatic penalty clause. They said if we did not do that we would receive no increase in wages; that they had to have the automatic penalty clause, and the only reason they had agreed to the contract with us with the penalty clause eliminated was because they were afraid of a strike.

I told Dr. Garfield when the United Mine Workers of America made agreements they believed in standing by them, and when they made contracts with the coal operators they believed in having them carried out. We showed Dr. Garfield the agreement and called his attention to the fact that the operators' signatures were attached to it. I then said in the presence of Dr. Garfield that as far as I was concerned I would eliminate the government from the case and fight it out with the operators. Because the coal operators took the cowardly attitude they did in tearing up the contract I was willing to fight them and make them pay the increase out of their own pocket. John P. White would leave the impression with you that Alex Howat would not make the operators pay the increase out of their own pocket, and because I sent this telegram that I was very considerate of the operators. He told you it wasn't the same Alex Howat that talked to the operators. This is the same man, and I am not ashamed of any official act of mine.

We left Washington and decided to call an interstate convention. In that convention I made one of the hardest and one of the most determined fights of my life to compel the coal operators of the Southwest to pay that increase out of their own pockets—and that was two or three weeks after I sent this telegram to John P. White. I took the position that when they repudiated their contracts with us and told us we must tear it up and agree to another or we would not get any increase in wages that I took that position. In the interstate convention in Kansas City I recommended that we reject the automatic penalty clause, that we vote against it first, last and all the time, because it was an outrage on the coal miners of this country. The convention voted to reject the penalty clause. The following day I recommended a strike that would tie up every coal mine in the Southwest unless the coal operators carried out the contract they had made with us; that we fight it out with them and make them pay every cent of this increase in wages out of their own pockets. That recommendation lost by 18 or 20 votes out of 375 votes. The following day, as near as I can remember, the convention voted again, and voted to accept the penalty clause. The convention instructed the officials of the Southwest to go to the operators and obtain the best penalty clause they could get. As a result of that we went to the coal operators and they submitted a proposition to us.

What I say or have said in regard to the penalty clause isn't a reflection on any man; it isn't because of any personal feeling I have against anyone, because a couple of the best friends I had in the miners' organization were on the committee in Washington. But the coal miners of Kansas that know me best and the coal miners of the Southwest know that I have always been opposed to any penalty clause of any kind. I have always maintained that every man in this country is entitled to a hearing and a fair and impartial trial before any penalty is inflicted on him, or before any money is taken from his wages. That is the reason I opposed the penalty clause. After the convention voted to instruct the officials to obtain the best penalty clause they could, and after I looked things over, I said, "My God! is it possible that the coal miners of the Southwest are going to agree to a proposition of this kind?" The operators placed an interpretation on it that if a man laid off for funerals or anything of that kind the money would be taken from his wages. That applies in Indiana, doesn't it?

A number of Indiana delegates stated that it did not apply in Indiana.

Delegate Howat: That is what they do in Kansas, anyway, and it is going to be up to me when I go home to call a few strikes to get back some of that money they stole out of the miners' wages. Then you will hear a howl if I call a strike to get back some of that money. I will be told there is some other way to get it back, but I don't know what it is.

When the proposition was submitted to the convention the delegates finally voted to reject the penalty clause. The delegates from District 14 voted 136 against it and 3 for it. The convention adjourned then and the other two districts, after talking the question over with their delegates, decided we were up against it and the best thing for the organization was to accept it and make the the best they could of it until this convention would meet. The other two districts signed up, and, of course, I followed suit. I don't propose to fight the whole world down there all the time. I will fight a little bit to try to get justice for the miners, but with the government on my back and the public on my back and everybody else I decided it was time to call a halt. Then I told our men they would have to get in line with the other two districts.

I made one of the hardest and most determined fights I ever made in my life to compel the coal operators to pay that increase in the miners' wages out of their own pockets. President Wilkinson, of District 21, also informed me that he had received word from the general commissioner of the operators. He went to Washington with his operators and secured an increase of 25 cents in the selling price of coal for them. Ex-President White didn't say anything about that. President Wilkinson didn't go to Washington to get an increase in the selling price of coal for the operators because he was considerate of them, but because he wanted it so that the coal miners might receive their increase without the necessity of calling a strike in District 21. I am not afraid to have the truth told, and I can stand here and challenge any man in this country to show one dishonest act of my life. I make that statement and I have made this reply to former President White so that the coal miners of this country and the public may not be deceived by the press reports that went out.

I would like to ask President Frampton, of Missouri, who was very active in that convention, whether I made a fight in the interstate con-

vention to compel the operators to pay the increase out of their own pockets.

Delegate Frampton: Yes, I will say you took that position all through the convention, and I had the unpleasant duty to perform of opposing it.

Delegate Howat: I will ask President Wilkinson, who is a warm friend of former President White, if I made that fight?

Delegate Wilkinson: Yes.

At this point a large number of delegates asked the speaker to sit down and interrupted him when he sought to complete his address.

President Hayes: The convention will be in order. Let Delegate Howat have all the time he needs.

Delegate Howat: I hope when President White takes the floor, if he tries to misrepresent me again or leave any kind of reflection on my honesty and integrity, that you will be fair enough to me to give me an opportunity to reply to him; I hope you will be as fair to me as you would want me and other men to be to you. That is all I ask. I ask no favors of any man; I ask no special privileges; all I want is a square deal; that is all I am entitled to and I believe that you will see that I receive it here.

The convention was adjourned to 1:30 p. m. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 1:30 p. m., Saturday, January 10, President Hayes in the chair.

Delegate Bittner, District 19: In behalf of the delegates from southwestern Kentucky and Tennessee I desire to offer a resolution to this convention.

No objection being offered, Delegate Bittner submitted the following:

Indianapolis, Indiana, January 26, 1918.

To Officers and Delegates to the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America:

Whereas, The Mine Workers of District No. 19, Southeastern Kentucky and Tennessee, recognize the fact that the United Mine Workers of America is the only institution in this country that will better the conditions of the coal miners and their families; and,

Whereas, This great and grand organization came into Southeastern Kentucky and Tennessee and through the support given us have established the union, giving us the eight-hour work day, a uniform day wage scale, the right to mine committees and the largest advance in wages ever secured in our field; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates to this convention, representing the miners and their families of Southeastern Kentucky and Tennessee, take this occasion to convey our sincere thanks and appreciation to International President Hayes, Vice-President Lewis, Secretary-Treasurer Green, and the International Executive Board, and to former President John P. White for the splendid services they have rendered in our behalf; and,

We further ask every delegate in this convention to carry back home to the membership our thanks and appreciation for the splendid support given us; and, be it further

Resolved, That we pledge our undying loyalty to the United Mine Workers of America, to the end that every man who works in the mines on the North American continent will be enrolled as a member of our organization.

(Signed) John Baulfe, Local 157; G. F. Baker, Local 587; P. J. Lynch, Local 890; T. J. Smith, Local 890; J. M. Gorm, Local 890; Ben Delph, Local 945; E. P. Walsh, Local 1264; John Jeffrey, Local 1308; John Brooks, Local 1327; G. M. Stamper, Local 2052; James Gabbard, Local 2517; A. G. Duncan, Local 2572; W. E. Arbuckle, Local 2673; H. F. Reed, Local 2687; J. T. Brooks, Local 2884; G. H. Standifer, Local 2914; C. L. Vaughn, Local 2925; George Collins, Local 2929; J. M. Hurst, Local 2983; D. W. Cannon, Local 2984; Joseph C. Henbee, Local 2997; J. H. Ledford, Local 3161; W. C. Presley, Local 3162; J. J. Henderson, Local

32—M. Pro.

3164; W. B. Denney, Local 3165; Gensal Fraley, Local 3166; John Potterson, Local 3167; Quince Padgett, Local 3169; Alfred Sharp, Local 3561; John T. Farmer, Local 3509; W. H. Foster, Local 3525; Alfred Sharp, Local 3655; Rile Chambers, Local 3594; Wm. Feeney, Local 3597; George Hunter, Local 3609; Aaron McKenney, Local 3615; W. E. Lynch, Local 3619; J. M. Sharpe, Local 3642; R. E. Walker, Local 3643; Wm. Nelson, Local 3644; John Emery, Local 3645; D. C. Newport, Local 3646; W. M. York, Local 3650; Will Heninger, Local 3670; B. Cecil, Local 3697; W. N. Saylor, Local 3705; James Gabbard, Local 3727; W. A. Campbell, Local 3743; J. A. Branson, Local 3176; D. F. Price, Local 3186; A. W. Goins, Local 3187; Wm. Nradly, Local 3188; R. C. Ridriga, Local 3189; Mik Bryant, Local 3190; J. F. Settle, Local 3193; H. N. West, Local 3200; C. L. Vaughn, Local 3201; J. G. Claxton, Local 3228; Mathew Broyles, Local 3228; E. L. Terry, Local 3230; John M. Rains, Local 3231; Stratton Campbell, Local 3232; Charles Eads, Local 3241; John Green, Local 3251; J. F. Hendren, Local 3252; P. T. Gammon, Local 3262; Joseph Demarcus, Local 3263; J. N. Burnett, Local 3264; S. D. Bryant, Local 3295; H. A. Lucky, Local 3223; Chesley Thompson, Local 3340; Price Cale, Local 3341; W. M. Hallara, Local 3344; George Hunter, Local 3345; W. S. Smith, Local 3347; J. H. Elsvick, Local 3347; Green Hamblin, Local 3348; J. B. Centers, Local 3371; Robert B. McKeehan, Local 3378; W. R. Hix, Local 3381; J. L. Goins, Local 3387; Jos. Hembree, Local 3389; A. B. Coon, Local 3390; R. C. Ridings, Local 3391; H. F. Reed, Local 3392; W. T. Grubbs, Local 3396; James J. Blanton, Local 3398; C. E. Mattingly, Local 3423; P. D. Castleberry, Local 3463; Price Cale, Local 3469; C. T. Smith, Local 3496.

Former President: John P. White: I exceedingly regret that the time of this convention will be consumed in listening to a repetition of matters that have no place here. The delegates have been unusually patient; they have tried to be fair, as they have always done, and they have been especially considerate of me, notwithstanding the fact that I voluntarily left your councils and no longer preside over your organization. I repeatedly state when my friend Howat took the floor that there was nothing to be gained by the discussion, and I stated also that he had not availed himself of the proper right of personal privilege. After listening to his attempted defense I think the delegates to this convention are more convinced than ever that Brother Howat was more concerned

about explaining away the little telegram that I read here the other day than he was to avail himself of any question of personal privilege. You know it is a good policy when men go to war to take some weapons along with them, and I hold in my hand excerpts of my address made the other morning, furnished by the official stenographer, and by no stretch of the imagination can there be a single ground for personal privilege in anything I said about Delegate Howat. However, he sought to reply so that he might inject into the discussions of this convention something in which he was concerned, and which was not submitted to this convention for consideration.

President Howat says I have undertaken to malign him most maliciously; that I have dogged his footsteps; that I went out of my way to do him an injustice. If I were the type of man who would single out an individual like Howat, a district president, to make an attack, such as he attempted to portray, of course the rules of the house would prevent such a discussion. As I reported to you two years ago, I never considered Alex Howat an impediment to my success in the labor movement. I never feared his power and I have never been so much concerned about what he did in Kansas that I felt constrained to go out of my way to interfere with his prerogatives as president of the Kansas miners. I have been content to let time, the great leveler of all things, do its work, and it will work in Kansas just as well as other places. What I tried to tell this convention in my address a few days ago was that masked behind this specious talk on the Washington Agreement there was an argument, most extraordinarily advanced by Howat and his followers in the Southwest for the purpose of injecting into these proceedings an issue through which they hoped they might bring some discredit to me.

When I gave the word of this organization to the President of the United States I felt that I was giving the bond of the United Mine Workers. I said then that the mine workers could well afford for the consideration they were receiving to postpone their wage demands in this convention; that they could afford to bide their time, and when the horrors of war were passed away we could approach these questions with calm consideration. By an overwhelming vote of this convention you have most magnificently registered your endorsement of the word I gave the president of this country. I said, among other things, that Alex Howat, in singling out the penalty clause, and telling the mine workers of Kan-

sas—who have season in and season out followed his lead blindly, frequently to their own disappointment—he told these men one thing and told me another; and Alex Howat, in trying to explain his right to the floor on a question of personal privilege took up the entire time to explain away his position and that little silent message about “the dirty coal operators” of Kansas. Not a single word was contained there that can be construed, in the light of parliamentary procedure, as giving Alex Howat the license to stand on the floor of this convention and carry on the discussion he did this morning.

Alex Howat knows and everyone here knows the aims of the Washington Agreement. I had no objection to his petitioning the coal administrator for a larger increase in the selling price for the Kansas coal operators if that was necessary to advance the wages of the miners; but I said he verged on the demagogue when he told the mine workers in the Kansas City convention, and when he read into the record here his own utterances, that had the mine workers of the Southwest staid with him he would have made the coal operators pay the increase to the miners out of their own “dirty pockets” from the profits they had wrung from the miners before the agreement.

When the government gave the operators in the Southwest the same consideration that was given the coal operators all over this country Alex Howat was not running true to form if he was to be consistent as a leader of our movement when he told the poor Kansas miners that are laboring under the worst conditions we can find almost anywhere—they are digging a pencil mark of coal—and we are asked to emulate the example of the Kansas policies as the things men should aspire to in this organization!

I held then and I hold now that I did not contravene the grounds of personal propriety in reviewing the philosophy of Alex Howat and his followers in the Southwest when they were trying to have the mine workers of this country repudiate an agreement such as has been explained in this convention, I hold, and the judgment of this convention, reinforced by an overwhelming majority of this country, concurred in my opinion that there is enough wrapped up in the Washington Agreement to justify its ratification by this convention. We can well afford to bide our time until there will be no restriction placed upon the legiti-

mate efforts of our union to correct such inequalities and make such adjustments, internal and otherwise, as conditions may seem to warrant. But the difference between my friend Howat and myself is this: I am willing to abide by the laws of the United Mine Workers, but my friend, Mr. Howat from Kansas, when these things that he seems to be so obsessed with are not forthcoming, is willing to set his wishes over the overwhelming wishes of our organization. I said in my address the other day, "There is nothing but idle talk thrown out to befog the issue, to blind, if you please, honest men who are struggling hard to support the administration and their organization loyally."

I said that Alex Howat sent me the telegram I read. I did not doubt that he felt in his own heart that these operators needed the increase in wages to meet the demands he made and wrung from them. I never doubted that he stood on the floor of the Kansas City convention and stood out for all these things he demanded, but I was showing what Alex Howat was trying to do with me and what he was trying to do to the men in Kansas City. He tells you that above all the other men who have presided over your destinies I have proven myself the greatest grandstander of the age. I have rendered at every stage of my official proceedings a true account of my stewardship; I have never asked immunity from investigation, and you can turn the white light of publicity and the searchlight of investigation on my private and official acts and I will never take an appeal from the judgment of this convention. No matter what I might do, no matter how much I might achieve during the administration of the affairs of this organization it would be a physical impossibility and something I never hoped or expected, to gain from Alex Howat the encomium of approval for the slightest thing I may have achieved for the organization. Alex Howat and all his followers can search the records of this organization and they will never find that more was accomplished under preceding administrations in the same period of time than by the men associated with me in the administration of the affairs of the United Mine Workers. Why doesn't he tell you all the truth? Why doesn't he tell you that in the Kansas City convention they refused to give the mine workers a verbatim report so the records might speak for themselves? It has been one of the proud boasts of this modern dictator to stand out and make his slogan "the dirty coal operators," and we find him telling the Kansas miners and the miners of

the Southwest that he will make them do one thing, and he said in the next breath that it was necessary that they have more than was given the mine owners of any other section of the country under the federal order. I take no exception to his asking that the coal operators be given larger consideration, but the thing I do object to is his effort to delude the mine workers in one instance and then plead the interests of the coal operators in the other.

If I am the despised character our friend would have you believe, it has not been many years since he wrote me this letter telling me what a bright future there would be for the mine workers of this country if John P. White succeeded in his ambitions to become president of this organization, telling me that if the mine workers would honor me with their confidence I could count on him as a loyal supporter,; that he hailed my election as a fortunate thing for the organization. What has entered into my life; what official act of mine has changed the course of the opinions entertained by that man then and the position I have taken now?

I was the author of a penalty clause before I became president of the international union, and I challenge any man to say where the Iowa organization has not been abreast with the most modern progress of your organization; and when the time comes in this convention that districts are required to come forward to support the international and provide bonds to stay the hand of the court, Iowa will not be found wanting. Iowa will come forward as she has always done in the past; there will be no lagging step.

Howat did not discuss any question of personal privilege; there was nothing in my remarks that gave him grounds for that. I ridiculed his philosophy as a leader and I held up to your view 270 strikes in the little Kansas coal field. There was no executive order for those strikes, but we find in 90 per cent. of the cases the alleged reason for the strike is "no contract." We are led to believe that the coal operators who operate in Kansas are a different type of men from those who operate in Oklahoma and Missouri. We find the principal operations in the Southwest are controlled by the Central Coal & Coke Company and by the Western, a subsidiary concern, and that they are operating not only in the Southwestern districts but in Illinois. We find the organization in Missouri walking along in that line, securing all the benefits of the organization for the members, and when they strike their officers go out

in defense of the men. But we do not find that condition in Kansas. There is a strike in Kansas, the mines have been shut down for three weeks and the report of that strike is that the men have quit. Some grievance affecting those men, no doubt serious in a small way, and yet the old slogan is, "No contract and the men have quit." The miners of Kansas, if they want Alex Howat's leadership, have no cause to complain. I have not concerned myself with trying to abuse Brother Howat; he and I have had some controversies that are now not before this house and I have allowed these things to be dismissed from my mind; I did not inject them into my address the other day. I have admired him for some of the things he stood for; I have supplemented his efforts in the Southwest; the records of this organization will show that I journeyed to the Southwest scores of times, and the decisions I rendered and helped Alex Howat to obtain will not bring the blush of shame to the mine workers of the Southwest.

Yet because some things have transpired Alexa Howat rushed to the conclusion—with the single mind he is possessed of—that I am his antagonist, that I really fear his power in this organization, that I have been so concerned about his conduct in the Southwest that I consider my success in this movement wrapped up in his attitude toward me. His punishments, so far as I am concerned, are self-imposed. I hold his conduct is not in consonance with what was laid down in Washington. He said that I said I endorsed the penalty clause. I said nothing of the kind. When Dr. Garfield, Alex Howat and the presidents of the Southwest districts met in Washington I was not there; I was on my way to Fort Smith, Ark., to testify in the court proceedings that have been mentioned here. Shortly after I left the witness stand a newspaper reporter came to me and read an account of the disagreements between Howat, the other officials and Dr. Garfield. He asked my opinion of Dr. Garfield. I said Dr. Garfield's attitude was inherently correct and fundamentally sound and that Alex Howat and the other officers of the Southwest were evading a responsibility they owed to their fellow men when they fought that policy.

I never took pains to wire anybody in the Southwest as to whether that agreement should be ratified or not; I never went out of my way to interfere with the deliberations of the Kansas City convention. I had left the councils of your organization and consequently whatever they

did was done through the influence of the Federal Fuel Administration, and, so far as I know, uninfluenced by your international president. I knew Brother Howat entered into an agreement and I knew before that agreement was entered into a strike order had been issued to the miners of the Southwest, which was not even mentioned to the international organization, in open violation of the laws of our union which provide that before a district engages in a strike the consent of the international organization must be secured.

I wired them when that was on and urged them to rescind that strike order until the government took action on the main and principal question. They did that, not out of love and respect for the president of this organization, not that they were concerned about matters locally, but they rescinded it later on went into negotiations which resulted in an agreement without the automatic penalty clause. When the Federal Fuel Administration learned of the agreement they were told their penalty clause did not meet the requirements of the government nor of the Fuel Administrator.

I held there was sufficient of value in the Washington Agreement to give you men justice in ratifying it, and by the votes of this convention, after the widest latitude was allowed in debate, you vindicated that judgment. And I say now what I said in my arguments the other day; if the strikes in Kansas, Indiana, Illinois and elsewhere that went on in violation of and over the protests of the officers of those districts had not taken place we would not have been bothered about a penalty clause. I said also that the men who are now fighting the penalty clause in many instances went on strike in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and elsewhere to have that Washington Agreement put into effect, with the penalty clause, before the first of November.

If the miners of Kansas think they can afford to follow the leadership of Alex Howat, that is no concern of mine; I have never interfered with the autonomy of the Kansas district or any other district that was self-supporting. I don't want to take away from Alex Howat any of the records he has made. I would be a blind critic, indeed, if I thought that all the good that was in this organization was wrapped up in John P. White and that there was no good in Alex Howat. You would have a perfect right to repudiate me for such a position as that. I do not want to injure his future. I understand he has a good mother and a good wife.

and I wish him all good for the future. If there is no one else who will interfere less with his future or be prone to wish him well than I, he will live to a happy old age. If my work for this organization has not earned for me a small place in your affections I will feel my life has been in vain. I have never asked for more than that, I shall never ask for less. If I have in a degree helped you to better conditions I will be happy. In the evening of my life I hope I may have the consolation of being able to look back over the career of a useful life, a life which at one time, with the aid of my associates and the help of the rank and file of this movement, was instrumental in bringing to the homes of the mine workers of this country a little more sunshine and happiness than existed there when I first was honored by your confidence, my cup of happiness will be full. This will be the last convention, so far as I can look over the horizon of the future in which I will raise my voice. I am here because I felt I would be called upon to give an account of my stewardship as the president of this great and mighty union.

Delegate Howat: Mr. Chairman, I would like to privilege of replying to some things said by former President White.

President Hayes: Does the convention wish to hear President Howat again?

An aye and nay vote was taken on the question asked by President Hayes.

President Hayes: Delegate Howat, the convention refuses to allow you to talk again.

Delegate Isherwood: I desire to ask Delegate White a question.

Delegate White: I will yield to a question.

Delegate Isherwood: Isn't it a fact that you endorsed the strike in District 21, 1916, when we came on strike over the automatic penalty clause?

Delegate White: That was not the cause assigned. I endorsed the strike in District 21 over a number of grievance and because the operators in the Interstate Southwestern District had withdrawn from the conference because the miners refused to follow the agreement. The operators of District 21 went out of that conference and organized what

is known as the Oklahoma Coal Operators' Association. Among other things, however, the miners in Kansas City eliminated the penalty clause referred to by the brother in the gallery, but there were several causes besides the penalty clause. I endorsed the miners in their strike and it was through my efforts a conference was held later. I sustained the miners in their negotiations to carry out the basic agreement made in Kansas City.

Delegate Isherwood: I will make one more statement. Isn't it a fact that when we defeated the operators in the Southwest you made a statement in Oklahoma that it was one of the grandest victories ever won in the Southwest because we defeated the penalty clause?

Delegate White: I never considered the saving of our people from their own aggressions was a victory. That in no way injured your interests and had the agreement been complied with there would have been no cause for concern. There were many other questions wrapped up in the conference in Oklahoma. The chief one was the question of lists. That seemed to be the burning issue, and I said so far as that was concerned, and taking the agreement as a whole, it might well be considered a triumph for the miners of District 21.

Delegate Haywood, District 12, asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution in which it was proposed to donate a sum of money to assist in securing justice for Tom Mooney and the other defendants in the case still under indictment.

Objection was offered to the introduction of the resolution.

Secretary Green: I feel the question of donating further sums of money to aid in the defense of Thomas Mooney can well be settled by the International Executive Board. We have already made donations and I am sure it is the express wish of the delegates to this convention that a reasonable amount be donated. I am sure if you will allow this matter to go to the International Executive Board such donation as our International treasury will permit will be made to help in the defense of Mooney. Personally I will favor as liberal a donation as our International organization can spare at this time.

Delegate Grills, District 12: I move that this matter be referred to the International Executive Board. (Seconded.)

Delegate McGuinn, District 12: I wish to offer an amendment and I would like to state my reasons for doing so.

President Hayes: An amendment is not in order. A motion to refer is before the house.

Delegate Haywood: I wish to oppose the motion to refer. I had in mind in offering the resolution that a donation of this kind would be a lot better than a donation after they hang Tom Mooney.

President Hayes: The board will meet Sunday afternoon.

Delegate Haywood: Brother Green made a statement some time ago that the board had already donated on two occasions. I fail to see that in your report, Brother Green.

Secretary Green: I think I was in error when I said we had donated \$1,500. The amount donated was \$500.

Delegate Jones (T.), District 12: Didn't you say the executive board donated twice to the Mooney defense fund? How many times did the board donate and how large were the donations?

Secretary Green: I cannot recall. We donated \$500, and I believe we donated a thousand dollars the year before.

The motion to refer to the executive board was carried.

Delegate Zibb, District 12: There is a resolution in the miscellaneous pamphlet that has not been considered. I was instructed by my local union to see that this resolution was brought before the convention. It is Resolution No. 160. I would like to move the adoption of that resolution.

President Hayes: Your motion is not in order. By previous action of the convention all these resolutions dealing with scale matters and working conditions were referred to the next biennial convention.

Delegate Lawson, District 15: I arise at this time on a question of personal privilege to answer and deny a few misstatements that were made on the floor of this convention day before yesterday, and I shall not take very long to do it. Mr. Moran stated when he came to Colorado to take charge of our district I refused to co-operate with him.

Delegate Pippin: I arise to a point of order. Yesterday I yielded my right to the floor. I yielded a question of personal privilege for the purpose of getting through with this convention, but if Delegate Lawson opens this up I will make a statement.

Delegate Lawson: What local union do you represent in this convention?

President Hayes: That is not a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Lawson: When Delegate Moran came to my office in Denver on the 15th of February we sat down and talked the entire situation over. I told Delegate Moran I would do all in my power to assist in building up our district, and I invite him to show one single thing I ever did to prevent him from making an absolute success of his work in our district. He made a statement to the effect that the general manager of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company stated in a meeting that the company would like to see John Lawson president of District 15. That same gentleman, Mr. Weitzel, refused to permit John Lawson to dig coal in the C. F. & I. mines. I hold in my hand a certified copy of the verbatim record of the meeting with the C. F. & I. Company. I want to read just a few words of the report in connection with my statement and let this delegation decide whether Jim Moran told the truth or not. Mr. Moran was speaking and said: "You want a record here to post Mr. Lawson on what I have said. Is that your motive?" Mr. Weitzel said: "No, it is not. I would much rather see you than see him president." Mr. Moran said: "It don't look that way." Mr. Weitzel said: "I really would."

That is the answer to Mr. Moran's statement about the companies wanting John Lawson to act as president of that district. He stated that I had accepted a job with a coal company and tried to leave the impression that I had the job yet. I did work for the Victor-American Fuel Company for two months after our organization had signed up with them and the first work I ever did for that company in my life was after the Hastings explosion. I went there as a volunteer to help get those poor fellows out of that mine. After I had worked three shifts the story went around that John Lawson was not qualified to help in the rescue. Up to that time, in the brief time I had worked to get men for that company, and with no authority at all to employ any one but to do the

same thing we have always done, try to get men to work at a union mine for a union company under union conditions.

Mr. Moran made the statement that I was trying to injure the organization. He also made the statement that I had told him if he wanted the job or if he wanted my union card I would quit the job and I would keep my union card. He stated that John Lawson was going up and down Colorado and he wondered where I got the money. He left the inference with this delegation that John Lawson was being paid from some unknown source. When I made a trip through Colorado with Delegate Doyle the miners of our state paid our expenses.

A number of delegates advised the speaker to "sit down," and "get through."

Delegate Lawson: I know you are getting tired of this, but let me say to you that Granby Hillyer, the coal company judge that sent me to prison for life, was willing that I should be heard. Now if you want to be Granby Hillyers you have my permission.

Delegate Harlin, the board member from Washington, stated that John Lawson sat on an appeals and grievance committee and decided a case in which he was interested. That is an absolute falsehood. When that case came up John Lawson left the committee and would not sit on the case until it was finished. If Delegate Brophy, president of District 2, is here he can tell you whether I am speaking the truth or not. I believe he was chairman of the committee referred to.

Delegate Harlin also made reference to Schneider and Murphy, the two Baldwin-Felts detectives. Yet, it is true that Schneider and Murphy were employed by our organization. They were employed by a policy committee of which I was a member, and there were three other members on that committee of which our international president was chairman. Schneider was the man who later testified against me because I refused to let him hold up our organization. When he came to the office and asked for money it was John Lawson who told him he could not get it, and he said he would sell out to the other side if we did not give him some money. I told him to go to hell, that he could not get our money.

John O'Neil also attacked me in this convention and said I was a confidential agent of a coal company—a premeditated falsehood. I

never was so employed and nobody knows better than John O'Neil, Jim Moran and the other men who know me. Nothing of the kind ever occurred; I invite them, yes, I challenge them to show one single thing that John Lawson ever did in his life to injure the miners of our district or of this great organization. But they have been at this kind of business a long time. I was hopeful that after John D. Rockefeller and his coal company detectives had failed to put the rope around John Lawson's neck, at least he would be permitted to go his way and assist in the work of our organization; but he was not to be permitted to do that because these same men and other men paid out of the treasury of this international union have gone up and down the country endeavoring to discredit me. I challenge them to show any act of mine that has ever caused any reflection upon my union.

Now I am done. I hope this business of trying to destroy the reputation of men in our organization is nearly at an end, that it has gone about as far as it is going to go. I don't believe the time has come yet when members of our union are going to be permitted to take up a fight inaugurated by the coal companies and the Rockefellers in Colorado. I hope when this is done it will be the end of this dirty work.

Delegate Pippin: I want to make a few brief remarks in reply to the statements made by Delegate Lawson of Colorado, in which he personally attacked each and every representative of the United Mine Workers in District 15. The delegates will remember a few years ago when E. L. Doyle of Colorado came into this convention and for three hours took up your time with a tirade against the international officials, and the entire matter was stricken from the records of the convention.

President Hayes: Secretary Pippin will confine himself to the question before the house.

Delegate Pippin: John R. Lawson has taken up a great deal of your time making accusations under a blanket charge of certain things that happened in Colorado. I want to take this opportunity to deny most emphatically the statement he made when he referred to Secretary Pippin and his conduct in the State Federation of Labor. I deny that I took any part whatever in the election of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado. The delegates ought to be satisfied with the great results that have been accomplished for our organization in Colorado, although

we did not have the support of John R. Lawson in accomplishing those great results.

When the representatives of the international went into Colorado on the 15th day of February, 1917, they found an organization there almost depleted of membership. One year ago last June your organization in District 15 had 258½ paid up members. Today you have a membership of upwards of 8,000. Week before last I turned over to Secretary Green a check for \$4,332, collected from the Colorado miners, something that has never been done before. And I want to tell you now that some of those men who have come into this convention representing certain local unions in Colorado did not help to pay the assessment that was collected and paid over to Secretary-Treasurer Green.

Mr. Lawson says he has been accused of being associated with certain coal companies. He knows that accusation is true. He further knows it is true that Weitzel, superintendent of the C. F. & I. Company, made the statement to me that our organization was not a democratic organization, that if it was a democratic organization it would have John R. Lawson at the head of it in Colorado. If he has any charges to make before the courts of this organization I am willing to answer him.

Delegate Harlin, District 10: Mr. Chairman, knowing how impatient this delegation is, I will not dignify John R. Lawson with any reply other than to say that my remarks were based on records.

The president of the International Tobacco Workers' Union spoke here the other day. He has always been a good friend of the miners' organization. He has two resolutions presented which were submitted to the Committee on Resolutions, but owing to an oversight they were not read yesterday. Out of courtesy to the Tobacco Workers' International Union, I want to read them now:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Harlin, for the Committee, reported on the following resolution submitted by the Tobacco Workers' International Union to their representative, President McAndrew:

UNION LABEL TOBACCO FOR SOLDIERS.

Whereas, The United States is at war in the defense of democratic institutions, and is mobilizing its land and naval forces in training camps in this country and abroad; and

Whereas, Every American is pledged to do his bit in helping to bring about the quickest, successful result; and

Whereas, Included in these mobilized forces are thousands of members of organized labor, who will be compelled to forego the pleasure of smoking and chewing their favorite brands of tobacco and cigarettes, unless they are supplied from private sources; and

Whereas, The Tobacco Trust has put on a great newspaper campaign, appealing to the patriotic feelings of the soldiers' relatives and friends to send them a kit containing an assortment of tobacco and cigarettes, not through any patriotic desires, but for the purpose of increased revenue for this powerful corporation, one of the most antagonistic monopolies by which organized labor is opposed; and

Whereas, The Tobacco Workers' International Union desiring to furnish trade unionists, who are now serving their country in the army and navy and in cantonment camps, with tobacco and cigarettes bearing the Union Label, have established a fund for that purpose, inviting the trade unionists, who desire, to contribute to this Patriotic Union Label Tobacco Fund; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United Mine Workers of America, in convention assembled in Indianapolis, Ind., January 15, 1918, endorse the patriotic movement established by the Tobacco Workers' International Union, and that the Central Bodies and Local Unions will co-operate, through voluntary subscription to this fund and prove to the American people the loyalty of organized labor for their fellow members, who are at the front in defense of their country, and the fundamental principles for which they are organized.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION OF TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.

Whereas, It is assumed, and the assumption confirmed by statistical calculation, that the purchasing power of the organized workers of this country is of tremendous proportions, reaching into billions of dollars in the course of a calendar year; and

Whereas, The practical application of our purchasing powers as trade unionists has been sadly neglected through the indifference of the members of organized labor. Information gathered from dealers is to the effect that very few union men insistently demand products bearing the union label, except it be when such articles have some coupon scheme attached to them; and

Whereas, The Tobacco Workers International Union is one of the organizations that is suffering from this condition of indifference and neglect, with the result, that members of our union have been walking the streets, while those employed in the trust and non-union factories are working overtime; therefore, be it

Resolved, That as the Tobacco Workers' blue label has for many years been extensively advertised among all the unions now in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, it is therefore entitled to a fuller co-operation from our fellow trade unionists in the demand for union labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff; be it further

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the United Mine Workers of America, in convention assembled in Indianapolis, Ind., January 15, 1918, declare that we will use every effort through our International Union to co-operate and assist the Tobacco Workers' International Union in creating a greater demand for union label tobaccos, snuff and cigarettes.

The resolution was adopted unanimously. .

Delegate Harlin obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Gallup, New Mexico, January 3, 1918.

Whereas, It appearing that on the 31st day of July, A. D. 1917, and prior thereto, certain officers, agents and employes of the Gallup-American Coal Company, doing business in McKinley county, New Mexico, did

unlawfully and feloniously conspire together with the sheriff of the county of McKinley, State of New Mexico, to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate citizens of the United States and members of this organization in the exercise and enjoyment of the rights and privileges secured to them by the constitution and laws of the United States, and did unlawfully, in pursuance of the carrying out of said conspiracy, falsely imprison and deprive some thirty members of this organization of their liberty and did unlawfully transport them from Gallup, New Mexico, to Belen, New Mexico, some two hundred miles distant, and did then and there threaten to take their lives if they returned to their homes in Gallup, contrary to the provisions of Section 5508 of the Revised Statutes of the United States in such cases made and provided; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention direct the International Executive Board to bring this matter to the Attorney-General of the United States, with the object in view of leading to the prosecution of said offenders for the violation of the rights of said members of this organization, or take such other steps as will be necessary to bring about the prosecution of said offenders by the United States government.

LEO P. GALVIN,

Financial Agent for Gallup, New Mexico.

The resolution was adopted as read.

Chairman Harlin: This completes the report of our committee.

(Signed) ROBERT H. HARLIN, Chairman,
PAUL J. SMITH, Secretary,
JAMES MATTHEWS,
WILLIAM DALRYMPLE,
FRANK WAITE,
WILLIAM HARGEST,
WILLIAM MITCHELL,
J. R. KENNAMER,
CLARENCE McCAFFERTY,

Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Harper, District 12: A woman has been over here in the lobby taking notes of the proceedings. I understand she is employed by the C. F. & I. Company.

President Hayes: We have nothing to hide from anybody. Our conventions are always open, and the chair is certain that in every convention we have held detectives have been present.

Delegate Moyer: The report of the secretary shows we have put money into Liberty Loan Bonds. Will we have to wait thirty years to get the money for the organization?

Secretary Green: No, you can convert a Liberty Loan Bond into cash at any time.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LITIGATION.

Delegate Moore, District 6, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Indianapolis, Ind., January 26, 1918.

We, your Committee on Litigation, appointed for the purpose of giving consideration to the procedure that should be followed by the organization in an attempt to have annulled the Federal Court of Arkansas' decision rendered in the so-called Coronado Coal Company case, which was brought to the attention of the convention in the President's report, advise that we have given this matter most careful consideration, consulted with our attorneys and have concluded that the only recourse open to the organization is to file bond and take an appeal to the higher court and if needs be to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In order that this may be done it is necessary for the United Mine Workers of America to raise approximately \$800,000 within a very few days. It is necessary that this be done if the integrity of the United Mine Workers of America and the organized labor movement of the country is to be protected against similar legal procedure and is to be allowed to exist.

If the decision is not set aside, then it is within the province of the enemies of the organized labor movement to at any time they may choose to do so to harass and destroy the effectiveness of the movement by constantly keeping us involved in such litigation and as a result of the litigation attach the funds of the organization and thus destroy completely the effectiveness of the organized labor movement.

Therefore we, your committee, recommend that the officers of our International Union be and are hereby instructed to make such arrangements as may be necessary to file bond and to appeal to the higher court. In order that the money may be raised the accredited officers of the districts enumerated below have pledged themselves to loan to the International Union the money necessary to cover the bond and other expense incidental thereto, to-wit:

District No. 1.....	\$ 5,000.00
District No. 5.....	60,000.00
District No. 6.....	105,000.00
District No. 9.....	5,000.00
District No. 10.....	5,000.00
District No. 11.....	25,000.00
District No. 12.....	345,000.00
District No. 13.....	130,000.00
District No. 14.....	10,000.00
District No. 17.....	5,000.00
District No. 19.....	5,000.00
District No. 21.....	40,000.00
District No. 22.....	25,000.00
District No. 25.....	10,000.00
District No. 27.....	25,000.00

We, your committee, further advise that this money is loaned to the International Union by the District organizations enumerated upon condition that the money will be returned immediately to the District organizations in event the decision of the higher court should annul the Federal Court decision, and upon the further condition that in event the Federal Court decision is not annulled the District organizations will be reimbursed by the International Union as rapidly as that body can accumulate money to pay off the indebtedness, and with the further understanding that the International Secretary will purchase Liberty bonds to the amount of the bond, to be deposited as collateral and that the interest accruing from the Liberty bonds will be paid over to the District organizations in accordance with the ratio of money loaned.

We, your committee, further recommend that the International officers be and are hereby instructed to employ the most eminent counsel

obtainable to prepare and prosecute this appeal, and we further recommend that the International officers co-operate with the District officers in an endeavor to influence an early decision by the higher court.

We also recommend that the International officers shall have power to work out any further detail in connection herewith, to the end that the decision of the Federal Court of Arkansas shall be annulled.

JOHN MOORE,
FRANK FARRINGTON,
JOHN WILKINSON,
PHILIP MURRAY,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
JOHN BROPHY,
C. F. KEENEY,
MARTIN FLYZIK,
EDW. STEWART,
Committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Farrington: I want to say for the benefit of the various District organizations that have so generously agreed to contribute money to the limit of their ability to the International in order to prosecute this appeal that it will be necessary for them to file checks with the International Secretary for the amount they have agreed to contribute at the earliest date possible, because this bond must be filed not later than the 17th of February. There will be many items of detail to work out in connection with filing the bond. You will therefore see the necessity of turning the money you have agreed to give to this fund over to the Secretary as early as possible.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Indianapolis, Ind., January 26, 1918.

We, your Committee on Litigation, appointed for the purpose of considering the Hitchman Coal Company case mentioned in the President's report to this convention, desire to report that we have given most careful consideration to every aspect of this case and have concluded that we have no legal redress in the courts of our land and that

the only hope of the organized labor movement in face of a decision of this kind lies in their ability to secure legislation that will prevent such court procedure.

Therefore, we recommend that the International Executive Board invoke the assistance of the American Federation of Labor and by their mutual co-operation devise plans and make arrangements to appear before the Congress of the United States and to use every effort possible to secure the enactment of legislation necessary to prevent such court procedure.

JOHN MOORE,
FRANK FARRINGTON,
JOHN WILKINSON,
PHILIP MURRAY,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
JOHN BROPHY,
C. F. KEENEY,
MARTIN FLYZIK,
EDW. STEWART,

Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

President Hayes: The committee is discharged and the International organization and the convention wish to thank the members for their work.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS' UNION.

Delegate Savage, District 6: I move that we proceed to the election of fraternal delegates to the convention of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union. (Seconded and carried.)

President Hayes: Past custom will govern us in this matter; there will be a separate election for each of the delegates; nominations will be made, a rising vote taken and the delegates receiving the largest number of votes will be declared elected. Nominations are in order.

Delegate Farrington, District 12: I desire to place in nomination as fraternal delegate to the convention of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' a man who has been a faithful worker for the organiza-

tion for many years, and who, so far as I know, has never up to this time asked for any honor at the hands of an international convention. I am not going to go at length into an explanation of why the convention should elect the man I am going to nominate, because I think he is well enough known to the delegates to make that unnecessary. I take great pleasure in placing in nomination Delegate Lee Hall, vice-president District No. 6.

Delegate Thomas Price, District 11, was placed in nomination by Delegate Smith, Local 1394, District 11.

Delegate John Wilkinson, District 21, was placed in nomination by Delegate Phillips.

Delegate D. A. Frampton, District 25, was placed in nomination by Delegate Haywood, District 12.

Delegate Pio Franckey, District 12, was placed in nomination by Delegate Jones (T.), District 12.

Delegate Archie Forbes, District 11, was placed in nomination by Delegate Foster, Local 228, District 11.

Delegate Chas. O'Neil, District 2, was placed in nomination by Delegate McMillan.

Delegate Joe Loftus, District 12, was placed in nomination by Delegate Ritchie, District 12.

John R. Scott, Peoria, Ill., was placed in nomination by Delegate Pascoe, District 12.

Delegate C. F. Keeney, District 17, nominated by Delegate Dwyer, District 17.

Delegate Frank Farrington was nominated by delegates from District 12.

Delegate Alex Howat, District 14, was placed in nomination by Delegate McCleish, District 12.

Delegate Thomas McCullough, District 13, was placed in nomination by Delegate Hampton.

Delegate Jock Miller, District 12, was placed in nomination by Delegate Carso.

Delegate Van Bittner, District 19, was placed in nomination by Delegate Reed.

Delegate Will Prentice, District 12, was placed in nomination by Delegate Paska.

Delegate Savage, District 6: Is Delegate Frampton in the hall? I am informed that he is not. I don't think he would be a candidate if he were here.

Delegate Howat, District 14: I will assume the responsibility of withdrawing his name if he is not here. You are going to elect one delegate now, I understand.

President Hayes: One delegate this time and then we will have nominations for a second delegate. That is the usual custom.

The secretary called the names of those nominated. All the nominees except Delegates Hall, Price, Forbes, Scott and Prentice, either declined to stand, or the names of those who were not present were withdrawn by representatives of their districts.

The election proceeded in the usual way, the messengers acting as tellers, and the following result was announced:

Lee Hall, 564 votes; Thomas Price, 25 votes; Archie Forbes, 13 votes; J. R. Scott, 15 votes; Will Prentice, 11 votes.

Delegate Hall, having received a majority of the votes, was declared elected.

For the second election the following names were placed in nomination:

Delegate Martin Flyzik, District 10, nominated by Delegate Moore, District 6; Delegate Pio Franckey, District 12, nominated by Delegate Haywood; Delegate Thomas Price, District 11, nominated by Delegate Greenway; Delegate Adam Wilkinson, District No. 27; Vice-President Lewis, nominated by Delegate Robinson, Ohio; Delegate John Gay, District 13; Delegate Allen Haywood, District 12; Delegate George L. Mer-

cer, District 12; Delegate Philip Murray, District 5; Delegate Jock Miller, District 12; Delegate Alex Howat, District 14; Delegate John R. Lawson, District 15; Delegate P. J. Smith, District 19.

Delegate Farrington: Delegate Mercer is not here. I am sure he is not a candidate, and I assume the responsibility of withdrawing his name.

Delegates Flyzik, Franckey and Price accepted the nominations. The other nominees declined to stand.

Delegate Flyzik received 448 votes; Delegate Franckey, 166 votes; Delegate Price, 46 votes.

Delegate Flyzik was declared duly elected.

Delegate Price and Delegate Franckey, having received the second largest votes in the two elections, were declared the alternates.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY.

President Green read invitations from the following cities: Chicago, invitation extended by Mr. George M. Spangler, manager Chicago Convention Bureau; Columbus, Ohio, invitation extended by Mr. John Y. Bassell, Manager Columbus Convention and Publicity Association; San Francisco, Mr. R. L. Webb, Secretary San Francisco Convention League.

The Secretary announced that an invitation had been forwarded from Washington, D. C.

Delegate Wilkinson, District 27: I desire to place in nomination one of the most beautiful cities in America, Washington, D. C. There are many reasons why we should take the convention to Washington, but it is needless to enumerate them. One of the chief reasons I might state is that the government is taking a great interest in the affairs of the United Mine Workers, and it is possible the United States may be our employer when we hold our next convention. I therefore place in nomination Washington, D. C.

Delegate Howat, District 14: I desire to place in nomination one of the finest cities in America; a city where union men are always wel-

come; where people demonstrated to the American public and to the working men that they are really good friends of the working men during the street car strike some months ago. I therefore place in nomination Kansas City, Mo.

Delegate Robinson, District 6: I take pleasure in asking that the convention be taken back to its mother state. I therefore place in nomination Cleveland, Ohio.

Delegate Doyle, District 6: There is a city which is the most beautiful in the county. One who sees it will never forget it, the city of Denver, Colorado.

Delegate Gay, District 13: This seems to be a time for each delegate to say something in favor of his own particular city. We have one of the most progressive towns in the United States, and I wish to place in nomination Des Moines, Iowa.

Delegate Brown, West Virginia: I desire to have the convention held in a city in the state in which I was born. I therefore desire to second the nomination of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. A. J. Kennedy, secretary Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland: The city of Cleveland is deeply interested in your visiting us when you hold your next convention. I have been requested to extend to you a hearty invitation to make that your selection. In the midst of the unusual times which are before us we realize that we can not go to great expense in holding conventions. Cleveland fortunately is so located that your organization can, with economy in mind, come to our city. It is located on the main lines between Buffalo and Chicago, of easy access from the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Indianapolis gateways through which your members must travel.

You have changed the date of holding your convention. Cleveland lies along the shores of Lake Erie, occupying twenty-one miles of that lake frontage. After your strenuous days of labor in the convention you will have some pleasure in the evening on the cooling shores of Lake Erie.

We want you also to come to Cleveland to see the manner in which the wage earners of our city are represented in the affairs of the municipality. There is no avenue of life in Cleveland in which the wage earner

is not represented. We want you while there to investigate for yourselves the manner in which our municipal authorities have given every consideration to the welfare of our citizens, particularly the more humble citizens.

We have more than twenty-five acres of parks. Recently we have authorized the appropriation of over a million dollars to take care of our unfortunates. We don't want it, but we decided to have a sanitary place in which to keep those who are so unfortunate as to have to go there. Cleveland is deeply interested in the industrial activities of this country. The iron and steel industries, the ship industry, and, most important of all, the coal industry are well represented there. I am charged to extend to the nited Mine Workers of America an invitation to remove their headquarters to the city of Cleveland. We are in position to take care of you in any manner. Cleveland already is the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Firemen and Engineers, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, International Lathers' Union, Amalgamated Window Glass Workers, International Asbestos Workers. Negotiations are on which promise to bring to our city the National Letter Carriers' Association and the National Federal Employees' Association. We want you to become part of us and have a share in our municipal affairs.

Mr. Michael Goldsmith, representing the central labor body of Cleveland, addressed the convention as follows:

A majority of the delegates know the kind of fellows you will meet in Cleveland. All the cities that have been nominated are all right, but we have the best city in the United States for organized labor. From the mayor down, every one will do everything that can be done to make your deliberations pleasant. The eats are cheap, the pleasure is plenty, and we have the only town in the United States where the United Mine Workers can come and feel at home—with all due respect to the other cities. I could go on from now until tomorrow morning, but I know you are tired and want to go home. I invite you to Cleveland in the name of organized labor. I will be on the job, morning, noon and night; I will have the best committee you ever saw, and I bet when you leave Cleveland you will say you want to come back and stay there forever.

Delegate Harlin: I want to second the nomination of Delegate

Wilkinson, that the next convention of the United Mine Workers of America be held in Washington, D. C. I have one or two reasons for seconding the nomination that I want to briefly mention. The first reason is that there is more than a likelihood that before many months pass the coal mines of America will be operated by the government of the United States. If that should happen the only logical place for the next convention is in Washington, D. C. In the month of September the cost of transportation to Washington, D. C., will be very little more than it is to the city of Indianapolis. I believe it will be a tremendous education to the members of the United Mine Workers of America to meet in the capital city of the nation, and it will be an education to the government to have the United Mine Workers assemble there. For these reasons I second the nomination of Washington, D. C.

A rising vote was taken and the tellers announced the following result:

Cleveland, 507 votes; Kansas City, 239 votes; Washington, 187 votes; Denver, 13 votes; Des Moines, 10 votes.

Total votes cast, 956. Cleveland having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared the city in which the next convention would be held.

President Hayes: This completes the work of the convention. The chair desires to state, now that we are about to go to our homes, that I feel I can compliment the delegates to this convention upon the important legislation they have enacted. This, in my opinion, has been the most important convention in the history of the United Mine Workers of America. I am glad that we have legislated wisely, sanely and well, and in support of our country in these trying times. We have by our action in this convention placed our organization in the front rank of labor organizations as a patriotic institution. My friends, we have given to the world our expression of loyalty, and I might say at this time the success of the war depends in large part upon the United Mine Workers of America. I know you will go to your homes imbued with the idea and sentiment: to do everything possible to help your country win this great war for freedom, justice and humanity.

The delegation arose and Delegate Walsh of the anthracite field led in singing "America."

At 4:30 Saturday, January 26, the twenty-sixth consecutive and third biennial convention of the United Mine Workers of America was adjourned sine die.

RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED BUT NOT ACTED UPON.

RESOLUTION NO. 1.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The following preamble and resolution was adopted by the Ways and Means Council of Board Members of District 3 of District 12, at a meeting held in Pekin on Sunday, December 2, 1917:

Whereas, The increase in wages that was accepted by our officials at Washington was absolutely inadequate to meet the present high prices of the necessities of life; and

Whereas, Our officials agreed to a penalty clause, thereby changing the agreement that was ratified by a majority vote of the rank and file, notwithstanding the fact that resolutions sent to our State and International officers only authorized them to request the operators to meet them in joint conference for the purpose of obtaining additional increase in wages to meet the ever-increasing prices on the necessities of life and supplies necessary for the production of coal; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we ask the delegates to the next International convention, to be held in Indianapolis on the 15th day of January, 1918, to repudiate the Washington agreement and consider it not in effect after the 31st day of March, 1918; and be it further

Resolved, That the International convention proceed as in former conventions and make new demands upon the operators for an additional increase in wages, to which we are justly entitled, even under the present government-fixed prices on coal at the mine.

(Signed) THOMAS SHAW, Peoria. FRANK JOHNSON, Ellisville, WM. HARTNESS, Norris, Resolutions Committee.	THOS. R. NEILL, Secretary, JOE JOHNSON, President. WM. HARTNESS, Fin. Sec'y, Local Union No. 1986.
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Similar resolutions were submitted by Local Union 1800, Wesley, Ill., and 1053, Belleville, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 2.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The following preamble and resolution was adopted by the Ways and Means Council of Board Members of District 3 of District 12, at a meeting held in Pekin on Sunday, December 2, 1917:

Whereas, It is an undeniable fact that the demands made upon the operators by our representatives in convention have never been adhered to because of the fact that a Policy Committee has had the power to set aside the will of the convention and present demands in keeping with the ideas of only a few; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the demands made by the highest authority in the Mine Workers, namely, through our representatives in convention, be the original demands to go before the operators, and that no Policy Committee or others will have power to change same without first consulting the membership through a referendum vote. This alone spells democracy.

(Signed) THOMAS SHAW, Peoria.

FRANK JOHNSON, Ellisville,

WM. HARTNESS, Norris,

Resolutions Committee.

THOS. R. NEILL, Secretary,

JOE JOHNSON, President,

WM. HARTNESS, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 1986.

Similar resolutions were submitted by Local Union 1800, Wesley, Ill., and 1058, Belleville, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 3.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The following preamble and resolution was adopted by the Ways and Means Council of Board Members of District 3 of District 12, at a meeting held in Pekin on Sunday, December 2, 1917:

Whereas, The present contract contains a clause that prevents anything being done in district or sub-district conventions that will increase the cost of production or reduce the earning capacity of the mine, which,

effect. makes it impossible to obtain even a hearing before the operators in the different sub-districts on the numerous inequalities which exist; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we ask the delegates to the International convention to demand the abolition of the above clause and under no circumstances agree to any proposition submitted by the operators, or any others, without the elimination of the aforementioned clause, as it has proved itself the stumbling block in obtaining justice, and to its credit can be traced the great discontent that exists among a large majority of our membership.

(Signed) THOMAS SHAW, Peoria.
FRANK JOHNSON, Ellisville,
WM. HARTNESS, Norris,
Resolutions Committee.
THOS. R. NEILL, Secretary,
JOE JOHNSON, President.
WM. HARTNESS, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 1986.

Now at resolutions were submitted by Local Union 1800, Wesley, Ill.
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... ..

RESOLUTION NO. 4.

Eldorado, Ill., December 7, 1917.

Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third ... Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That when the official tellers of any election of officers or ... proposition or other referendum vote taken in District 12, ... the ballots or returns from locals and finds errors ... that such count of votes be postponed for ten days and ... sheets showing errors be returned to recording secretary of ... such errors for corrections, and at the expiration of ten ... again convene and count the return of all returns ... local secretaries have not returned corrected return ... such local's vote will not be counted; be it further ... any local secretary who has a return sheet sent back ... and he fails to correct same and return it to place

of counting within the ten days, shall be expelled from office of secretary and be prohibited from holding such office in the future.

TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,

ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 88.

Similar resolutions were submitted by:

Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 5.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It is a well known fact that conditions vary to such an extent in different localities that it is impossible to settle all grievances or to adjust all matters that should have consideration in joint conferences when wages and working conditions are under negotiation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the sub-districts be established in the following manner: First, that there be not less than nine sub-districts, and the presidents of the sub-districts, with the three resident officers of District 12, shall compose the district executive board, and the present method of having district board members to be abolished; and be it further

Resolved, That each sub-district have one president, one vice-president and one secretary-treasurer, and these three officers shall look after the field work and settle all cases such as our present Board member, and in case of disagreement with the commissioner the case shall go to the joint group Board as at present.

WM. CRAIG, President,

THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,

LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 43.

Similar resolutions were submitted by:

Local Union No. 38, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1800, Wesley, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 6.

Eldorado, Ill., December 7, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, As the present contract and the method of handling cases is very unsatisfactory to our membership and our records have become burdened with decisions of long standing; and

Whereas, These decisions in many instances have set aside written terms of the contract as well as killed the spirit of it; and

Whereas, We believe the substituting of Board members' opinions for the written terms of the agreement is bad policy and should be discontinued; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our next contract be written more specific and that the practice of deciding cases on former decisions be discontinued and all cases that shall be handled shall be decided on the merits of the case in accordance with the contract without regard to past precedents, and the decisions so reached shall only stand the life of the contract under which they are rendered.

JOHN HARRELSON, President,

TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,

ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 88.

Similar resolutions were submitted by:

Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 7.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas. The company receives pay for blacksmithing, and the miner has to pay extra for other work necessary for the miner to have his tools in proper shape to do his work in a workmanlike manner; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the next agreement shall read: "Any and all tools

used by the miner to mine coal shall be considered a part of the blacksmithing and shall be repaired, all kinds of bits sharpened, pick handles put in and all other necessary work done without extra pay."

WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 43.

Similar resolutions submitted by:
Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.
Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 8.

Eldorado, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That the office of district inspector of scales be created. All applications for the position shall pass a satisfactory examination before our executive board, and those passing satisfactory examination shall be submitted to the local union for their election.

O. DEAN, President,
J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,
JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 1865.

Similar resolutions submitted by:
Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill.
Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.
Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 9.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That overtime be abolished, except in case of extreme emergency; overtime to be paid for at the rate of time and one-half; Sundays to be considered overtime.

RESOLUTION NO. 6.

Eldorado, Ill., December 7, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, As the present contract and the method of handling cases is very unsatisfactory to our membership and our records have become burdened with decisions of long standing; and

Whereas, These decisions in many instances have set aside written terms of the contract as well as killed the spirit of it; and

Whereas, We believe the substituting of Board members' opinions for the written terms of the agreement is bad policy and should be discontinued; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our next contract be written more specific and that the practice of deciding cases on former decisions be discontinued and all cases that shall be handled shall be decided on the merits of the case in accordance with the contract without regard to past precedents, and the decisions so reached shall only stand the life of the contract under which they are rendered.

JOHN HARRELSON, President,

TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,

ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 88.

Similar resolutions were submitted by:

Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 7.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The company receives pay for blacksmithing, and the miner has to pay extra for other work necessary for the miner to have his tools in proper shape to do his work in a workmanlike manner; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the next agreement shall read: "Any and all tools

used by the miner to mine coal shall be considered a part of the blacksmithing and shall be repaired, all kinds of bits sharpened, pick handles put in and all other necessary work done without extra pay."

WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 43.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 8.

Eldorado, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That the office of district inspector of scales be created. All applications for the position shall pass a satisfactory examination before our executive board, and those passing satisfactory examination shall be submitted to the local union for their election.

O. DEAN, President,
J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,
JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 1865.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill.

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 9.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That overtime be abolished, except in case of extreme emergency; overtime to be paid for at the rate of time and one-half; Sundays to be considered overtime.

Note—Emergency work to be considered endangering life, limb or loss of property.

**WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,**

Local Union No. 43.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

**Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill. Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 1986, Norris, Ill. Local Union No. 494, Springfield, Ill.
Local Union No. 1800, Wesley, Ill. Local Union No. 798, Harrisburg, Ill.
Local Union No. 2650, Harrisburg, Ill.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 10.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There is a rate of wages paid at different mines for the same kind of labor, thereby causing trouble among the rank and file; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand a uniform day wage scale throughout the district for the different kinds of labor—motormen and trip riders to receive the same scale; tracklayers and their helpers to receive the same scale; timbermen and their helpers to receive the same scale; or any two or more men working at the same kind of work to receive the same scale; and be it further

Resolved, That the scale of wages paid for such classes: Tracklayers, timbermen, mine examiners, etc., be brought up more on an equality with motormen and shot firers.

**WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,**

Local Union No. 43.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

**Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 794, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 2650, Harrisburg, Ill.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 11.

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

to the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The fourth clause of the Washington supplemental agreement provides that, subject to the next biennial convention of the U. M. W. of A., the Mine Workers' representatives agree that the present contract be extended during the duration of the war and not to exceed two years from April 1, 1918; and

Whereas, Because of the war the industrial conditions of the mining world have been revolutionized to such an extent that from one twelve-month period to another changes such as never could have been predicted by the most far-sighted men have brought about and driven home to the most indifferent and ignorant members; and

Whereas, The only safe and sane method of avoiding making the most serious mistake of binding and tying ourselves down to conditions under which there will be no relief therefrom; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we go on record as opposing the acceptance of the terms as provided in the fourth clause, but in lieu thereof advocate a twelve-month period, effective from April 1, 1918, subject, however, to the abolition of the understanding that we cannot make other demands abnormal conditions warrant.

**ONIE DEAN, President,
J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,
JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 1865.**

Similar resolutions submitted by:

L. U. 2709, Norris City, Ill.

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 12.

Eldorado, Ill., December 7, 1917.

Whereas, Our National and District Officers in the Central competitive field have met and have effected a new contract; and

Whereas, In this contract they have extended the old contract for a period of two years; and

Whereas, They have authorized the establishment of a larger penalty for so-called illegal strikes, while no penalty is to be put on the operators for their illegal methods of forcing conditions on our members; and

Whereas, We have conditions in the various districts that should be remedied by men who are conversant with them, not men who do not know conditions; and

Whereas, A raise in pay without a change in conditions is only a temporary betterment; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we ask all locals to instruct their delegates to insist that the local and internal conditions be referred to the different districts for settlement.

JOHN HARRELSON, President,
TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,
ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 88.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

Local Union No. 992, Zeigler, Ill.

Local Union No. 1800, Wesley, Ill.

Local Union No. 860, St. David, Ill.

Local Union No. 755, Staunton, Ill.

Local Union No. 794, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 2709, Norris City, Ill.

Local Union No. 798, Harrisburg, Ill.

Local Union No. 2650, Harrisburg, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 13.

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The tentative agreement carries with it a penalty clause which provides for a fine for our membership in case of so-called illegal shutdowns; and

Whereas, There is no penalty provided for the operators for violation of said contract; and

Whereas, Our membership was not given a chance to accept or reject

this proposition, which is contrary to the fundamental principles of our organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the miners of Illinois, recommend that the delegates to our International convention vote and oppose the ratification of the Washington agreement as it now reads.

ONIE DEAN, President,
J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,
JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 1850.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

Local Union No. 493, Nokomis, Ill.
Local Union No. 1802, Marysville, Ill.
Local Union No. 743, Lebanon, Ill.
Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 2709, Norris City, Ill.
Local Union No. 1053, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 2619, Beckemeyer, Ill.
Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 14.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That there shall be no differential paid for machines.

WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 48.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

Local Union No. 992, Zeigler, Ill.
Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 1797, Edgemont, Ill.
Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 755, Staunton, Ill.
Local Union No. 794, Eldorado, Ill.
Local Union No. 2709, Norris City, Ill.
Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 15.

Marseilles, Ill., December 4, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Thi
Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That seven hours constitute a day's work.

CHAS. HOLMAN, President,

FRANK BOULEY, Rec. Sec'y,

HARRY HOLMAN, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 240.

Similar resolutions submitted by:

Local Union No. Ill.

Local Union No. Ill.

Local Union No. Ill.

Local Union No. Ill.

Local Union No. 1090, New Athens, Ill.

Local Union No. 1397, Centralia, Ill.

Local Union No. 1523, Cedar Point, Ill.

Local Union No. 297, New Baden, Ill.

Local Union No. Ill.

Local Union No. 565,

Local Union No. 2425, Virden, Ill.

Local Union No. 1797, Edgemoat, Ill.

Local Union No. 2837, Carrier Mills, Ill.

Local Union No. 1053, Ellisville, Ill.

Local Union No. 493, Coalton, Ill.

Local Union No. 109, Ill.

Local Union No. 438,

Local Union No. Ill.

Local Union No.

Local Union No. 1800,

Local Union No. 1865,

Local Union No. 563, E. Peoria, Ill.

Local Union No. 844, Muddy, Ill.

Local Union No. Ill.

Local Union No. 413, Ill.

Local Union No. 755, Staunton, Ill.

Local Union No. 794, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1470, Benton, Ill.
 Local Union No. 2650, Harrisburg, Ill.
 Local Union No. 798, Harrisburg, Ill.
 Local Union No. 1677, Eldorado, Ill.
 Local Union No. 1421, Buckner, Ill.
 Local Union No. 895, Roanoke, Ill.
 Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 16.

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

Whereas, The question of working conditions over, above and aside from the question of a wage scale has been a bone of contention between the miners and operators since the inception of the Mine Workers' organization; and

Whereas, The Washington supplementary agreement in its terms, if ratified without an amendment along the lines making provisions for agreeing on working conditions, will shut out the opportunity of any improvement in our working conditions; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all delegates to the National convention fight for the consideration of working conditions as a part of the new contract.

ONIE DEAN, President,
 J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,
 JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,
 Local Union No. 1865.

Similar resolution submitted by:
 Local Union No. 125, Mt. Olive, Ill.
 Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 17.

Coalton, Ill., December 26, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It is becoming a practice more and more each year for miners in District No. 12, U. M. W. of A., to have their dinner buckets fixed and then walk a distance of from one to three miles to find out whether or not there is work; and

Whereas, Thousands of dollars of food is spoiled and wasted an-

nually, and especially now in time of war, when the government is requesting housewives to economize on food, and this practice is also causing much unnecessary work to be performed; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the miners of the state demand a definite understanding as to work the next day, notice of same to be posted at the mine top each evening.

EWALD SANDNER, President,
JAS. HERRON, Rec. Sec'y,
L. RAMSEY, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 493.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 743, Lebanon, Ill.

Local Union No. 2709, Norris City, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1053, Ellisville, Ill.

Local Union No. 2619, Beckemeyer, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 18.

Eldorado, Ill., December 11, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The mines are hoisting a much larger tonnage at the present time than they did when the price for Blacksmithing was levied on the ton, in fact we are paying the entire Blacksmithing force, which is not justice; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand a reduction of three-tenths (3-10c) cents per ton for Blacksmithing.

TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,
ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 88.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 43, Spring Valley, Ill.

Local Union No. 493, Springfield, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 19.

Marseilles, Ill., December 4, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There is a differential of four (4c) cents per ton in the mining rate which was granted to some particular mines in Southern Illinois some years back; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand that the four (4c) cent differential in Southern Illinois be left an open question in the next interstate agreement.

CHARLES HOLMAN, President.

FRANK BOULEY, Rec. Sec'y,

HARRY HOLMAN, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 240.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 52, Centralia, Ill.

Local Union No. 106, Dumfermline, Ill.

Local Union No. 992, Zeigler, Ill.

Local Union No. 1397, Centralia, Ill.

Local Union No. 1090, New Athens, Ill.

Local Union No. 1523, Cedar Point, Ill.

Local Union No. 297, New Baden, Ill.

Local Union No. 1213, Farmington, Ill.

Local Union No. 565, Equality, Ill.

Local Union No. 2425, Virden, Ill.

Local Union No. 2837, Carrier Mills, Ill.

Local Union No. 1653, Ellisville, Ill.

Local Union No. 493, Coalton, Ill.

Local Union No. 109, Assumption, Ill.

Local Union No. 2840, Middlegrove, Ill.

Local Union No. 438, Equality, Ill.

Local Union No. 621, Sandoval, Ill.

Local Union No. 1800, Peoria, Ill.

Local Union No. 563, East Peoria, Ill.

Local Union No. 843, Muddy, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1802, Marysville, Ill.

Local Union No. 413, Springfield, Ill.
 Local Union No. 755, Staunton, Ill.
 Local Union No. 494, Springfield, Ill.
 Local Union No. 798, Harrisburg, Ill.
 Local Union No. 1677, Eldorado, Ill.
 Local Union No. 1421, Buckner, Ill.
 Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 20.

Eldorado, Ill., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That overtime be abolished, except in case of extreme emergency; overtime to be paid for at the rate of time and one-half; Sundays to be considered overtime.

Note:—Emergency work to be considered endangering life, limb or loss of property.

CLAUD TODD, President,
 JAS. CLIFFORD, Rec. Sec'y,
 HARRY KENNEDY, Fin. Sec'y,
 Local Union No. 794.

Similar resolution submitted by:
 Local Union No. 755, Staunton, Ill.
 Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 21.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The seventh (7th) clause of the State Agreement reads, "Paydays shall be on the 15th and 30th of each month," and

Whereas, The high cost of living makes it hard for a miner to live two weeks on his pay; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the next contract shall read that "Payday shall be every Saturday at 2:30 p. m., with a half day off on Saturday."

WM. CRAIG, President,

THEODORE DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,

LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 48.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 791, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 494, Springfield, Ill.

Local Union No. 798, Harrisburg, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 23.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

to the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The evolution of the mining industry has developed mine cars of from three to five ton capacity, instead of small cars that used to prevail; and

Whereas, We believe that these big cars should be handled by motors or mules, instead of pushing by men; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our next contract prohibit the practice of pushing cars, either loaded or empty, and the company be required to deliver the cars at the working face.

WM. CRAIG, President,

THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,

LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 48.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union 794, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 798, Harrisburg, Ill.

Local Union No. 2650, Harrisburg, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 24.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That when a member is discharged, he be allowed to continue at work until the case is finally settled.

**WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 43.**

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 26.

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The low coal question in Saline, White and Gallatin counties has been and is now an injustice to the miners of the above named counties, namely, all coal five feet and under shall be five cents additional on the ton, but not to apply to Saline, White or Gallatin counties; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all coal five feet and under in the above named counties be paid the five cents additional on the ton.

**ONIE DEAN, President,
J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,
JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 1865.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 29.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Local conditions in mines are being changed from time

time by joint decisions, thereby in time losing what local conditions are in favor of our membership; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand that the operators meet with representatives of the miners in Sub-District Joint Conference, for the purpose of adjusting local conditions.

WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 48.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 80.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

to the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That this local union send only delegates to conventions who will pledge themselves to support instructions of this local union. Any delegate not observing their instructions to be immediately recalled.

WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 48.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 88, Eldorado, Ill.

Local Union No. 860, St. David, Ill.

Local Union No. 1865, Eldorado, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 31.

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

to the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believe it to be to our best interests to have our District Convention convene prior to the International Convention, in

order that we may be able to formulate our plans and to unify our efforts as a district as a whole, instead of each local union making different demands and fighting for them separately as at present, and in order to protect the welfare of the membership and to promote progress; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our District Constitution be so amended to provide for the holding of our District Convention just prior to the International Convention.

ONIE DEAN, President,

J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,

JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 1865.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 32.

Eldorado, Ill., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, A condition exists in the majority of solid shooting mines that rooms and entries are worked single; and

Whereas, That system is a benefit to the coal companies in safeguarding their property; and

Whereas, It is also an advantage to the miners; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we ask that this resolution be referred to the Scale Committee and have same adopted in our next District Convention as a condition, as same is a benefit to both parties involved.

ONIE DEAN, President,

J. H. GOSS, Rec. Sec'y,

JAMES BAIRD, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 1865.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 36.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Be it Resolved, That when a machine mined coal loader is sent

into another place to load coal, he be paid for carrying his tools to said place, for the time lost in so doing.

WM. CRAIG, President,
THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,
LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 43.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 37.

Novinger, Mo., December 22, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The semi-monthly pay period has been a bone of contention for many years; and

Whereas, It is causing many hardships to be heaped upon the miners; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand a weekly pay.

Signed in behalf of Local Union No. 1442.

JAS. MOONEY, President.
W. B. MILLER, Rec. Sec'y.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 38.

Novinger, Mo., December 22, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The high cost of living has become so great that it is impossible for the coal miner to meet the necessities of life; and

Whereas, The necessities of life have advanced over 100 per cent.; and

Whereas, The coal miner's wages in the Novinger field have only advanced about 20 per cent., while if they had received the same advance as the day and monthly men they should have received 42 cents per ton; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand 22 cents per ton advance for all mine run coal.

Respectfully submitted in behalf of Local Union No. 1442.

JAS. MOONEY, President.

W. B. MILLER, Rec. Sec'y.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 39.

Spring Valley, Ill., December 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The miners of the long wall work in northern Illinois have considerable trouble in handling slate coming with the coal, especially in machine territory; and

Whereas, The miners are getting no compensation for same; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the miners demand compensation for every bit of slate coming with coal.

WM. CRAIG, President,

THEO. DESERF, Rec. Sec'y,

LUCIAN DART, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 43.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 48.

Ward, Iowa, November 26, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, There has been much dissatisfaction among the rank and file concerning shot firing and blacksmithing; and

Whereas, That we have always paid our shot-firers and blacksmiths; and

Whereas, This work is to the interest of the coal company; be it

Resolved, That we demand coal companies to pay blacksmiths and shot firers.

ROBERT DOBSON, President.

T. R. BOMLARD, Rec. Sec'y.

Indorsed by Local Union No. 2830.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 44.

Fredericktown, Pa., December 6, 1917.

Resolved, That all miners get an increase of 25 per cent. on machine and pick mining.

Resolved, That we get paid for all slate from 1 inch up.

Resolved, That all cars be brought to a man's face.

Resolved, That all narrow work in pillars and stumps be paid yardage, 12 feet for pick mining and 14 feet for machine work.

Resolved, For a six-hour workday and four hours on Saturday.

Resolved, To do away with all fines that are in existence now.

Resolved, That the miners get paid every two weeks; no more three-week pays.

Resolved, That the miners get 12 cents for every post that a man sets and draws.

**JOHN SLIFKO,
JOE PRELOSnick,
FRED STERBEN,
FRED FISHER,
ROBERT NUSHAM,
Resolutions Committee.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 45.

Gillespie, Ill., October 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We recommend the following resolutions:

Where a mine is developed all machines shall be placed on the day shift, the determining of whether a mine is developed shall be left to a joint committee appointed by the convention.

That the company shift the track next to the face for machine men sufficient to unload and load machines.

Where a machine has to move over six hundred (600) feet, men shall be compensated for same and that the company shall take all sights.

That no more than two (2) rooms be worked off of one (1) room road. And that every tenth (10) room turned off of stub entry, that track be laid through cross-cut to cut off long move for machine.

We demand that the company cannot put over two hundred (200) feet of cable on machine. And any time machine men lose time for impurities in cutting he shall be compensated for same.

We recommend that sufficient cages be run at mid-forenoon and mid-afternoon to hoist all men waiting on bottom to get up.

We recommend that switches be laid in cross-cuts as soon as cut and move switches up to cross-cut nearest to face in last room in entry.

That we demand that not more than thirteen (13) loaders shall load coal at any time after the Brest machine, and not more than twenty-three (23) loaders shall load coal after the short wall machine.

We demand that the operator shall not make any attempt to increase the number of machines after the mine has been developed.

We demand that in all cases of accidents occurring in or around the mine the company shall furnish either automobile, handcar, horse and buggy or either conveyance in order to take home the person or persons injured. When any employe of the company has to take home the injured the company shall pay to said party the sum of five dollars (\$5.00) for such accommodation.

We demand that all machinists and electricians in or around the mine be compelled to belong to the organization.

We demand that all coal companies pay from 9:00 to 12:00 a. m. and from 1:00 to 6:00 p. m. on pay days.

We demand yardage for all places driven under thirty (30) feet wide, and company pay for all bottoms taking up after the short wall or Brest machine.

We demand three and one-half of the seven cents differential between miners and coal company.

We demand that there be a separate hoist independent from the main shaft to hoist men at any time.

We demand that the operators shall make no demands to increase the number of loaders after the machines.

We demand that no fines shall be imposed on miners by the operators, when it is imposed for a violation of a certain clause, and on

the other hand the miner is living up to the clauses and rights of other clauses, or where the rights and privileges conflict the one with the other.

We demand that the operator shall pay to each employe the sum of five dollars (\$5.00) when it is proven that the operators, by using falsehoods, and perjuring themselves to obtain any advantage over the U. M. W. of A., or by these falsehoods seek to obtain some new condition which the contract does not provide.

We demand that firemen and ash wheelers be paid five dollars (\$5.00) per shift. That all day labor underground shall be paid as follows: Trappers and greasers, \$5.00; all other day labor, \$5.00.

That we demand where the operator asks anyone who has been assigned a place at the face and they call upon the said miner to come out and do any other class of day labor, that he be paid the amount equal to what he would have made at the face.

That we demand that where a member of the U. M. W. of A. is asked to go into wet places, including the cleaning of sump, the company shall provide a full outfit of rubber boots, hat, jacket and pants. When his work is finished it is agreed that those having done the work, their shift will be through.

That we demand eight (8) hours, from bank to bank, to constitute a day's work.

That we demand that all road coal be turned over to the checkweighman fund, that all main haulage roadways, and stub entries, rooms, shall be kept clear of any obstructions, low roof timbers, props, pillars, where the above comes in contact with the loaders' cars. The company shall repair the same, on notice given by the miners, inside of one week.

That we demand that in rooms where cross-cuts are prevented from being cut and worked on account of the next room not having been started that they agree to allow the loaders that are in rooms where such cross-cuts are to be worked and said room is stopped, that these loaders go back into the cross-cut in the room that was stopped and work the cross-cut.

That we demand that in all shafts or mines where a brother has been killed, or an accident to a brother, which may result in death, or even where the mines work on funeral days, no matter from what

cause, the operator shall pay to the deceased relatives the sum of \$200.00.

Adopted by Local Union No. 2219, U. M. W. of A.

FULLERTON FULTON, President.

IKE ROWLAND, Fin. Sec'y,

WM. PRICE, Sec'y.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 46.

Chariton, Iowa, December 10, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by Chariton Local Union 1933 on the 10th of December, 1917:

Whereas, We believe and know that the Mine Workers of America are entitled to a raise in wages to meet the ever-increasing cost of living; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand an increase in wages of 15 cents per ton pick and machine mined coal, 90 cents per day for company men and 15 per cent. advance on yardage and all other work. We also wish to express our appreciation for the way and manner in which ex-President John P. White and the other officials of our organization secured for us the last two advances in wages.

Respectfully,

C. C. GIBBONS.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 49.

Arnold City, Pa., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Since the introduction of the short wall machines in the district the miners have been compelled to load coal after them in ribs and stumps under all kinds of conditions, and if a man is working in a room and the mine foreman comes in his room and tells him to go in a rib or stump to load out a cut of coal after the short wall machine and he refuses to go on account of bad roof or no place to put his slate, the mine foreman will danger off his room and let the man stay home until

he is starved and ready to come back and load out that cut of coal in that rib or stump, whichever it may be, and after the machine man has loaded out the machine coal the pick man has to shoulder his tools and carry them from one side of the mine to the other to take out the back stumps that the machine left, and sometimes it takes him two hours to move his tools, for which he receives no pay; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the officers and delegates in this convention assembled provide ways and means to discontinue this practice.

FRANK LEITHOLD, President,
JAMES WALSH, Secretary,
S. H. UNDERWOOD, Rec. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 92.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 50.

Arnold City, Pa., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The last agreement reads that two loaders shall have two rooms and work together in one until same is cleaned up so as not to interfere with or delay cutters. This does not apply to ribs, stumps, pillars or entries.

Whereas, The mine committee at the Arnold No. 2 Mine and the district officials have not been able to enforce this clause in the agreement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the new agreement just read "that two loaders shall have two rooms under all kinds of conditions," be enforced.

FRANK LEITHOLD, President,
JAMES WALSH, Secretary,
S. H. UNDERWOOD, Rec. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 92.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 52.

Murphysboro, Ill., December 15, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Because of a decision rendered in 1912 by Board Member

Childers and Commissioner Cahill there is an unnecessary disparity in the division of the machine mining rate between the machine men and loaders amounting to \$2.08 per day before the operators raised the price of paper and squibs, which would further widen the discrepancy. And

Whereas, As this gives the machine men an unfair advantage over the loader that is especially noticeable when the work is dull and the high cost of living is such that it places the loader in an embarrassing condition when he undertakes the task of paying his bills, it reflects on his integrity and honesty and makes the machine man look much his superior; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention refer this matter to the Illinois Scale Committee with instructions to set aside the above said decision and make a fair rate, one that will do justice to both machine man and loader.

Adopted by Local 2368, U. M. W. of A.

JOE LOFTUS, Delegate.

FRANK REEVES, Secretary.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 54.

Fayetteville, W. Va., December 5, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, A number of our brothers are changing jobs from time to time; and

Whereas, They have been placed in an embarrassing position a great many times by not being able to get their transfer cards from their local on account of not giving the local secretary their description when they send for a card, and believing as we do that it would be a great help to the local secretaries by having a membership roll book, so that when a brother writes for his transfer card that the secretary can turn to his membership roll book and get the brother's description and fill out the brother's transfer card properly and forward it to him without further trouble; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates of this convention go on record as instructing the International Executive Board to furnish all local unions

with membership roll books, same to be charged for on the same basis as other local supplies.

Respectfully submitted by the members of Local Union No. 2898, U. M. W. of A., South Fayette, Fayette County, West Virginia.

L. M. McNEIL,

M. L. HITCHCOCK,

W. W. STEVENSON,

Committee.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 57.

Hazel Kirk, Pa., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Following are the grievances of Local Union No. 1477, District No. 5:

That all miners working in wet places shall receive the wages of 60c more than the driver and be furnished tools and explosives free of charge.

That all miners working in wide work shall receive 10c per square yard per inch of slate, whether it is grubbed or loaded on cars.

That all posts set by the miner shall be paid for at 25c each.

That the miners shall be paid for laying the road in their working places. Be it

Resolved, That the Scale Committee at the next conference will defend this resolution to better our condition.

Whereas, The miners have been compelled to push the empty cars in their working places; and

Whereas, By doing such work a good many of them have been killed in the Pittsburgh district; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our next agreement be such that the miners shall receive their empties in their working places.

Whereas, The system of discrimination used by the coal operators against members of our local unions who take an active part in the organization has become a matter of serious question to our organization; and

Whereas, The operators in some places have even went so far as to have blacklists drawn up; therefore, be it

Resolved, That before the signing of another agreement we demand from the operators the clause in our next agreement that each mine worker be given his turn of work at any mine he makes application for work; providing said mine worker can fill said work that may become vacant.

In case the Mine Committee takes any cases up with the mine foreman or superintendent, if the boss is found guilty, then the operator has to pay the cost of losing time.

The miners pay, according to the contract, too much for the blacksmithing.

All the resolutions were accepted at the local meeting on the 17th day of December, 1917.

**JAMES RIACH, President,
SAML. KIRSCHMER, Fin. Sec'y,
FRANK BUTLER.**

Local Union No. 1477, Hazel Kirk, Pa.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 64.

Murphysboro, Ill., December 15, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the Resolutions Committee appointed by Local Union 605, do hereby beg to submit the following:

Resolved, That Article 9, page 5, be added thereto, two places to one man.

(The above article is found in the agreement expiring March 31, 1918.)

Resolved, That Article 13, page 6, be added thereto, Jackson County.

(The above article is found in the agreement expiring March 31, 1918.)

**JOSEPH BURGESS.
FRED BIGGS, Secretary.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 65.

Blanford, Ind., December 21, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That our Local Union 3041 is not in favor of keeping so many organizers in the field in time of war. And be it further

Resolved, That our Local Union No. 3041 is not in favor of keeping so many board members in time of war. And be it further

Resolved, That our local is in favor of discharging one-third of the national organizers and one-third of the district and national board members. Be it

Resolved, That our national and district officers give a financial report to all local unions every three months. Be it

Resolved, That if any dispute comes up about wages to settle it there, and not put it to a referendum vote. Leave each delegate vote for his own local. Be it

Resolved, That we don't take the foreign languages out of The United Mine Workers Journal, as quite a number of foreigners take the paper and read it. And be it further

Resolved, That we put one or more of the foreign languages in the paper than there is now.

JOE MARCINKO, President.

ANDREW MARCINKO, Recording Secretary.

THOMAS KEHOE.

JOE MARIETTA.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 70.

Buxton, Iowa, December 24, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 1799, U. M. W. of A., located at Buxton, Iowa, take this method of appealing to the convention in reference to the price paid per ton for mining coal in Iowa. We

realize the condition of the country at the present time and we believe there is no branch of labor that is any more patriotic than the miners of Iowa; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the convention act in conjunction with this resolution. We, the miners of Iowa, can say without contradiction that the price now paid per ton for digging coal is not in parallel with the price now paid day labor, and we all know the price paid for day labor is not in accordance with the present cost of living, so it is plain to see the almost unbearable condition it places the miners of Iowa in; therefore we believe it the duty of the convention and International officers to use all honorable means in securing an increase per ton.

J. C. HUNT,

J. G. RODGERS,

THOS. LIGHAN,

Committee on Resolutions.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 73.

Monarch, Wyo., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That the International Constitution be printed in various languages.

Resolved, That we, the members of Local No. 230, demand the card system be installed in all union fields; that men with union cards be first to start to work.

A. M. JOHNSON, President.

ELMER McELROY, Secretary.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 81.

Fredericktown, Pa., December 21, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the Resolutions Committee from Local Union No. 688, adopted the following resolutions: Be it

Resolved, That we instruct the delegates at the International convention to demand an establishment of a fifth pool. Be it

Resolved, That we demand a third pool base at the fifth pool. Be it

Resolved, That we demand all the non-union mines in the fifth pool to be organized at the first opportunity. Be it

Resolved, That we demand eight hours work from bank to bank. Be it

Resolved, That we demand pay for all the slate removed that has to be removed. Be it

Resolved, That we demand the continuation of run of mine system. Be it

Resolved, That we demand no increase in powder.

STEVE BARTOSH, Secretary.

FRED GENITT.

JOSEPH ZAIR.

CESARE SERUGKETTI.

GEORGE RATICA.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 83.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The Government, by its recent actions of adjusting disputes between capital and labor, is making the relationship of the capitalists and the workers assume a political character; and

Whereas, With the development of this relation in the future the economic action and struggle of the trade union movement will give place to political action and struggle; and

Whereas, Just as the trade union movement in other countries was compelled to adopt independent political action in order to meet this new relationship to more successfully fight the battles of the workers and insure a greater share of economic justice; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, call upon our delegates at the next convention of the A. F. of

L. to favor independent political action of the workers so that a party may be formed whose role and function in American politics will be similar to that of the Independent Labor party in Britain.

LOCAL UNION NO. 376.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 85.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The constitution is printed only in the English language; and

Whereas, There are many foreigners within the folds of the U. M. W. of A. who do not understand English; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Constitution of the U. M. W. of A. be written in the Italian and Slavish languages.

LOCAL UNION NO. 376.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 86.

Avery, Iowa, December 21, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Under a capitalistic system the working class receives in wages only enough for their existence, and all intelligent working people recognize that fact; and

Whereas, We learn from history that whenever the wages of the working class was insufficient for their maintenance, then radical changes often took place in governments, with accompanying horrors, such as took place in France and more than likely is taking place in Russia today; and

Whereas, The wages of the coal miners in particular have not kept step with the increase in the cost of living; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we petition our national and district officers, and

the convention as a whole, to do all in their power to open the eyes of the coal operators and of other employers of labor to the dangerous course that they are pursuing; and be it further

Resolved, That the members of this local union have the welfare of the country as a whole at heart and should deplore any disturbance in the labor world that would in any way aid its foreign enemies.

H. E.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 87.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The high cost of living makes it absolutely necessary that a man with a family must receive for his labor a certain amount of wages per day in order that he may support his family in a respectable way; and

Whereas, The wages for so-called skilled inside labor is \$5 per day; and

Whereas, When the turn goes slow the miner, the man who digs the coal, cannot bring his wages up to \$5 per day; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a minimum wage be established, said minimum wage to be no less than \$5 per day for all miners and inside labor.

JOHN BILTERMAN, President.

R. C. GAILEY, Secretary.

L. U. No. 242, Avery, Iowa, December 13, 1917.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 90.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Submitted by L. U. 2866 and L. U. 3574 of Klein, Mont.

Resolved, That seven hours constitute a day's work, and that we be paid weekly with Saturday afternoons off with full pay. Be it

Resolved, That overtime be paid for at the rate of time and a half; Sundays to be considered overtime. Be it

Resolved, That the operators be prohibited from changing a man from one class of labor to another unless it is agreeable with the local and the one so changed. Be it

Resolved, Where practical the laborers be permitted to work in pairs.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 92.

Caryville, Tenn., December 19, 1917.

Mr. Wm. Green, Secretary and Treasurer, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—The following is the grievances of Red Ash Local Union No. 8643, U. M. W. of A:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

- 1. We want the cut-off system through the office.**
- 2. And any man working his place out gets any absent place in the mines.**
- 3. We want pay by the inch for room work, bottom and top dirt.**
- 4. When an entry is driven in a rock strata over and above a lone entry height we want pay by the inch.**
- 5. All air ways and room necks we want pay by the inch.**
- 6. All slate that falls we want cleaned up by the day men.**
- 7. And all mine tracks to be laid by the company.**
- 8. And the company to put the cars to and from the working place.**
- 9. And the company to place trappers at each and every door in the mines.**
- 10. And the company to pay for all water and double the price according to the water.**
- 11. And we want all timbers set by the company.**
- 12. We want all coal paid for according to the height.**
- 13. And all coal measured every two weeks.**
- 14. And all yardage measured every two weeks.**
- 15. And room necks and room widening to be paid by yard.**
- 16. And all day men leaving from the starting point, to and from, on the company's time.**

17. And man trips pulled promptly or set time it shall leave.
18. And all employes start and stop at the set time, eight hours per day.
19. And an increase in general wages.
20. Reduced house rent and fuel.
21. And we want the solid closed shop.
22. Not to be boycotted from one job to the other of different companies.
23. Trolley wire to be in fifty feet of heading.

R. E. WALKER, President,

MOSE LOVETT, Secretary,

L. U. 3643.

24. We want a mine superintendent who will not curse the men and committees to whom we can take a grievance.

25. We want the company to be responsible for days men are thrown off on account of coal not being cut.

26. We want all work in transit of coal stopped at the end of eight hours on account of no pay after the eight hours.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 95.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, John H. Walker was a candidate for the position of International President of the United Mine Workers of America in the election held December 12, 1916; and

Whereas, John H. Walker had sufficient evidence to prove that the laws governing the election of International officials were violated and that votes were cast in said election in direct violation of the International Constitution; and

Whereas, John H. Walker filed a protest to the International Executive Board and the International Tellers against such votes being counted and asked the International Executive Board to make an investigation of the violations of the election laws; and

Whereas, The International Executive Board refused to make an

investigation and ascertain whether or not the laws governing the election of International officials had been complied with, notwithstanding the fact that John H. Walker had sufficient evidence to prove that certain local unions had violated the election laws; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention make an exhaustive investigation of the fraud alleged to have been practiced in the election held December 12, 1916, by a committee of four, two to be appointed by International President Hayes and two to be appointed by John H. Walker, the expense to be borne by the International organization, and if it is proven that the laws governing the election of international officials were not complied with that the committee have the power and are instructed to make a canvass of the vote and throw out the votes of any local union where the laws governing the election of International officials were not complied with, and if it is proven that the majority of votes that were cast in harmony with the laws governing the election of International officials that John H. Walker was elected International President that he assume the position of International President and be paid his salary from April 1, 1917.

D. A. FRAMPTON.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 98.

Lawrence, Pa., December 31, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, In past years much has been said and done in the interest of wage increases while the all-important question of better conditions has been made a secondary matter, much to the discomfiture of the miner during scale periods, especially in this district, No. 5; and

Whereas, Believing that it is best to leave well enough alone, as far as standard wages are concerned, and put more effort into securing better conditions, which, if obtained, are bound to be more acceptable than a slight wage increase; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the membership of Local Union No. 1198 of Lawrence, Pa., through its delegate, urge the convention and Scale Committee to demand the following concessions:

First. That all slate shall be paid for from the coal up and at the same rate as is now paid for what is over 12 inches in entries and double for rooms.

Second. That electric cap lamps be furnished free, the same as any other safety lamp.

Third. That a reasonable percentage be paid to the miner using permissible explosives who, while working under the same scale as the miner using black powder, as he has an expense account for explosives of about 400 per cent. more than the man with black powder, not to mention the additional work.

Fourth. That a minimum day's wage be established for loaders and diggers as a safeguard against the overcrowding of mines.

Fifth. That something be done to bring the mule driver closer to the eight-hour day, remembering that he must report at the stable at 6 o'clock a. m. and that it is almost 5 o'clock p. m. when he leaves same; and be it further

Resolved, That the Resolutions Committee while acting on this resolution is asked to give it careful consideration, for while it may not be literally perfect, it is a workingman's humble effort at asking for justice.

LEWIS MINEWISER, President,

THOMAS MYERSCOUGH, Rec. Sec'y,

MORGAN REESE, Fin. Sec'y,

Resolutions Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 99.

Vestaburg, Pa., District 5.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Much suffering is caused by men not being provided with work through having water in their place, not cut or any other cause not the miner's fault; be it

Resolved, That a man be provided with a day's work when there is no work for him at the face or a day's pay in lieu of same. Be it

Resolved, That we seek to have all slate removed at the rate of day work. Be it further

Resolved, That we seek to have all track laid by the company to all working places. Be it

Resolved, That in case a mine is closed down all the old hands are to be employed first before hiring any strangers.

Whereas, Much inconvenience and suffering is caused to our members by companies with a large number of mines closing one of those mines down and families having to move from mine to mine at the operator's will. Be it

Resolved, That an average number of days be worked at each mine belonging to the same company.

Whereas, The providing of the penalty clause in the last scale being made compulsory at all mines, thus taking away our liberty we have had from the birth of mines, depriving us of our birthright.

Whereas, By providing the same clause a weapon of defense has been taken away from us.

Whereas, But for local strikes there would be no union today, also but for strikes conditions of labor would be much worse.

Whereas, Such a clause is an insult to the intelligence of the miners and local officials. Be it

Resolved, That this convention do its utmost to have the penalty clause struck out of the present scale; and be it further

Resolved, That no more clauses be inserted in any scale without a referendum vote from the members of the United Mine Workers of America.

Whereas, The coal on the Monongahela river is, practically speaking, an average height. Be it

Resolved, That we seek to have the difference of price on tonnage removed and to be paid all third pool price.

Whereas, Narrow work is a great disadvantage to miners. Be it

Resolved, That we seek to have yard work paid for at all places under 18 feet.

Whereas, The miners in District 5 are paying too much for pick sharpening; be it

Resolved, That we seek to have the scale for same reduced to ¼c on the dollar for pick work, ¼c on the dollar for machine work.

Whereas, The miners are at a great disadvantage through the credit system; be it

Resolved, That we seek to have weekly pay for miners.

Whereas, Coal operators are increasing the size of mine cars, making them much harder to push; be it

Resolved, That we seek to have all cars placed for the miners at the working face.

Whereas, Much expense is caused to locals through neglect on the part of company officials in the paying of dead work; be it

Resolved, That where the Mine Committee have to visit other parts of the mine to straighten out these troubles, should the fault be with the company officials they shall pay the committee expenses.

Whereas, Much inconvenience is caused to miners by not being notified when the mine is idle the next day; be it

Resolved, That where a mine is going to be idle the next day the company is to blow the whistle at a time suitable to the men employed at such mine.

Whereas, We, the members of Local 762, think better service may be had by making all positions elective; be it

Resolved, That nominations be sought for all offices under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers and voted on by the rank and file at the same time as the International officers are elected, organizers and all other appointments to be considered as officers.

Whereas, The cost of living in our district is high and still going up; be it

Resolved, That we seek for 20 cents advance on the ton for all coal produced, pick and machine; other wages to be raised in proportion.

Whereas, No time in the history of the coal trade has such times existed as exist at present; be it

Resolved, That this convention open up an organizing campaign to try and organize the non-union coal fields.

Whereas, The high cost of living is consuming all our wages; be it

Resolved, That we seek to have a reduction in the house rent and house coal. Such reduction to be brought down to \$2 a room for company houses and \$2 a ton for coal. Be it further

Resolved, That coal companies be stopped from renting less than three rooms to any one family.

Be it Resolved, That we seek to have a uniform scale for all outside day labor, shot-firers and pumpers.

JOHN McCARTY, President,
G. McKOVICTS, Rec. Sec'y,
JAKE WILLIAMS, Fin. Sec'y,
MIKE HUNCHER, Treasurer.
MIKE MILLICH,
JOHN BURNS,
JOHN SOWERS,

Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 100.

Whitsett, Pa., December 16, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolutions from Local Union No. 2057, U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, Under present conditions, when there is a wreck in the mine and the miner loses a quantity of coal, the company has it loaded by day men and it comes out as company coal and the miner receives nothing for it; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a separate fund be created and all moneys for this coal be turned into this fund and when a sufficient amount has accumulated it shall apply as wages to the checkweighman. In this way it will mean a great saving to the miners.

Whereas, Under our contract, in Rules, No. 14, reading as follows: "Where slate comes down, or is taken down in break-throughs between rooms and has to be removed by loader, entry price shall be paid"; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand that Rule No. 14 be stricken out and that break-through yardage be paid the same as entry yardage, or narrow work.

Whereas, We are not working full time on account of car shortage, and it would not decrease the total amount of coal produced if the miners worked half a day on Saturday, which would allow the miners a little recreation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand a weekly pay day, with a half holiday on Saturday.

Whereas, Under the present contract the miner is paid .0630 cents per inch per linear yard for slate over 12 inches thick; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand that the miner be paid .08 cents per inch per square yard for slate over two inches thick.

Whereas, The miner is away from home ten to twelve hours every working day, counting the time he starts to work and the time he returns back home; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand that the hours of labor be reduced to eight hours from bank to bank.

Whereas, Under the present contract the miner is compelled to push his car into his place, which is a distance of from 300 to 350 feet; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand that the cars be placed at the working face by the company.

Whereas, It appears that the various coal companies are reporting that the miners are lying idle for no apparent cause; and

Whereas, The business of reporting is in the hands of the company and facts are misrepresented, such as giving a man a place where he cannot make a day's wages, or agreeing to pay a certain price and then refusing to pay; therefore, be it

Resolved, That if a miner has a place where he cannot make a day's wages he shall be paid a minimum wage of \$5.00 per day.

Whereas, By our contract the loaders pay .0075 cents on the dollar for pick sharpening and the pick men pay .015 cents on the dollar; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the loaders pay .0050 cents on the dollar and the pick men pay .01 cents on the dollar.

SAM. J. LOWERY, President,

JAS. F. LEE, Rec. Sec'y,

SAM LOMAS,

JOHN MILLS,

JOS. SPIKLE,

JOS. VOITHOFER,

Resolution Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 103.

Croweburg, Kas., December 17, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That we, the members of L. U. No. 1896, indorse the action of our president, Alexander Howat, in the noble fight he made against the acceptance of automatic penalty clause, and we commend him to the entire membership of the U. M. W. of A. as being a true and loyal man to the laboring crafts.

**E. HODGE,
B. F. GISH,
JOE MYERS,
Committee.**

Approved by L. U. No. 1896, District No. 14.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 105.

Lucerne, Pa., December 26, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolution No. 1. We demand a closed shop.

Resolution No. 2. Abolish car pushing.

Resolution No. 3. We refuse to pay one dollar fine for laying off from work. And we demand the right to suspend work when we are justified.

Resolution No. 4. We want the company men to start to work from pit mouth at seven o'clock in the morning, be at pit mouth at three-thirty in the evening.

Resolution No. 5. We demand a five-dollar consideration if any man has no place to work or no supply, causing him to lose his day's work.

Resolution No. 6. Where there is bony in coal we demand to be paid yardage, and also for turning room necks.

Resolution No. 7. We demand that cutters cut by ton, cutting coal by the hour to be abolished.

Resolution No. 8. Motorman shall haul coal only during the actual eight hours and not haul supplies or do dead work unless there is no coal to haul; in that case he is entitled to do anything the management asks him to do.

Resolution No. 9. Motorman shall start at seven o'clock in the morning and quit at three-thirty in the evening.

Resolution No. 10. Track men, wire men, bradish men, door makers and shot firers be paid the same as motorman; and their helpers be paid the same as the sprayers.

THOMAS BIANCO, President,
WILLIAM BURKLEY, Rec. Sec'y,
RUDOLPH GASTENACH, Fin. Sec'y.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 106.

New Acme, Wyo., December 22, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The miners of this country have been granted a substantial increase in wages owing to the high cost of living; and

Whereas, We believe that when the war ends wages will be readjusted; and

Whereas, The funds of this organization are at a low ebb, we believe that this convention should take such steps as are necessary to build up the funds of this organization to meet the readjustment so as to protect us from an unfair readjustment; therefore be it

Resolved, That the National Executive Board be authorized to establish a special defense fund for this purpose; and be it further

Resolved, That there be an assessment of fifty cents (50c) per month levied on each member and the same continued until the end of

the war, or until such time as the National Executive Board sees fit to discontinue same.

**ROBERT HAMILTON,
ARTHUR PERRY,
FRANK BERNARDO,**
Committee on Resolutions.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 109.

Osage City, Kas., November 27, 1917.

Resolution recommending an amendment to the International Constitution relative to the making of the Interstate Joint Agreement:

Whereas, In making the joint agreement between and for the four competitive fields, namely: Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana; and

Whereas, It has become customary and seems to be an established fact that whilst making said joint agreement for said four competitive fields that the outlying districts have been and are now deprived of the right or power to have or take any active part in making said joint agreement; and

Whereas, The invitation extended to the officials of said outlying districts and their presence there is of no essential value unless they are invested with all constituted authority to take an active part with voice and vote in the formulating and making of said joint agreement; therefore be it

Resolved, That the International Constitution be amended so that all district officials be permitted and empowered with full authority by said International Constitution to take an active part in the making of the said Interstate Joint Agreement.

Agreed to by unanimous vote of representatives from Locals 544 Scranton, 2377 Fostoria, 1074 Burlingame, 1701 Peterton, 1009 Osage City at convention held at Osage City, Kas.

**WM. McMURDO, Secretary.
H. L. GIBAUD, Chairman.**

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION NO. 117.

Issaquah, Wash., December 3, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It is claimed that a large number of Chinese laborers are needed in this country to relieve the labor shortage; and

Whereas, We believe this statement is being used to get an opportunity to use Chinese labor to lower existing standards of labor; and

Whereas, We know that the introduction of Chinese labor in this country would result in a lowering of existing standards; and

Whereas, The existing shortage of labor can be met by the establishing of fair working conditions in all industries; be it

Resolved, That Local Union No. 2747, U. M. W. of A., most emphatically protests against any and all proposed amendments to existing immigration laws that will admit of any greater freedom of entry for Chinese labor.

Presented on behalf of Local Union No. 2747.

E. M. SHORT, Secretary-Treasurer,

District No. 6, U. M. W. of A.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTION NO. 118.

Creekside, Pa., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Prices we receive for low coal, machine loading, are 57 85.100 per ton, height of coal being from 3-4 to 3-10.

Loading coal at narrow workings, wages paid, 59 85.100.

Car pushing that exceeds \$4.00 foot without extra pay.

Shoveling coal from at room wages which is ten feet in width.

Pick coal loading paid in hours and it does not exceed pick price.

Men being forced to dig bottom with no pay.

Not furnishing proper supplies.

Cutters carrying oil and grease on own time can't get adjustments.

Cutters asking pay by ton and not day wages.

Cars not being greased enough, making harder pushes on account of no greaser.

No coal houses for families in the town and water closets draining on streets.

Buying Coalite by case, caps by case, and keeping at home, which is dangerous. No supply house at mine.

We ask to have the company guards removed at non-organized places, which are working from sixty to seventy hours per week, and union places working from thirty-two to forty hours per week.

We want an eight-hour specified scale on all inside and outside day labor.

Company men have to furnish their own tools such as cutters, scrapers; also motorman, wireman, track layers, mason, braddish men, carpenters, blacksmith, car builders.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 125.

Adena, Ohio, December 28, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Local Union No. 1987, located at Adena, Ohio, District No. 6, would like to have the coal company check off just what the check-weighman puts on the check-off sheet. By this grievance we are referring to Section 19 in the Constitution of our law.

Local Union No. 1987, located at Adena, Ohio, District No. 6, would like to have the price of powder regulated, as some mines are

selling higher than other mines and some are selling lower than other mines. This causes disturbance among the miners.

JOHN KAVASNE, Delegate,
JOHN MARTAN, President.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 129.

Rock Springs, Wyo., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The following resolution was adopted by L. U. 2309 at its last regular meeting, December 28, 1917, and ordered forwarded to the convention:

Whereas, For many years in various places in our jurisdiction the men have felt that they should receive time and a half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays, and have even submitted the question to former conventions; and

Whereas, Many operators are now paying double time for Sundays and holidays, a thing they can discontinue at will; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Twenty-sixth Constitutional and Third Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America authorize our officials to immediately take up the matter with the various operators' associations and the Government Fuel Administrator, advising them that in so far as our International organization is opposed to the paying of bonuses, and as the men justly deserve pay as above mentioned, we request that all classes of labor in our jurisdiction receive time and a half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays, and that no such work be performed hereafter without the above mentioned compensation.

CLEMENT GILHARD, President.

A. V. ELIAS, Secretary.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 135.

Antrim, Pa., December 28, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolution drawn up by Local Union No. 2098, Antrim, Pa.:

Whereas, The recent advance of ten cents per net ton that was

granted through the Washington supplementary agreement is unfair to the miners throughout the country who are working in a thin vein of coal on account of said miners being unable to produce anywhere near the amount of coal that the miners who are working in the higher veins of coal can produce; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the International officers and delegates, assembled at 1918 International convention, readjust the tonnage rates so that the miners of the thin vein will be enabled to make a wage equal to the miners of the higher vein; and, be it further

Resolved, That whenever another advance in the tonnage rate takes place the same shall be on a percentage basis.

JOHN STENBERG,
F. P. CZNENSKI,
JNO. J. FRAWLEY,
Resolutions Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 136.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Where any member has to work in bad places (rooms) and has to take chances and prospect for the benefit of the coal company he shall be compensated; therefore, be it

Resolved, That these members shall receive a minimum wage, as the shot firers' pay (scale), and the company shall furnish the powder and fuse or any other convenience that has to be used, at the coal company's expense.

When a member of this organization has to break a horseback and between the horseback is found at times some coal that is about from one-inch to 8 inches in diameter, and these coal pockets are found at place of measurement, and the member receives no pay for it; therefore be it

Resolved, That all horsebacks shall be paid through and no deductions be allowed.

Signed by the Resolution Committee of Local Union No. 731, District 12.

VINCENT DI SANDRO,
ADAM BARTEN,
ALEX. WILSON.

P. S.—If not accepted in the International convention please refer to the District.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 139.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

In bases where more than twenty miners are employed the miners have a right to call for a shot-firer, as there is a scale drawn up for shot-firers. Be it

Resolved, That a minimum compensation law be enforced throughout our organization, whether alien or citizen.

Resolved, That all Districts belonging to the United Mine Workers of America draw up all contracts to begin and terminate at the same time.

DESIRE GASPARD,
GEORGE HY. SMITH,
ANGELLO MORROCI,
Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 144.

Local No. 906, District No. 11, located at Clinton, Ind.

Clinton, Ind., January 4, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Be it Resolved, That the International and District Constitution be changed, to read as follows:

That when a company or companies is at any time putting on men, any union miner or miners applying for a job must first ask the

boss or the company for the same, and then shall secure the same by giving the boss or company his name and address and by giving the same to the checkweighman, and he shall be the next to be put on by the boss or company, and when a man is to be put on the boss or company shall then notify the checkweighman, and the checkweighman shall at once notify the person or persons, allowing at least five (5) days to return for work, but the boss or company may use any union miner or miners until said five (5) days have passed, and if said person or persons return by the end of the said five (5) days, this person or persons shall be the first to go to work.

Any checkweighman failing to obey this rule shall pay a fine of ten (10) dollars. The boss or company failing to obey this rule shall pay a fine of ten (10) dollars. The fine of the guilty party shall be paid: eight (8) dollars to the offended person or persons and the remaining two (2) dollars shall go to the treasury of the district of the local of which the checkweighman is a member at the time that he violated said rules. The District Board shall hold any guilty checkweighman's card until said fine be paid.

Any member or members of the United Mine Workers of America found guilty of refusing to work with a United Mine Worker, or guilty of mistreating him, without a lawful cause, while working or seeking a job in or around the mines, or in or around the town for the same purpose, shall be expelled from the United Mine Workers of America for five (5) years. If any local union shall be found guilty of refusing to work with a member of the United Mine Workers of America, without a lawful cause, the charter shall be taken away by the district for five (5) years, and cards of all members of said local shall not be good throughout the United Mine Workers of America for five (5) years. These rules shall be enforced by the National and all Districts throughout all the United Mine Workers of America. These rules shall always be in all contracts and Constitution before any settlement can be signed.

FRANK GLOVER, President,
ALBERT GLAZE, Rec. Sec'y,
MURIL SIMS, Delegate.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 148.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Be it Resolved, That a State Endowment Fund be created to take care of the widows and orphans in disasters similar to the one which happened at Christopher, Ill.

**JOHN HARRELSON, President,
TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,
ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 149.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believe it to be to our best interests to have our District Convention convene prior to the International Convention, in order that we may be able to formulate our plans and to unify our efforts as a district as a whole, instead of each local union making different demands and fighting for them separately as at present, and in order to protect the welfare of the membership and to promote progress; therefore, be it

Resolved, That our District Constitution be so amended to provide for the holding of our District Convention just prior to the International Convention.

**JOHN HARRELSON, President,
TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,
ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 150.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, A condition exists in the majority of solid shooting mines that rooms and entries are worked single; and

Whereas, That system is a benefit to the coal companies in safeguarding their properties; and

Whereas, It is also an advantage to the miners; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we ask that this resolution be referred to the Scale Committee and have same adopted in our next District Convention as a condition, as same is a benefit to both parties involved.

JOHN HARRELSON, President,
TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,
ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 151.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The low coal question in Saline, White and Gallatin counties has been and is now an injustice to the miners of the above named counties, namely, all coal five feet and under shall be five cents additional on the ton, but not to apply to Saline, White or Gallatin counties; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all coal five feet and under in the above named counties be paid the five cents additional on the ton.

JOHN HARRELSON, President,
TOM CAMERON, Rec. Sec'y,
ED. KIRK, Fin. Sec'y.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 152.

Numine, Pa., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We, the officers and members, do hereby ask that the International Convention take some action to make District No. 2 a closed shop so that all miners will have to belong to the union.

And that there be some action taken to make the check-off lower in District No. 2, as we are now paying \$2.02 per month for miners and \$2.00 for day men. We therefore ask that there be some action taken to make our check-off the same as District No. 5 if it can be done, and also that all cutting and scraping be paid by the ton.

WM. BECK,
C. S. BEERS,
Local Union No. 1106.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 153.

Luzerne, Ky., January 4, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The mine workers of District No. 23, U. M. W. of A., in 1900 had to accept a lower wage scale than Illinois and Indiana on account of the keen competition of non-union coal; and

Whereas, We had the promise of the coal operators and the International union that when this keen competition was removed we should have the Indianapolis scale; and

Whereas, The European war has removed the keen competition in Western Kentucky; and

Whereas, Certain rulings of our Policy Committee in making our contract has established a precedent that renders us powerless to exercise our rights as free American citizens and members of a labor organization; and

Whereas, The present wage contract of District No. 23, pertaining to mining rate, yardage, dead-work, turning rooms and day labor are at a minimum rate, an average of 25 cents below mining rates in Illinois and Indiana; and

Whereas, It costs us as much to live here as it does in the four competitive states; and

Whereas, We are not only deprived of the enjoyments of a decent living but we are endangering our fellow workmen in other states, that they may be forced to accept a wage contract and conditions of employment similar to the one we labor under at the present time; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we ask the International President and the International Executive Board to take up this question at once with the operators of Western Kentucky and give District No. 23 a uniform price with Illinois and Indiana.

M. E. EDWARDS, Sec'y,
M. A. VINSON,
GUY HOLMES, Fin. Sec'y,
CLEAVE OLDHAM,

Committee for Local Union No. 1630, U. M. W. of A.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 157.

Bayne, Wash., December 31, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The practice of filling the office of mine inspector by appointment instead of having it filled through the channels of an election: we have

Resolved, That the convention take this matter into consideration and see what could be done towards having such an important office filled by election.

**(Signed) J. WIDDELL,
A. LANE,
J. J. TAYLOR,
Committee.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 158.

Bayne, Wash., December 31, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The bi-weekly payday has almost, to our knowledge, been the practice in the mining industry; and

Whereas, We believe a change should be made and have all districts consider the enactment of a weekly payday; we have

Resolved, That the convention consider ways and means in making a general demand for its enactment.

**(Signed) W. H. PELTER,
JAMES WIDDELL,
GEO DAVID,
Committee on Resolutions.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 160.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The membership lacks the knowledge regarding conditions obtaining in other mines in the district, or even in mines in their own

immediate neighborhood, and accordingly cannot determine their own rights in harmony with rights generally obtaining in their district, this lack of knowledge often resulting in some locals fighting for conditions to which they are not entitled, while other locals may yield conditions to which they are entitled, thus causing trouble on the one hand and on the other hand establishing a precedent for bad conditions; and

Whereas, Local strikes are always detrimental to our organization, and should be avoided. In order to avoid them it is necessary to remove the cause, which cause is often the misunderstanding of the members as to their real rights, and in order that our members may be informed and thus avoid unnecessary trouble and promote harmony; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention recommends the holding of periodic delegate meetings in each Board Member District for the purpose of counseling together.

GEO. KARNES, President,
JACOB F. BIRZEL, Sec'y,
Local Union No. 644, Hillsboro, Ill.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 166.

Benton, Ill., January 1, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, In regard to our condition on the turn proposition, it is claimed by the manager that it is impossible to keep a square turn at this mine, and our conditions are such that in some parts of the mine the loaders get a big turn every day, while others never get the benefit of same; and

Whereas, It is continually causing a stir up, and of course we all realize that it's unjust for one run to be continually getting a big turn while others are waiting all day for nothing, I realize and know that there should be something done about this matter. I feel like if one man deserves a good wage for his day's labor, that others are entitled to the same benefit. As it is I have been down in the mine a number of times all day long and only get three or four cars. I and my buddie, while sitting in the main way at night, hear others saying they get plenty,

of cars. And this isn't seldom, but is continually going that way; and

Whereas, I feel that the convention should take some action on this.

Now to the docking proposition. I believe there should be an amendment to this and this is my decision: The inspector designated by the operator shall be a practical miner, shall not be a member of the U. M. W. of A., and in the discharge of the duties herein specified shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of the local union or president or pit committee, nor any miner or committeeman seeking in any way to embarrass the inspector in or because of the discharge of such duties; the provisions of the miners' state constitution shall be invoked and in addition he shall, at the option of the operator, be suspended for two working days.

(Signed) D. W. WEBB,
Resolution Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 169.

Hanna City, Ill., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The purchasing power of our earnings are inadequate to maintain the American standards of living; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Local Union No. 661, U. M. W. of A., that we demand a 25 per cent. increase in mining and all other labor, in and around the mines.

Whereas, We are handling draw slate, up to 4 inches thick, for nothing, and over 4 inches at 42 cents per cut of 5 feet, regardless of width of room; and

Whereas, Such pay is no compensation for the labor performed; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Local Union No. 661, U. M. W. of A., that we demand, on draw slate up to 3 inches thick, 5 cents extra per ton; on slate 3 inches to 6 inches thick, 8 cents per ton. This not to apply to false top.

Whereas, Our agreement calls for all over 5 inches of bottom coal left by the machines shall be taken up by machine runners in clean coal, and by the company if there are impurities in the bottom; and

Whereas, This coal is low and when 5 inches is left there is no room to work; therefore, be it

Resolved, By Local Union No. 661, U. M. W. of A., That all bottom in excess of 2 inches be taken up by the company.

Adopted by Local Union No. 661, U. M. W. of A., January 2, 1918.

W. H. THRUSH, President.

JOHN P. CARPENTER, Secretary,

WM. CRAGGS,

JOHN McVICKER,

H. SWADINSKY,

FRANK SNODGRASS,

Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 170.

Duquoin, Ill., December 23, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The schut coal at the Paradise mines, on idle days, has become a burden on the miners at said mines from the fact that the next day the miners have to lay around until 9 or 10 o'clock before they get a car to load; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the schut coal be dispensed with.

Whereas, As it has been agreed by the Board Member and traveling auditor to allow the machine men the right to make more wages on the day than the loaders; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the machine men be placed on equal basis with the loaders.

Whereas, The docking system, as it reads in the present contract, gives the dock boss all the power to fine, lay off and discharge, practically leaving the miners and local officers powerless to act in their own defense, and at the mines near Duquoin the miners oftentimes are fined 50 cents or \$1.00, laid off three working days, or discharged for loading impurities that would not exceed over five or ten pounds to one car so fined for; therefore, be it

Resolved, That at the present biennial convention there be a clause adopted and inserted in the next contract which will give the mine committee and mine manager a right to adjust such differences; and be it further

Resolved, That at least fifty pounds to the ton must be found before a fine can be placed upon a loader; be it further

Resolved, That the one so designated by the operator as dock boss shall be a practical miner, holding a certificate of competency.

**ROBERT PAXTON,
SAM BIDDINGTON,
D. T. FOX,**

Local Union No. 478.

**PETE KAUFMON,
HENRY GREEN,
GEORGE REDDICK,**

Local Union No. 409.

**H. H. CHICKEDANZ,
FRANK SOPER,
T. F. YATES,**

Local Union No. 1458.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 172.

Palmer, Wash., December 26, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Dear Sirs and Brothers—We, the officers and members of Local Union No. 1911, in regular session assembled, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, At the present time the tools and powder question is a serious handicap to the miners in most all of the district organizations which belong to our national organization in negotiating contracts and are oftentimes the cause of serious disputes, which, in some instances, have led up to serious strikes, which resulted in much suffering to the miners and their families; and

Whereas, In most other industries workmen are not required to furnish tools to perform labor for their employer; and

Whereas, Our organization of the United Mine Workers of America is the most powerful and progressive organization on the American continent, we consider that it is necessary to eliminate the tool and powder question from the miners' contracts in the various districts by placing

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand that the miners of District No. 5 hire a mine inspector.

JOHN SCHUHIDER, President.

FRANK KRIGAR, Rec. Sec'y.

ANDY STANISLAW.

JOHN STANISLAW.

CHARLES DREXLER.

HENRY DREXLER.

JAMES DRANLEY.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 176.

Pruden, Tenn., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

L. U. No. 3263, U. M. W. of A., of District 19, asks that it be taken up in the convention that all agreements and contracts shall be submitted to the Local Unions for a vote before they are let or become effective.

F. L. JONES, President,

W. H. SOWDERS, Rec. Sec'y,

L. U. 3263.

P. S.—Done by vote of Local.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 178.

Local Union No. 615, District No. 5, U. M. W. of A.,

Fayette City, Pa., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That eight (8) hours shall constitute a day's work (from bank to bank), and that all overtime be paid time and half, and double time shall be paid for all Sundays and holidays.

Resolved, That the company deliver all empties to the working face, and that the company shall pay for all slate moved; and be it further

this question for the delegates in the convention to decide. Be it further

Resolved, That the Scale Committee representing the miners be instructed to use every effort to the extent of using their economic power to wrest this concession from the representatives of the coal operators.

J. F O'MARA, President.

SAM CADDY.

J. D. RICHARDSON, Sec'y.

JACK HOPKINS.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 174.

Moon Run, Pa., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the members of Local Union No. 260 after the Resolutions Committee had drawn them up:

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand \$2 per cut of slate in a twenty-one-foot place in ribs or stumps.

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand to get the explosives at 5 per cent. above cost price.

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand that the operator furnish any man a day's work who has to go home through no fault of his own.

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand that when the miner is asked to load his slate in the cars he should be paid at the rate of tonnage as coal.

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand that the operator place the empty cars at the face of the miner's working place.

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand that the drivers receive pay from the time they leave the stable until they get back.

Whereas, We, the members of Local Union No. 260, demand that the miners of District No. 5 hire a mine inspector.

JOHN SCHUHIDER, President.
FRANK KRIGAR, Rec. Sec'y.
ANDY STANISLAW.
JOHN STANISLAW.
CHARLES DREXLER.
HENRY DREXLER.
JAMES DRANLEY.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 176.

Pruden, Tenn., December 27, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

L. U. No. 3263, U. M. W. of A., of District 19, asks that it be taken up in the convention that all agreements and contracts shall be submitted to the Local Unions for a vote before they are let or become effective.

F. L. JONES, President,
W. H. SOWDERS, Rec. Sec'y,
L. U. 3263.

P. S.—Done by vote of Local.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 178.

Local Union No. 615, District No. 5, U. M. W. of A.,
Fayette City, Pa., January 3, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That eight (8) hours shall constitute a day's work (from bank to bank), and that all overtime be paid time and half, and double time shall be paid for all Sundays and holidays.

Resolved, That the company deliver all empties to the working face, and that the company shall pay for all slate moved; and be it further

Resolved, That the company shall furnish and deliver posts, rails and all other necessities to the working face.

Resolved, That where coal is being cut by machines it shall be cut on day shift; and that all machines be single shift and all be day cutting.

Resolved, In regard to working pending a settlement be recalled. And if a settlement is not reached by the 1st of April that all men lay down tools until such settlement is reached.

Resolved, That we install a compulsory system that compels all men working in and around the mines to pay all dues and assessments levied by the organization (monthly men and bosses exempted).

Resolved, That we demand a five-hour day on pay day and a semi-monthly pay day. /

Resolved, That a driver be paid from the time that he starts to harness his mule and until he has reached the barn and unharnessed again; and be it further

Resolved, That the motorman be paid one hour extra for oiling and keeping cables clean each day.

Resolved, That miners or loaders being unable to work on account of no material or falls or water in their working place, shall be given day work or be paid for time lost.

Resolved, That all outside day men and yard men and general top hands be governed by the same scale as drivers, track men and general bottom men.

Resolved, We nationally, nor in any other way, if possible, will negotiate an agreement that will hinder the various districts from demanding and securing an agreement whereby members of our organization can apply to mine management for employment, deposit their card with the proper local officers and be started to work on turn, independent of creed, color or nationality, activity in organization or disability, etc. And be it further

Resolved, That we indorse and recommend this proposition to the various districts to be made a part of their district contracts.

Resolved, That the company furnish tools and building for the miners' blacksmith and the blacksmith to be hired and paid by the miners, his pay to be checked off through the company's office.

Resolved, That if any grievance arises at the mine and the commit-

tee cannot settle it with the mine foreman and superintendent the Mine Committee to have the power to shut the mine down until they get the grievance settled.

Indorsed by Local Union No. 615.

ROBERT ROY, President,
FRANK YOUNG, Rec. Sec'y,
WALTER BRUCE, Fin. Sec'y,
CHRIST MARSHBANKS,
HUGH CHALFANT,
Resolutions Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 179.

Wellington, Mo., January 2, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That where men push coal over 200 feet on the face they should be paid extra. The extra shall be the same as at Higginsville, Mo. Be it

Resolved, That men shall be paid 15 cents per ton for broken rock, and if the rock falls in he shall be paid 25 cents more extra. Be it

Resolved, That company shall take care of all sulphur that is too heavy for one loader to handle. Be it

Resolved, That machine helpers shall not spray coal with sulphur. Be it

Resolved, That an experienced miner shall be taken into the union for \$5. Be it

Resolved, That no inexperienced man shall come into the union for less than \$10. Be it

Resolved, That the company shall furnish an extra man to grease the mine cars. Be it

Resolved, That machine helpers shall shovel all dirt made by machine and throw it well back into gap. Be it

Resolved, That a jack setter shall have six months' experience before he runs a machine, and no other experienced man shall run machine until jack setter shall have had a chance at it. Be it

Resolved, That above resolution be applied to a trip rider.

L. U. 1231.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 180.

Tono, Wash., January 5, 191

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, A condition exists in nearly every State in our Union

Whereas, Such condition cuts down the earning capacity of miners, namely, the building of cars above bed; and

Whereas, Such condition does exist so the miners do not get such cars; and

Whereas, Such a method of loading cars is detrimental to both miners and operators, as the building and overloading of cars causes bends and wrecks by coal falling off, also endangering lives of drive rope riders; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, as members of Local No. 1717, do hereby recommend that this convention go on record as favoring this resolution to get same in future contracts.

Whereas, To work eight hours per day is too long a period to be included from daylight and pure air; and

Whereas, We consider it detrimental to the health of the miners and

Whereas, The miners (in normal times) can produce in six hours per day all coal necessary to the needs of the country; therefore, be

Resolved, That this convention go on record as instructing the Committee to work to the best advantage of the miners in having the working period cut to six hours per day at the expiration of the

W.M.F.

R. H. WILLIAMS,

J. M. MARTINA,

WILLIAM FORSYTH,

Committee of Local No. 171

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 181.

Gowen, Okla., January 8, 191

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We demand that the rent on all company houses be regulated

per room, and that they be kept in good condition and water furnished at each house or group of houses by the company.

We demand that where machine men are required to splice their cable they be paid one hour, and where contract machine men have to wait on picks they be paid for time lost.

We demand that old age pensioners be given a substantial raise, as the pension allowed them is too small for them to live on, owing to the high cost of living.

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JAKE WOOD, President,
G. F. KLINE, Rec. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 1777.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 182.

Lehigh, Mont., December 24, 1917.

United Mine Workers of America, Local Union No. 703, District 27.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

We have already presented the industrial movement to the state convention held in Helena, Mont., which was accepted in case of strikes, if all craft organizations were affiliated we are of the opinion that our troubles would be less and we would finish much quicker. We will never have power enough until we get all the different crafts affiliated; so be it

Resolved, That this convention act on this resolution and give it their best consideration.

SAM COCKAYNE,
ANDY MESSAGE,
JOHN LAIRD,
DAN MISCOVIC,

Resolution Committee.

HUGH MOONEY, President,
SAM COCKAYNE, Rec. Sec'y.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTION NO. 184.

Local Union No. 1356, Georgetown, Ill.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The miners in the Danville district are required to timber their own places, without compensation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That miners be paid 10 cents for each and every timber that they set. This not including cross-bars.

WILLIAM MOYER,
I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
Resolutions Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 185.

Local Union No. 1356, Georgetown, Ill.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The miners in the Danville district are required to square up their own places for the machine, thereby decreasing the loading capacity of said miners; be it

Resolved, That the operators furnish men to square up all places for the machines.

WILLIAM MOYER,
I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
Resolutions Committee.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 186.

Local Union No. 1356, Georgetown, Ill.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The men in the Danville district are required to lay their own road without compensation; be it

Resolved, That the operators lay the road or pay the men compensation at regular tracklayers' rates for laying same.

**WILLIAM MOYER,
I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
Resolutions Committee.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 187.

Local Union No. 1356, Georgetown, Ill.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The tracklayers, timbermen and all other day men have to work too much overtime; be it

Resolved, That all day men be limited to working 56 hours per week

**WILLIAM MOYER,
I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
Resolutions Committee.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 188.

Local Union No. 1356, Georgetown, Ill.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believe that the drivers work more than 48 hours per week in taking their mules to and from the stable on their own time; be it

Resolved, That drivers be paid for the actual time they spend with their mules.

**WILLIAM MOYER,
I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
Resolutions Committee.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 189.

Local Union No. 1356, Georgetown, Ill.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The mine cars in some places in the Danville district are so large that it is sometimes impossible to push them to the face; be it

Resolved, That the operator be required to pull all cars into the working face.

**WILLIAM MOYER,
I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
Resolutions Committee.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 190.

Local Union No. 1356, Georgetown, Ill.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We believe that the dock fines are too large; be it

Resolved, That all rock fines be limited to 50 cents per dock.

**WILLIAM MOYER,
I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
Resolutions Committee.**

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 191.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The scale of wages paid in strip mines is below the mine wage scale; and

Whereas, Strip mine coal goes on the market in competition with mine coal; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the strip mine wage scale shall be the same as the inside day wage scale, with the same per cent. advance for all men now getting above the regular scale.

I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
WM. MOYER,

Local Union No. 1356.

ARCHIE PHILLIPS,
JOHN SWISHER,

Local Union No. 948.

CHAS. BISHOP,
F. O. McNEER,

Local Union No. 41.

JOHN SHAFFER,
FRANK THOMAS,
E. EVANS,

Local Union 1103.

Miscellaneous.

THOS. PITCHFORD,
AUGUST HUDOCK,
JOHN JACOBS,

Local Union No. 503.

CHAS. WONDERLAND,

Local Union No. 2676.

ANDREW STEVENS,
J. M. ADAMSON,

E. C. FARRELL,

Local Union No. 1944.

C. M. KOONTZ,

Local Union No. 3222.

RESOLUTION NO. 192.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, We have a scale of wages for shaft sinking; and

Whereas, Strip mines, so far, have been opened up as construction work, and in some cases twenty to thirty thousand tons of coal stripped before the mine has been organized; therefore, be it

Resolved, That strip mines shall pay our scale of wages from the

beginning for all work except the tipple, railroad tracks and building steam shovels.

I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
WM. MOYER,
Local Union No. 1356.

ARCHIE PHILLIPS,
JOHN SWISHER,
Local Union No. 948.

CHAS. BISHOP,
F. O. McNEER,
Local Union No. 41.

JOHN SHAFFER,
FRANK THOMAS,
E. EVANS,
Local Union 1102.

Miscellaneous.

THOS. PITCHFORD,
AUGUST HUDOCK,
JOHN JACOBS,
Local Union No. 503.

CHAS. WONDERLAND,
Local Union No. 2676.

ANDREW STEVENS,
J. M. ADAMSON,
E. C. FARRELL,
Local Union No. 1944.

C. M. KOONTZ,
Local Union No. 3222.

RESOLUTION NO. 195.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Thirtieth Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The machine differential in the Danville sub-district is 10 cents a ton; and

Whereas, In other parts of the State they have a seven-cent differential; and

Whereas, The miners of this sub-district feel that the differential is too great, and that they have been losing 3 cents on a ton for several years; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we especially request our officers and delegates to

Scale Committee to use every effort at their command to bring about a seven-cent differential in the Danville district.

I. J. EMORY,
FELIX SANDY,
WM. MOYER,
Local Union No. 1356.
ARCHIE PHILLIPS,
JOHN SWISHER,
Local Union No. 948.
CHAS. BISHOP,
F. O. McNEER,
Local Union No. 41.
JOHN SHAFFER,
FRANK THOMAS,
E. EVANS,
Local Union 1103.

THOS. PITCHFORD,
AUGUST HUDOCK,
JOHN JACOBS,
Local Union No. 503.
CHAS. WONDERLAND,
Local Union No. 2676.
ANDREW STEVENS,
J. M. ADAMSON,
E. C. FARRELL,
Local Union No. 1944.
C. M. KOONTZ,
Local Union No. 3222.

RESOLUTION NO. 195A.

Roseland, Kan., December 22, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The principle of the U. M. W. of A. is democracy, and believing that the methods of giving the National officers the power of appointing all National organizers without consulting the district officials of the district to which said organizer belongs, and believing the same not to be to the best interests of the U. M. W. of A., as it shows discrimination among our own ranks, as the traveling auditor from each district must be first endorsed by the district executive board before he is eligible to hold such position; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all National organizers to be appointed must first be endorsed by the district executive board from the district of which the applicant is a member before he shall be eligible to become a representative of the National organization; and be it further

Resolved, That the number of National organizers to be proportioned

from each district according to the number of paid-up members from each district to the National organization.

JAS. McILWRATH, President,
JOHN EDWARDS, Secretary,
GEORGE HODGSON, Fin. Sec'y,
Local Union No. 3106.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

Similar resolution submitted by:

Local Union No. 2852, Radley, Kan.
Local Union No. 1820, Roseland, Kan.
Local Union No. 2635, Enterprise, Kan.
Local Union No. 2755, Skidmore, Kan.
Local Union No. 1226, Novinger, Kan.
Local Union No. 960, Fuller, Kan.
Local Union No. 56, Celfax, Iowa.

RESOLUTION NO. 196.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, The life of the Washington Agreement depends entirely on the ratification of the delegates to this convention; and

Whereas, This agreement would not allow us to take up any local inequalities in the various districts; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record as opposing the ratification of said agreement, without it is altered so that we may be able to take up local conditions in our various districts.

The above resolutions were unanimously adopted by the following Local Unions:

No. 1356—I. J. Emory, Felix Sandy, William Moyer.
No. 948—Archie Phillips, John Swisher.
No. 41—Charles Bishop, F. O. McNeer.
No. 1103—John Shaffer, Frank Thomas, E. Evans.
No. 503—Thomas Pitchford, August Hudock, John Jacobs.
No. 2676—Charles Wonderland.

No. 1944—Andrew Stevens, J. M. Adamson, E. C. Farrell.

No. 821—J. L. Billman.

No. 8222—C. M. Koontz.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 198.

Herrin, Ill., January 1, 1918.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Resolved, That the agreement entered into at Washington, D. C., on October 6, 1917, be declared null and void after March 31, 1918, and a new agreement made, and we demand twenty (20) cents per ton increase, and all yardage and dead work be advanced in proportion, and all shift work be advanced fifty (50) cents per day.

WARREN McNEILL, Fin. Sec'y.

J. B. BAKER.

Miscellaneous.

RESOLUTION NO. 201.

Harrisburg, Ill., December 19, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-sixth Consecutive and Third Biennial Convention of the U. M. W. of A.:

Whereas, It has come to our notice that the American Federation of Labor is a reactionary organization and believe that the cause is that its officers are elected by delegates on the floor of conventions and, as this is undemocratic and the U. M. W. of A. is a democratic organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That unless the A. F. of L. amends its constitution so as to elect its members by a referendum vote we, as United Mine Workers, withdraw our affiliations with the A. F. of L.

A. S. DEEMY, President,

JOHN VAUGHN, Rec. Sec'y,

WALT. LYNN, Fin. Sec'y,

Local Union No. 798.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

The above resolution is similar to Resolution No. 22.

INDEX

A

Addresses by—

Samuel P. Ashby.....	5
Charles Fox	6
Mother Jones	359
Andrew Smith	6
Address of Welcome—By Governor Goodrich.....	4
Addresses of Welcome—Responses to.....	8
Address of John P. White.....	291
Address—Charles Kruse	581
Address—Mrs. Emma F. Langdon.....	634
Address—Capt. Leys Brown.....	672
Address of Edwin McKinzie	706
Address of Edward D. Nolan	707
Address—Samuel Gompers	716
Address—W. D. Ryan.....	729
Address—Emma Steghagen	799
Address of Pres. Tobacco Workers International Union.....	801
Address—A. McAndrew	801
Address—Harold Houston	803
Address—Chas. L. Blaine, Member U. S. Gov't Committee on War Savings	825
Administration—Federal Fuel	553
Aged Miners—Home for	38
Aged Mine Workers—Home for Reference to Spec. Com.....	570
Aid—Expenditures for	229
Aid—Report of Committee on.....	573
Aid—As per Secretary-Treasurer's Report.....	90
Alleged Shortage of Labor.....	56
Amendments to Constitution—Report of Committee as to.....	574
Amendments of Constitution—As per Report of Secretary-Treasurer	92
American Federation of Labor—Investigation of Labor Shortage....	57
Anthracite Agreement	20

Anthracite Production	47
Anthracite Wage Agreements	20
Anthracite Wage Agreements	552
Appeals and Grievances—Appointment of Committee on.....	289
Appeals and Grievances—Report of Committee on.....	873
Appointment Committee on Appeals and Grievances.....	289
Appointment of Committees.....	289
Appointment of Committee on Constitution.....	289
Appointment of Committee on Resolutions	289
Appointment of Sergeant at Arms	289
Ashby, Samuel P.—Address by.....	5
Auditors, International—Report of.....	275
Auditor's Report—Adoption of.....	286
Auditors—Traveling	95
Auditors—Traveling—Report of Committee as to.....	574
Appointment Special Committee on Court Decision.....	570
Affidavit of T. J. Potestio.....	764
Affidavit of Ely Romich.....	774
Aged Miners Home for—Report of Committee on.....	904
American Federation of Labor, Delegates to—Report of.....	940
Arizona Supreme Court—Resolutions Commending.....	971
Adjournment sine die.....	1021

B

Bank Statements	279
Bituminous Wage Agreements—Report as to.....	376
Back Assessment—Collection of—Report of Committee as to.....	574
Bituminous Wage Agreement.....	12
Buying Power of Dollar.....	55
Back Assessments—Collection of.....	94
Baker—Delegate District 23—Statement as to Conditions in District.	651
Brown, Capt. Leys—Address of.....	672
Bartlett, G. F.—Letter of.....	772, 773
Blaine, Chas. L.—Address of.....	825

C

Committee on Credentials—Report from.....	288
Credentials—Report of Committee on.....	288

Committees—Appointment of	289
Committee on Constitution—Appointment of.....	289
Committee on Appeals and Grievances—Appointment on.....	289
Committee on Resolutions—Report of.....	304
Committee on Officers Reports—Report of.....	375
Committee on Credentials—Supplemental Report of.....	407
Committee on Credentials—Final Report of.....	500, 502
Committee on Officers Reports—Report on Cont'd.....	552
Committee on Rules and Order of Business—Report of.....	10
Committee Reports—Rules and Order of Business.....	10
Committee on Resolutions—Appointment of.....	289
Committee on Resolutions—Report of	583
Committee on Constitution—Report of.....	614
Committee on Constitution—Further Discussion of Report of on Resolution 34	676
Committee on Constitution—Further Discussion—Report of.....	731
Committee on Constitution—Continuation of Report of.....	806
Committee on Transportation—Report of.....	824
Committee on Appeals and Grievances.....	873
Committee on Resolutions—Report of	895
Committee on Home for Aged Miners and Old Age Pensions—Re- port of	904
Committee on International Relations—Report of.....	955
Committee on Resolutions—Report of	1007
Committee on Litigation—Report of	1011
Constitution Committee—Appointment of.....	289
Constitution—Amendments of—Report of Committee as to.....	574
Constitution—Amendments to—As per Report of Secretary-Treas- urer	92
Constitution—Committee on—Report of.....	614
Constitution—Committee on—Further Discussion of Report of, on Resolution 34	731
Constitution—Committee on—Continuation of Report of.....	806
Constitution—Committee on—Further Consideration of Report of...	829
Constitution—Committee on Further Consideration of Report of.....	829
Contest	501
Campaigns in Unorganized Fields.....	553
Collection of Back Assessment—Report of Committee as to.....	574

Court Decisions—Report of Committee as to.....	575
Corporation Counsel—Address of.....	5
Campaigns in Unorganized Fields.....	27
Coronado Coal Co.—Litigation with.....	28
Car Shortages	45
Coal Production in 1917.....	46
Causes of Mine Fatalities in 1916.....	47
Causes of Mine Fatalities in 1917.....	48
Coal Mining Disasters	49
Cost of Living.....	54
Car Shortage as to Inflated Prices.....	56
Coal—Production of	57
Collection of Back Assessments.....	94
Colorado Banks—Money in—Report of Secretary-Treasurer Green as to	97
Court Decisions—Secretary-Treasurer Green's Report as to.....	101
Court Decisions—Special Committee on.....	579
Communication from John Mitchell.....	581
Communication from John Verderbar.....	581
Connor, Harry P.—Statement from.....	762
Co-operation—Committee on—Report of.....	961
Convention City—Selection of.....	1017

D

Drayer—Telegram from	468
Disasters in Coal Mining.....	49
Dollar—Buying Power of.....	55
District 1—Income	109
District 2—Income	111
District 5—Income	115
District 6—Income	119
District 7—Income	126
District 8—Income	127
District 9—Income	127
District 10—Income	180
District 11—Income	181
District 12—Income	183

District 13—Income	138
District 14—Income	139
District 15—Income	141
District 16—Income	143
District 17—Income	143
District 18—Income	146
District 19—Income	146
District 20—Income	148
District 21—Income	150
District 22—Income	152
District 23—Income	153
District 24—Income	154
District 25—Income	154
District 26—Income	155
District 27—Income	155
District 28—Income	156
District 29—Income	156
Donations—Individuals	198
Districts Reimbursed	247
District 23—Statement as to Conditions in.....	651
Delegates to American Federation of Labor—Report of.....	940
Delegates to Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union—Election of...	1014

E

Employes and Officers—Increase in Salaries of.....	554
Eagles, Fraternal Order of—Address of Welcome.....	6
Eight-Hour Day	22
Employes—Increase in Salaries of.....	37
Employment of John P. White.....	37
Employment of Former President White.....	157
Expenditures	198
Expenditures for Supplies	203
Expenditures for Office Expenses	206
Expenditures for Printing	216
Expenditures for Journal	219
Expenditures for Printing Journal	220
Expenditures for Telephone, Postage and Express.....	222
Expenditures for Aid	229

Expenditures—Miscellaneous	230
Expenditures—General Statement of.....	245
Eighth Day Morning Session	703
Eighth Day Afternoon Session	723
Eleventh Day Morning Session	904
Eleventh Day Afternoon Session	992
Election of Delegates to Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.....	1014

F

Fourth Day Morning Session	375
Fourth Day Afternoon Session	407
Fifth Day Morning Session	434
Fifth Day Afternoon Session	468
Final Report Committee on Credentials.....	500, 502
Federal Fuel Administration	553
Fuel Administration—Federal	553
Finances—Report of Committee as to.....	574
First Day—Session Opened.....	3
Fox, Charles—Address of Welcome of.....	6
First Day—Afternoon Session—Opening of.....	10
Federal Fuel Administration.....	20
Finances—Secretary-Treasurer Green's Report as to.....	90
Fraternal Delegates to Western Federation—Report of.....	973

G

Green, Wm.—Supplemental Report of as Secretary-Treasurer.....	283
Garfield, H. A.—Telegram from.....	291
Green, Secretary-Treasurer—Telegram to Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers International	304
Green, Secretary-Treasurer—Telegram from General Strike Commit- tee, Philadelphia, Pa.....	337
General Strike Committee—Telegram from.....	337
Green, Wm.—Communication to Journeyman Stonecutters Associa- tion	468
Green, Wm., Secretary-Treasurer—Recommendation of Committee on Report of.....	577
Goodrich, Governor James P.—Address of Welcome.....	4

Green, Secretary—Official Call Read by.....	10
Growth of Membership.....	51
Green, William—Report of as Secretary-Treasurer.....	86
General Statement of Income.....	248
General Statement of Expenditures.....	249
Green, Wm.—Supplemental Report of, as Secretary-Treasurer.....	579
Garfield—Telegram from	706
Gompers, Samuel—Address of.....	716
Gompers, Samuel—Letter from, as to Home for Aged Miners.....	927
Gallup, N. Mex.—Resolution from, Report and Action on.....	1009

H

Hutcheson, Wm. L.—Greetings from.....	288
Hayes, Frank J.—Report on Report of.....	376
Home for Aged Mine Workers—Reference to Special Committee....	570
Hayes, President—Calls Convention to Order.....	3
Hayes, Frank P.—Response to Address of Welcome.....	8
Hayes, President—Presents Letter from President Woodrow Wilson	9
Hayes, Frank J.—Report of as President.....	12
Hitchman Coal Co.—Litigation with.....	81
Home for Aged Miners.....	38
Houston, Harold—Address of.....	803
Home for Aged Miners—Report of Committee on.....	904

I

International Auditors—Report of.....	275
Invitation from Loyal Order of Moose.....	286
Increase in Per Capita Tax.....	554
Increase in Salaries of Employes and Officers.....	554
Indianapolis Central Labor Union—President of Opens Convention..	3
Invocation—By Rev. Maurice O'Connor.....	4
Increase in Per Capita Tax.....	84
Increase in Salaries.....	37
Inflated Prices—Influence of Car Shortage on.....	56
Income—Report of Secy.-Treas. Green as to.....	109
Income—Miscellaneous	158
Individuals—Donations	198
Income—General Statement of.....	248

Italian Relief Association—Resolution from.....	891
Industrial Accidents—Special Resolution in Regard to.....	903
International Relations—Report of Committee on.....	955
Interstate Conferences and Outlying Districts—Resolution as to.....	974

J

Jones, Mother—Address of.....	359
Journeyman Stonecutters' Association—Message from.....	468
Journal—Report of Committee as to.....	575
Journal—Statistics as to.....	72
Journal—Expenditures for	219
Journal—Printing of—Expenditures for.....	220

K

Karr, H. B.—Telegram from.....	304
Kruse, Chas.—Address of.....	581
Kern, J. W.—Resolution as to Death of.....	970

L

Letter from Aug. Semon.....	468
Litigation	553
Lewis, Vice-President—Report of Committee on.....	571
Lewis, John L.—Report of as Manager of Mine Workers' Journal....	572
Loans—Report of Committee on.....	573
Litigation	28
Lewis, John L.—Report of.....	41
Loss of Production—1916 to November, 1917—Table as to.....	48
Living—Cost of	54
Labor—Alleged Shortage of.....	56
Labor Shortage—Investigation as to by A. F. of L.....	57
Labor, Shortage of—Report of Special Committee as to.....	58
Loans—As per Secretary-Treasurer's Report.....	91
Local Unions—List of Locals Organized and Abandoned During 1917.	252
Langdon, Emma F.—Address of.....	634
Letter of Jas. F. Moran.....	768
Letter of G. F. Bartlett.....	772-3
Litigation—Committee on—Report of	1011

M

Membership—Table of	283
Membership—Total	285
Moose, Loyal Order of—Invitation from.....	286
Montgomery, Sam'l B.—Telegram from.....	375
Money in Colorado Banks—Report of Committee as to.....	574
Machine Mining	21
Members—Naturalization of	40
Miners in Service	44
Map Illustrating Number of Miners in Service.....	44
Mine Fatalities in 1916 and 1917.....	47
Membership—Growth of	51
Money in Colorado Banks—Secretary-Treasurer Green's Report as to	97
Miscellaneous Income	158
Miscellaneous Expenditures	230
Mitchell, John—Communication from.....	581
Migratory Workers—Address, President of.....	581
McKinzie, Edwin—Address of.....	706
Mooney, Thos.—Resolution as to Trial of.....	714
Moran, Jas. F.—Letter of	768
McAndrew, A.—Address of	801
Miscellaneous Business	894
Mitchell, John—Letter from as to Home for Aged Miners.....	925
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union Delegates—Election of.....	1014

N

Naturalization of Members.....	40
Non-Union Fields—Organization of.....	43
Nolan, Edward D.—Address of.....	707
Ninth Day—Morning Session	761
Ninth Day—Afternoon Session	798

O

Officers—Reports of Distributed.....	286
Officers—Report of Auditors Adopted.....	286
Officers' Reports—Committee on—Report of.....	375
Organization of Non-Union Fields—Report of Committee on.....	571

Opening Session	3
O'Connor, Rev. Maurice—Invocation by.....	4
Official Call—Read by Secretary Green.....	10
Order of Woodrow Wilson.....	18
Officers—Increases in Salaries of.....	37
Organization of Non-Union Fields.....	43
Office Expenses—Expenditures for.....	206
Officers' Reports—Appointment of Committee on.....	289
Oklahoma, State of—Resolution as to Bill Authorizing Purchase of Coal Deposits—Report and Action on.....	612
Old Age Pensions—Report of Committee as to.....	904

P

Per Capita Tax—Increase in.....	554
President—Report of	12
Per Capita Tax—Increase in.....	34
Position in War.....	38
Production of Coal.....	50
Printing—Expenditures for	216
Potestio, T. J.—Affidavit of.....	764
Pensions, Old Age—Report of Committee as to.....	904
Powderly, T. V.—Letter from as to Home for Aged Miners.....	926

R

Reports—

Committee on Appeals and Grievances.....	873
Committee on Constitution.....	614
Committee on Constitution, continuation of.....	806
Committee on Constitution, further consideration.....	829
Committee on Home for Aged Miners and Old Age Pensions..	904
Committee on International Relations.....	955
Committee on Litigation	1011
Committee on Officers' Reports.....	375
Committee on Officers' Reports, continued.....	552
Committee on Resolutions	304, 583, 895, 1007
Committee on Rules and Order of Business.....	10
Committee on Transportation	824
Committee of Western Federation of Miners' Amalgamation...	976

Delegates to American Federation of Labor.....	940
Fraternal Delegates to Western Federation of Miners' Con- vention	975
International Auditors	275
John L. Lewis	41
Of Officers—Appointment of Committee on	289
Of Officers, distributed	286
President Frank J. Hayes	12
President's Report	376
Secretary-Treasurer	86
Special Committee as to Labor Shortage.....	58
Special Committee on Co-operation	961

Resolutions—

As to Interstate Conference and Outlying Districts.....	974
Commending Arizona Supreme Court.....	971
Committee—Appointment of	289
Dealing with Soldiers' Wages.....	973
From Gallup, N. Mex.—Introduction of and Action on.....	1009
From S. E. Kentucky and Tennessee Districts.....	992
In Regard to Industrial Accidents.....	903
List of—Referred to Committee on Constitution.....	850
On Death of Senator Kern.....	970
On Selective Draft	899
On Trial of Mooney	714
On War	900
Report Committee on	583, 895, 1007
No. 22—Report and Action on.....	895
No. 25—Reference to	850
No. 27—Reference to	851
No. 28—Reference to	851
No. 33—Report and Action on.....	586
No. 34—Report and Action on.....	615
No. 34—Further Discussion of.....	676, 731
No. 35—Report and Action on.....	587
No. 40—Reference to	852
No. 41—Report and Action on.....	587
No. 42—Reference to	852
No. 47—Report and Action on.....	588

No. 48—Report and Action on.....	305
No. 51—Reference to	852
No. 53—Report and Action on.....	306
No. 55—Report and Action on.....	299
No. 58—Report and Action on.....	322
No. 59—Report and Action on.....	503
No. 60—Report and Action on.....	500
No. 61—Report and Action on.....	500
No. 62—Report and Action on.....	500
No. 63—Report and Action on.....	500
No. 66—Reference to	853
No. 67—Report and Action on	322
No. 68—Reference to	854
No. 69—Report and Action on.....	328
No. 71—Report and Action on.....	501
No. 72—Reference to	854
No. 74—Report and Action on.....	502
No. 75—Reference to	854
No. 76—Report and Action on.....	503
No. 77—Report and Action on.....	330
No. 78—Reference to	855
No. 79—Report and Action on.....	331
No. 80—Report and Action on.....	504
No. 82—Report and Action on.....	504
No. 84—Report and Action on.....	332
No. 88—Report and Action on.....	333
No. 89—Report and Action on.....	334
No. 91—Report and Action on.....	337
No. 93—Report and Action on.....	895
No. 94—Reference to	855
No. 95—Report and Action on.....	505
No. 96—Report and Action on.....	505
No. 97—Report and Action on.....	338
No. to	856
No. and Action on.....	506
No. and Action on.....	903
No. 107—Report and Action on.....	507
No. 108—Report and Action on.....	508

No. 110—Report and Action on.....	839
No. 111—Report and Action on.....	598
No. 112—Report and Action on.....	353
No. 113—Reference to	856
No. 114—Report and Action on.....	599
No. 115—Report and Action on.....	600
No. 116—Report and Action on.....	601
No. to	857
No. to	858
No. and Action on.....	749
No. to	858
No. and Action on.....	602
No. and Action on.....	355
No. to	859
No. and Action on.....	897
No. 117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130 and Action on.....	326
No. to	859
No. 131—Reference to	860
No. and Action on.....	355
No. to	861
No. to	861
No. to	862
No. and Action on.....	357
No. to	863
No. and Action on.....	873
No. to	863
No. and Action on.....	367
No. and Action on.....	883
No. and Action on.....	897
No. to	864
No. and Action on.....	306
No. to	865
No. and Action on.....	603
No. and Action on.....	603
No. 157—Report and Action on.....	306
No. 159—Report and Action on.....	308
No. 161—Report and Action on.....	369
No. 162—Report and Action on.....	369

No. 163—Report and Action on.....	
No. 164—Report and Action on.....	
No. 165—Report and Action on.....	
No. 167—Report and Action on.....	
No. 168—Report and Action on.....	
No. 171—Reference to	
No. 175—Report and Action on.....	
No. 177—Report and Action on.....	
No. 183—Report and Action on.....	
No. 193—Reference to	
No. 194—Report and Action on.....	
No. 197—Reference to	
No. 199—Reference to	
No. 200—Reference to	
No. 202—Report and Action on.....	
No. 203—Report and Action on.....	
No. 204—Report and Action on.....	
No. 205—Report and Action on.....	5
No. 206—Report and Action on.....	
No. 207—Report and Action on.....	
No. 208—Report and Action on.....	
No. 209—Report and Action on.....	
Resolutions Presented but not Acted on—	
No. 1	
No. 2	
No. 3	
No. 4	
No. 5	
No. 6	
No. 7	
No. 8	
No. 9	
No. 10	
No. 11	
No. 12	
No. 13	
No. 14	
No. 15	

No. 16	.....	1033
No. 17	.....	1033
No. 18	.....	1034
No. 19	.....	1035
No. 20	.....	1036
No. 21	.....	1036
No. 23	.....	1037
No. 24	.....	1038
No. 26	.....	1038
No. 29	.....	1038
No. 30	.....	1039
No. 31	.....	1039
No. 32	.....	1040
No. 36	.....	1040
No. 37	.....	1041
No. 38	.....	1041
No. 39	.....	1042
No. 43	.....	1042
No. 44	.....	1043
No. 45	.....	1043
No. 46	.....	1046
No. 49	.....	1046
No. 50	.....	1047
No. 52	.....	1047
No. 54	.....	1048
No. 57	.....	1049
No. 64	.....	1050
No. 65	.....	1051
No. 70	.....	1051
No. 73	.....	1052
No. 81	.....	1052
No. 83	.....	1053
No. 85	.....	1054
No. 86	.....	1054
No. 87	.....	1055
No. 90	.....	1055
No. 92	.....	1056
No. 95	.....	1057

No. 98	1058
No. 99	1059
No. 100	1062
No. 103	1064
No. 105	1064
No. 106	1065
No. 109	1066
No. 117	1067
No. 118	1067
No. 125	1068
No. 129	1069
No. 135	1069
No. 136	1070
No. 139	1071
No. 144	1071
No. 148	1073
No. 149	1073
No. 150	1073
No. 151	1074
No. 152	1074
No. 153	1075
No. 157	1076
No. 158	1076
No. 160	1076
No. 166	1077
No. 169	1078
No. 170	1079
No. 172	1080
No. 173	1081
No. 174	1082
No. 176	1083
No. 178	1083
No. 179	1083
No. 180	1084
No. 181	1084
No. 182	1085
No. 184	1085

No. 185	1088
No. 186	1088
No. 187	1089
No. 188	1089
No. 189	1090
No. 190	1090
No. 191	1090
No. 192	1091
No. 195	1092
No. 195A	1093
No. 196	1094
No. 198	1095
No. 201	1095
Romich, Ely—Affidavit of	774
Ryan, W. D.—Address of	729
Ryan, W. D.—Telegram from	303

S

Statements of Banks	279
Second Day—Morning Session Opened.....	287
Secretary of Labor—Telegram from.....	287
Sergeant-at-Arms—Appointment of	289
Secretary-Treasurer—Supplemental Report of	289
Supplemental Report of Secretary-Treasurer.....	289
Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials.....	407
Semon, Aug.—Letter from	469
Sixth Day—Morning Session	500
Statistical Report—Report of Committee on.....	571
Smith, John, President Indianapolis Central Labor Union—Opens Convention	3
Smith, Andrew—Address of Welcome of.....	6
State Federation of Labor—Address of Welcome for.....	6
Supplemental Bituminous Wage Agreement	15
Salaries—Increases in	37
Secretary-Treasurer—Report of	86
Supplies—Expenditures for	203
Strike Donations— District No. 1	175

District No. 2	176
District No. 5	177
District No. 6	177
District No. 7	181
District No. 8	181
District No. 9	182
District No. 10	184
District No. 11	184
District No. 12	186
District No. 13	186
District No. 14	190
District No. 15	191
District No. 16	192
District No. 17	192
District No. 18	194
District No. 19	194
District No. 20	194
District No. 21	194
District No. 22	194
District No. 23	194
District No. 24	194
District No. 25	194
District No. 27	194
District No. 29	194
Special Committee on Court Decisions.....	57
Secretary-Treasurer—Supplemental Report of	57
Sixth Day—Afternoon Session	58
Seventh Day—Morning Session	63
Seventh Day—Afternoon Session	67
Sanchez, Angelo—Affidavit from	76
Steghagen, Emma—Address of	79
Selective Draft—Resolution on	89
Special Committee on Co-operation—Report of.....	96
Soldiers' Wages—Resolution Dealing with.....	97
Southeast Kentucky and Tennessee Districts—Resolutions from.....	99
Selection of Convention City.....	101

T

Table of Membership	283
Total Membership	285
Third Day—Morning Session	303
Telegram from W. D. Ryan.....	303
Telegram from H. B. Karr.....	304
Third Day—Afternoon Session	337
Telegram from Samuel B. Montgomery.....	375
Telegram from Walter W. Drayer.....	468
Tax—Per Capita—Increase in	554
Traveling Auditors—Report of Committee as to.....	574
Table Showing Coal Production in 1917.....	46
Traveling Auditors—Secretary-Treasurer's Report as to.....	95
Telephone, Postage and Express—Expenditures for.....	222
Telegram from Garfield	706
Tobacco Workers International Union—Address of President of.....	801
Tenth Day—Morning Session	824
Transportation—Report of Committee on.....	824
Tenth Day—Afternoon Session	871

U

Unorganized Fields—Campaigns in	27, 553
Union Label Tobacco for Soldiers—Report on.....	1008

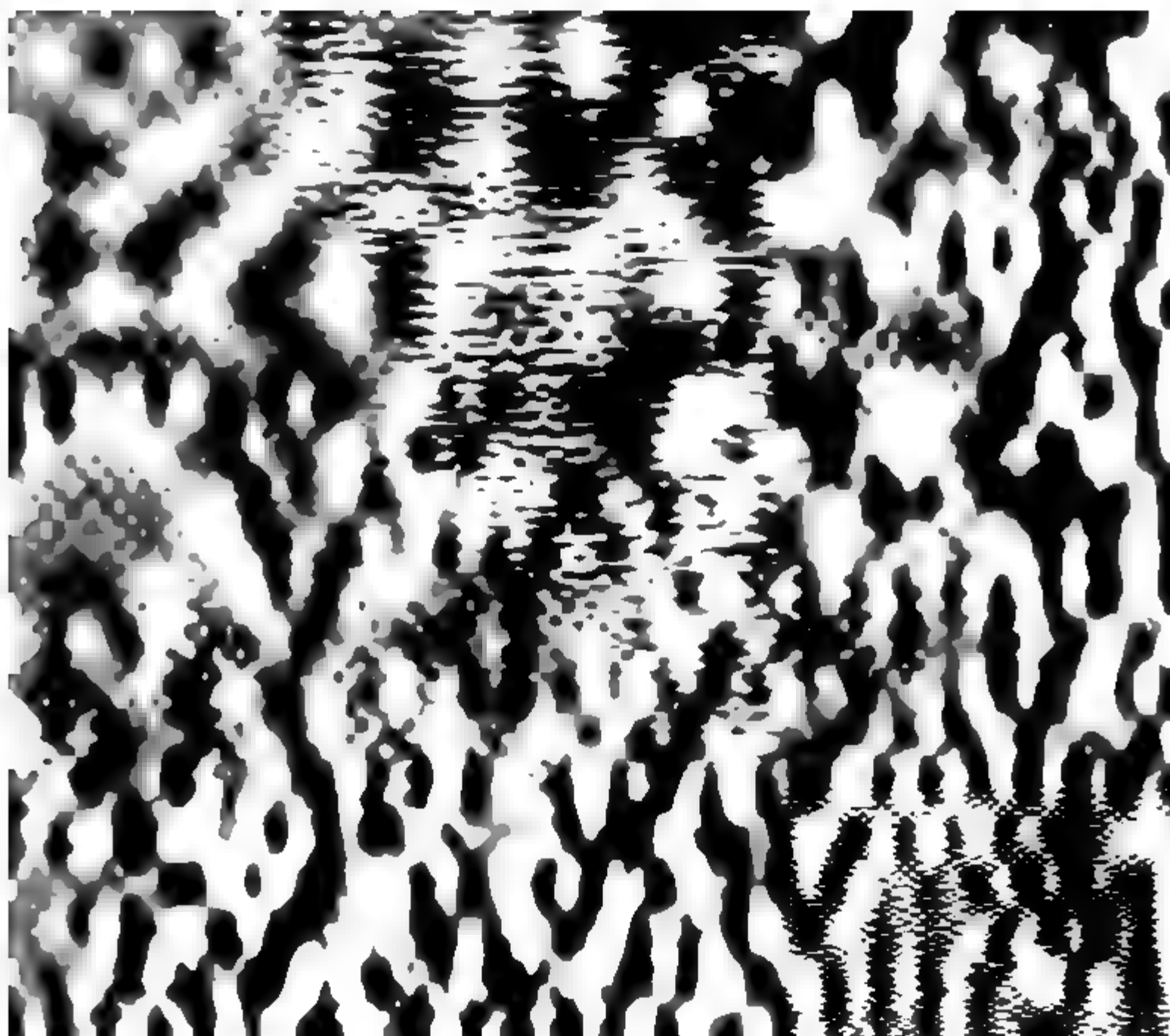
V

Verderbar, John—Communication from	581
Vice-President's Report	41

W

Wilson, Wm. B., Secretary of Labor—Telegram from.....	287
White, John P.—Address of	291
West Virginia—Commissioner of Labor of—Telegram from.....	373
Wage Agreements—Report as to.....	376
Washington Agreement—	
Report as to	377
Further Discussion of	408, 434, 469

Vote in Opposition to	
Wage Agreements—Anthracite	
White—Employment of	
Wilson, President Woodrow—	
Letter from	
Order of	
Address of to A. of L.....	
White—John P—	
Employment of	
Address of as to Controversy with Delegate Howat.....	
War—Position in	
Wage Increases	
War Resolution	
Wilson, W. B.—Letter from as to Home for Aged Miners.....	
Western Federation of Miners' Convention—Report of Delegates to..	
Western Federation of Miners—Report of Committee as to Amal-	
gamation	





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